THE MODERN REVIEW

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

EDITED BY

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and

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VOL. LXXIV. NUMBERS 1 TO 6

JULY TO DECEMBER

1943

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE

120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD,

CALCUTTA

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 8-8 ; Foreign Rs. 11-8.

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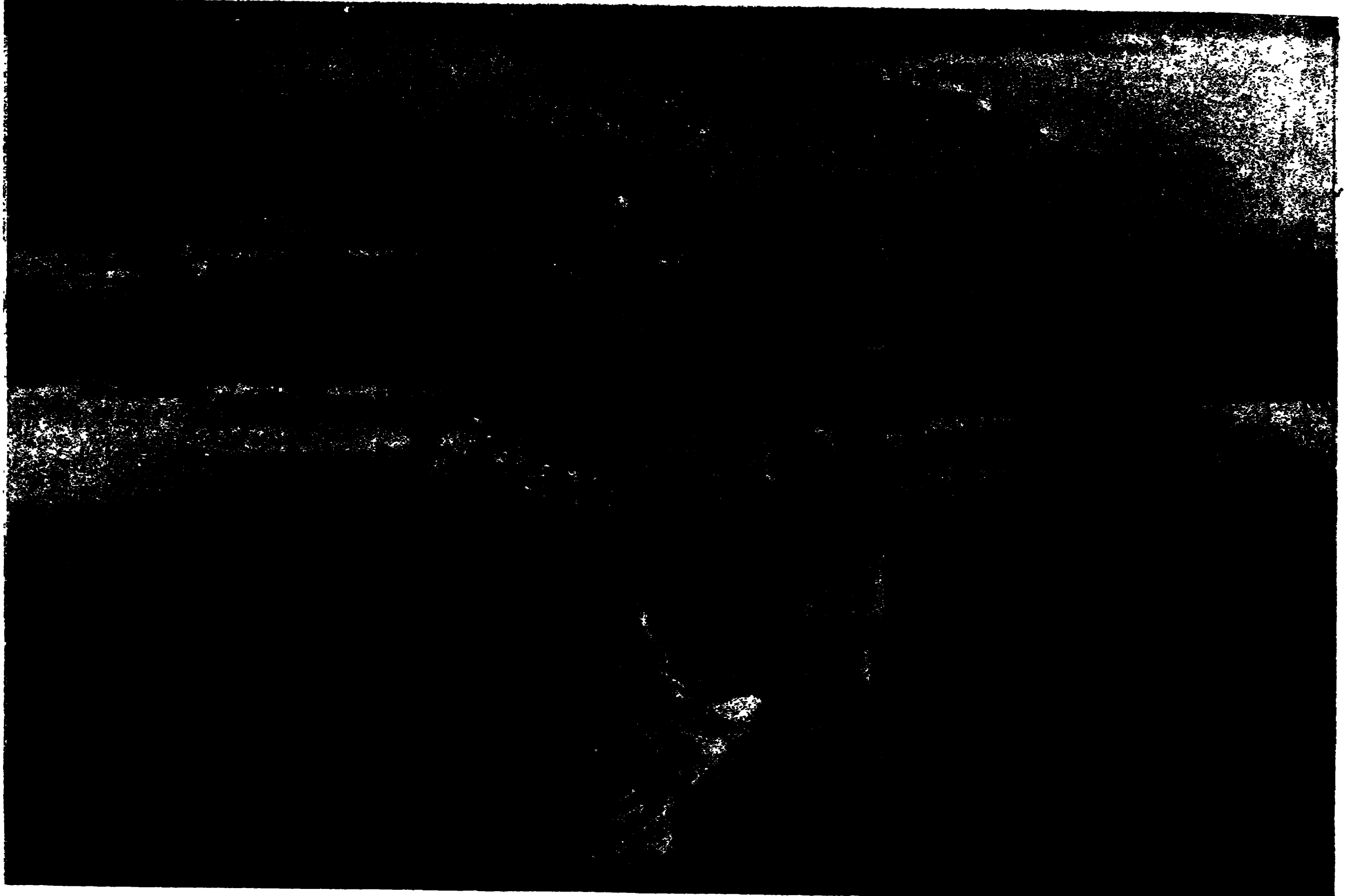
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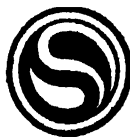
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Prabasi Press, Calcutta

RETURNING HOME
By Basudeb Ray

THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY  1943

VOL. LXXIV, No. 1 WHOLE No. 439

NOTES

No More Eastern Slaves for Western Profits

In an interview published in the *Christian Advocate*, Mr. Wendell Willkie declared that the most significant thing he had noted on his world tour was "the awakening of the common man all over the world," irrespective of race or colour, nationality or sex.

Mr. Willkie added, "Those who persist in holding to such old shibboleths as the white man's burden and talk blithely of reverting after the war to the obsolete levels of an imperialistic *status quo* either do not know the score or stubbornly ignore it. After centuries of ignorant and dull compliance, hundreds of millions of people in Asia are beginning to see the great light. They are no longer willing to be Eastern Slaves for Western profits. I have found that to the peoples of Africa, the Middle East, China and the whole of the Far East, freedom means an orderly but scheduled abolition of the colonial system. It is not too much to say that this sort of freedom is their Number One war aim. Lately they have begun to wonder whether it is also ours."

In the same interview, Mr. Willkie criticised the American Army arrangements with Admiral Darlan and said, "With all my soul I hate false finicking with expediency, temporary or permanent. The peoples of the world must be given again the conviction that the banners of the Americans fight under are their bright clean colours."

India in bondage has no other alternative but to wait and see. At the very beginning of the war, she had asked for a clean banner to fight under, but did not get it.

Happiness of the Common Man—Object of Government

In a series of articles contributed to the *Observer*, London, Sir William Beveridge writes:

> The problems and difficulties of alliances are not new and the lessons of the past apply to the full today. If the United Nations are to achieve victory without excessive sacrifice, they must act as one in the war. If they are not to risk throwing away after victory all or most of all of that for which they are sacrificing today, their material treasure and the lives of their young, they must continue united not only till fighting ends but thereafter. And *just as national unity depends not on party bargains but on consciousness of a common aim, so international unity depends on the same consciousness and not on treaties or charters signed by leaders.*
>
> The United Nations have, in fact, a common cause and a common aim after victory as up to victory; they have the aim of treating victory not as an end but as a means to establishing justice among nations and security for service among citizens. The United Nations are in reality united by belief that "*the object of government in peace and in war is not the glory of rulers or of races but the happiness of the common man.*" The greatest danger against which, one and all, they need now to be on guard is that of forgetting, either in the wearied exultation of victory or in premature strife of parties, the reality which unites them for peace as much as for war.

Centuries before the birth of Christ Indian statesmen had defined the object of Government as the happiness of the common man, and not

the glory of rulers or dynasties and Indian Emperors like Chandra Gupta, Asoka, Samudra Gupta and Vikramaditya lived up to that principle. Active social service came to occupy the highest place in it. Kautilya's conception of State was in its ends and functions an economic state—a repository of resources for the common good, to be distributed to the subject with fatherly care. The Kautilyan State was thus more than political or merely social. Asoka had been glorified not for his conquests and military prowess but for his service to the cause of humanity.

Kautilya's Arthasastra, the Bible of Indian political thought, had clearly enunciated milleniums ago how Indian commerce and industry should be regulated and, whenever necessary, restricted; how regulation of profits should be made and cornering and adulteration prevented; how foreign trade should be encouraged; how guilds, wages and labour ought be regulated, and how social evils should be eradicated. Indian statesmen had the foresight to observe that free trade benefited only the capitalist and that at the cost of the consumer. In the interest of the common man, prices and profits were regulated and to check speculation all sales except in the markets were forbidden. Cornering was prohibited under severe penalty. The dependence of price on demand and supply was clearly understood, and the Government being a believer in protection, it never allowed fluctuation in prices with abnormal demand and supply. In such cases, the purchase price of the tradesmen was taken into consideration and the profit being calculated, the market price was laid down leaving a reasonable margin for middlemen or retailers. What the modern states have learned in recent years, had been practised in India centuries before the birth of the Christian civilisation. Welfare of the common man figured most prominently as the object of government in any system of Indian polity.

Beveridge Explains his Scheme

The Beveridge scheme has been a subject of international discussion and it will be good to know the explanation he himself has given in in support of it. He says:

Maintenance of employment—assumption C of the three assumptions underlying social security, *viz.*, (A) Children's allowances, (B) Comprehensive health service, (C) Maintenance of employment—means not abolition of unemployment but avoidance of mass employment. Why is this described as one of the conditions of a satisfactory social insurance scheme?

Of five reasons set out in my Report, only the two most important need mention here. One reason is that payment of unconditional cash benefits is satisfactory provision only for short periods of unemployment; after that, idleness even on an income demoralises. The other is that income security, which is all that can be given by social insurance, is so inadequate a provision for human happiness that to put it forward by itself as a sole or principal measure of reconstruction hardly seems worth doing. It should be accompanied by an announced determination to use the powers of the State to whatever extent may prove necessary to ensure for all, not indeed absolute continuity of work but a reasonable chance of productive employment.

To say, however, that maintenance of employment is necessary for satisfactory social insurance does not mean that, if employment cannot be maintained, no social insurance scheme or a different scheme from that proposed is needed. The proposals of the Report are proposals for distributing the total income of the community, great or small, so as to put first things first; the provision of a subsistence income at all times and for all sizes of family, before provision of comforts for anyone. If, through failure to maintain productive employment, the total income available for distribution fell below a certain level it might prove impossible to abolish want completely. But it would still be desirable to meet first needs first; the smaller the total income the greater the need to distribute it fairly. Doubt as to the possibility of avoiding mass unemployment after the war would not be a reason for having no scheme of social security. It would make such a scheme all the more necessary. But ought we to admit such doubts? Putting the question positively, is it reasonable to make Assumption C—that mass unemployment can be avoided after this war.

One answer to the question is that it is as reasonable to make this assumption as it is to make another assumption, unnamed in my Report on social insurance, but as completely underlying all its proposals, namely, the assumption that Britain and her Allies can and will defeat Germany and her allies. To the three assumptions named in the Report for satisfactory social security after the war has ended—(A) children's allowances; (B) comprehensive health service; (C) maintenance of employment—a fourth, Assumption D, must be added: that the war ends in victory for Britain and her Allies. On any other assumption, planning for social security is not worth while. Between Assumption D, that we can conquer Germany in the war, and Assumption C, that we can conquer mass unemployment after the war, there is, in fact, much common ground.

First, each of these two assumptions, whether reasonable or not, is necessary. If the war is lost, all is lost. If after the war mass unemployment returns, the stability of British institutions may be in peril. Vital political freedoms may be sacrificed by a despairing democracy in the hope of economic security.

Second, each of those two assumptions is about equally reasonable. The war, though swinging now in our favour, is not won; the forces of evil that have to be overcome are still terrific and unbroken. If Britain and her Allies can show the strength and unity and organising power that will be required to crush the mechanised barbarism which two years ago seemed about to subdue the world, it is fantastic to believe that they are bound then to be defeated by unemployment.

Third, the general problems of realising Assumption C and Assumption D are the same. To defeat Germany and her Allies it is necessary to organise to its utmost the production of Britain and her Allies, that is to say to plan and direct the use of all their resources in meeting the needs of war, in order of urgency and with the

smallest possible waste of power. Maintaining productive employment after the war presents the same problem of using resources without waste in meeting the needs of peace. Though the needs of peace may appear less urgent than those of war, they are as great, and the general conditions for the solution of the two problems are the same: planning of the use of all resources by a single authority; fluidity of labour and other resources; international co-operation; determination to find a solution at all costs.

This does not mean that the problems of war and of peace are identical. War is temporary, while peace should be planned to endure; men will more readily surrender their sectional interest and compromise their political views in the passing exigencies of war than they will accept what may appear to be a lasting sacrifice of cherished rights in peace. In planning for peace, moreover, it is essential to leave freedom for experiment, initiative, individual trial and error, without which progress cannot be assured. While the problems of organising production in war and in peace respectively may be posed in the same general terms, the practical issues are different. Above all, there is political issue of the respective spheres of the State and of the individual, of central planning and of private enterprise.

This is the heart of the problem.

It is more urgent, because, if employment is to be maintained in the critical aftermath of the war, the plans for doing this must be made now, and not when the war has ended.

In order to put his scheme into action Sir William envisages various types of general control—of prices, of investment, of transport and of raw materials; in short, public monopoly of ownership or socialisation in certain fields, private enterprise subject to public control in other fields, private enterprise free of any save the general controls in yet other fields. He has been frank enough to say that there is no simple solution for the complex problem of maintaining employment in the aftermath of the war.

In India also there will be mass unemployment after the war, but our problem will not be as serious as that of Britain. India has vast potentialities for increasing employment by industrial advancement and absorbing the technicians trained during the war. Improved agriculture and expansion of scientifically planned and electrified cottage industries as complications to the mills can give employment to millions of people released from war services. The only difficulty for India is to move her present Government to permit and help a nation-building scheme.

The Cost of Beveridge Scheme

The cost of the Beveridge scheme has given rise to much controversy. The aggregate expenditure is estimated to be increased for the first year of the plan from £415 millions, under existing arrangements, to £697 millions. When the plan is fully in operation—twenty years ahead—the total rises to £858 millions. These sums are the aggregate of contributions by insured persons, employers and tax-papers. Mr. Walter Elliot, a member of the Parliament, has made a critical study of this cost but has finally admitted that these great burdens can be shouldered and Britain should do it. He sums up his argument in the following words:

Before undertaking these high-power examinations, let us look at the end, and the general means proposed. The end is the abolition of want; the means, a gearing-up of the productive power of our country through the removal of certain fears and certain privations, and the spread by collective action of the resources both now and in the future available. The success or failure of the whole pr ject will rest at the end on psychological, more than on material, factors. Will the producers of the country, employers and employed, be convinced that production will be sufficiently heartened and equipped—and unshackled—to undertake the gigantic tasks of the future? And will the people of this country feel themselves sufficiently assured against assault and conspiracy to entrust themselves again upon the adventure of living? No one man's work can answer these questions. It is a quarry which has been opened, not a palace. The word is now with the builders. But, assuming the highest of high hearts, and a confidence in each other—and this is the Fourth Assumption most essential of all—this also we can certainly accomplish.

Future of Atlantic Charter

During a recent debate in the American Congress, Senator Taft said that the Atlantic Charter and the agreement among the United Nations not to make a separate peace were statements of Presidential policy and should not be regarded by the world as permanently binding. Senator Vandenburg added that it was "terribly important that the world should understand this, so as not to mistake the nature of the agreements."

The Senators did not say that the Atlantic Charter would be disregarded by the U. S. A., or that a separate peace was conceivable, but they reminded the world that the international commitments made by the President alone were subject to reconsideration by the Congress at a later date. Senator Taft had said, "I do not believe that the Congress is bound to make any treaty carrying out the policies of the Charter."

If America reverts to isolationism as a post-war reaction, there is nothing to prevent a repudiation of the Charter by the Congress. Nothing that President Roosevelt says or does today can bind the people if later they turn against the policy of world collaboration as they did after the last world war.

"Freedom for India is not Enough in Itself"

Mr. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour in the British Government, addressed fifty Indian engineers who have been trained in Britain on the eve of their departure for India and said, "Freedom for India is not enough in itself." He added that

> He believed there must be a great industrial development in order to raise the standard of living. Thus, when a greater responsibility was placed upon India there would be the means to defend the country from any enemies who might seek to take it.
>
> "I look forward," he continued, "to the fullest co-operation between the peoples of Great Britain and of India. I would like to suggest a slogan to you: 'Look forward and not backward.' History is a great guide, but it can handicap us if we let it colour our minds too much. Keep your minds on the future and work for the day when there will be a greater equality in the standard of living."

It is a pity that a British Cabinet Minister does not know, or pretends not to know, how systematically India's attempts at industrial development have been checked by the application of the D.I.R. Freedom for India *is* enough in itself; it is only after the attainment of freedom that India can expect to mould her own industrial life with a view to raise the standard of living of her masses impoverished through two centuries of British rule.

India at the United Nations' Food Conference

The *Commerce* has given a good account of the work of the Indian delegation at the United Nations' Food Conference held at Hot Springs, Virginia, U. S. A. According to this journal:

> These delegates are reported to have taken and are still taking an active part in the deliberations of all important committees. Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, the head of the delegation and Sir P. M. Kharegat, the Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, are, for instance, engaged in the Section of the Conference formulating plans for the creation of a permanent international organisation *to solve the world's food problems*. Mr. W. R. Ackroyd, Sir David Meek, and Mr. H. S. Malik, the other three members of the delegation, are devoting themselves to discussion of such subjects as consumption deficiencies, consequences of malnutrition, reasonable goals for improved food consumption, measures for improving the standards of food consumption and means of directing production and developing and conserving agricultural resources.

The *Commerce* understands that the India's rice shortage position also attracted the attention during the Hot Springs discussions. Expert opinion there seems to believe that little can be done by the Conference or the Relief Conference, which is likely to be held very shortly. The starving masses of India should be grateful to learn that her rice needs were recognised at the Conference, although nothing could be done. Burma, Siam and French Indo-China are cut off, but we are yet to know whether any of the Indian 'delegates' mentioned the possibility of rice import into India from South America and encouraging more production in this country along really scientific lines. The Section of the International Food Conference dealing with the expansion of production has been content with recommending plans to secure quick alleviation of famine and hunger in war-torn countries.

India is probably the only country in the world which can silently tolerate scheming for the alleviation of famine in war-torn countries—more accurately, those in Europe—by persons claiming to represent her, while her own people, men, women and children are starving.

Cost of 1,000-Bomber Raid

The *Observer*, London, writes:

> What has become of those 1,000-bomber raids on Germany.
>
> One explanation has been the demands in other parts of the world for these bomber aircraft, notably for air transport.
>
> The aircraft York was mentioned in the House last week, and whilst still referring to this air-craft it was mentioned that it is a redesigned bomber.
>
> Possibly, though, there have been other considerations—arguments which must apply with equal force to the enemy—and these may explain why we have had no massed raids on this country for so long.
>
> TWO MILLION POUNDS
>
> Assuming a five per cent. loss ratio, made up of our average announced losses in the 1,000-bomber raids, plus a smaller proportion of aircraft rendered unserviceable because of landing crashes or of damage from enemy A. A. or night fighters, we may lose, say, fifty aircraft a raid.
>
> If the average cost of these aircraft is £40,000 each, the total cost in machines amounts roughly to £2,000,000.
>
> Then we must consider the crews. An average of seven men per aircraft represents a loss of 350, whose training "cost" can be reckoned at £5,000 each, or about £1,175,000. To this we must add the cost of bombs and petrol.
>
> An aero engine uses about eight ounces of high octane fuel per horse-power per hour. Thus it is calculated that not less than a million gallons of high octane fuel is used in a 1,000-bomber raid: that is, about 3,500 tons—the capacity of a small tanker.
>
> SUM TOTAL
>
> The Commander-in-Chief, Bomber Command and other Air Ministry spokesmen have stated that they wanted enough aircraft to be able to bomb Germany "round the clock" and night after night. The weather will, of course, prevent this. No official estimate has been given of the time such an operation would take. But London was bombed on almost a hundred successive nights. Let us suppose we undertake, say, ninety raids, as soon as and as weather permits, on the scale that Bomber Command want. Proportionately ninety raids would cost £450,000,000, four thousand five hundred

machines, over 30,000 aircrew, and the use of 270,000 tons of fuel for aircraft engines alone. The cost in money does not matter, what counts in war is resources.

Results are too uncertain for such a gamble as this with such a colossal "write off." If we were certain that the war could and would be ended by this means it would take a brave leader—possibly a foolhardy one—to risk it. It would so weaken us in aircraft, in equipment, and in highly-trained personnel that at the end we should be left "wide open" and defenceless in the air.

GOERING'S FAILURE

In June, 1940, when the Nazis, to their great surprise, found themselves in a geographical position from which they could invade Britain—had they the ships to do it—Goering persuaded the High Command (OKW, as it is called) to let him try to defeat us by bombing.

Less than a year later the Germans gave it up. I suggest that, in doing so, they were not uninfluenced by such arguments as I have outlined. It is clear that in this case resources dictated policy.

Thenceforward, the Luftwaffe was tied to the Army and Navy and bombed towns only in mass raids, as at Stalingrad, as part of an Army plan. The expected results had to be definite and rapid to justify the expenditure, in vain though it turned out to be.

This, then, is one more pointer to the Germans belief that the decisive place, in which battle between R.A.F. and Luftwaffe must again decide the fate of the world, is in the air above the land-and-sea operations area. It is there that we must—and do—concentrate our air strength.

This explains why Germany and England both had stopped the 1000-Bomber raids after some time.

Price Control in America

The U. S. Office of Price Administration has launched a vigorous campaign to push prices down. The measure has attended with immediate success. Important food prices have gone down throughout the nation within a very short time. The scheme, in short, is given below:

"The OPA is using three big weapons for price control. First is 'area pricing.' Instead of setting general price ceilings on a national basis, the OPA is now fixing prices on a community basis with specific dollars-and-cents ceilings. This avoids the many confusions and complications of the old system. It makes price enforcement easier and helps the housewife to understand just what prices she can legally be asked to pay in her neighbourhood.

"An important part of this new programme is establishing 'price panels'—citizen committees working in each locality. Their job is to educate both the storekeeper and the shopper in the rules and regulations of the new price control set-up. The committees will also play an important part in checking violations.

"The second weapon is the 'roll back.' When the OPA reduces prices at the retail level, the reduction is carried back all along the line, so that the price which the retailer pays to his distributor and the price which the distributor pays to his wholesaler are also reduced.

"Subsidies are the third weapon which the OPA is beginning to use to keep the lid on price ceilings. Government payments to business enable companies to continue to operate, making higher prices unnecessary.

"When the programme swings into high gear in June, almost every important food which American families use will be reduced. Meats will cost an average of three or even four cents per pound less than recent prices. Similar reductions will be effective for canned goods, coffee, butter and other foods.

"*With rationing, on the one hand, making foods available to everybody equally, and prices lowered to bring them within the budget of every American family, the actual food situation is good.* As a result, the people of the United States are not suffering under privations, despite the enormous amounts of food which are going overseas for the United Nations' fighting forces and the Lend-Lease programme."—(Italics ours. ED., *M. R.*).

Within two months, May and June, America has been able to control the soaring prices. A new department has been created which has acted and produced quick results. In India, several departments, both at the centre and in the provinces, have been created; white and brown experts drawing fat salaries have assumed charge of them, but the prices of all essential commodities are going as steadily upward as ever. The net result in our case has been an additional tax burden, without any *quid pro quo*.

National Service Life Insurance in America

The U. S. A. Government has provided a National Service Life Insurance Scheme for safeguarding the interests of the family of a soldier. According to it, every American soldier serving in the European theatre of war is expected to have a 10,000 dollar policy. There is no medical examination and even men in hospital or those being treated for mental disorder are eligible. The policy costs from 6 dollars 40 cents per month for 18-year olds to 12 dollar 70 cents for men of fifty. Premiums are deducted from the pay and the policy cannot lapse wherever the holder is sent.

By taking this bold step in wartime insurance, America has shown that in her fight for freedom and democracy, she has not forgotten the monetary welfare of a soldier's family.

Value of "Dissenters" is Stressed by U. S. Supreme Court Justice

WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, June 7.
(By Cable).

The United States derives great strength and faith during a crisis from its respect for its "dissenters," Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas declared at the commencement exercises of William and Mary College here.

Justice Douglas said that the recognition of such minorities was the cornerstone of the nation's cultural and spiritual values.

"Our dissenters perform an honoured function, although in Germany they would fill concentration camps and in Japan graveyards," he declared. "They make the nation listen to views which may be unpopular and even noxious, but opposition serves to keep alive the independent spirit of America and to expose all phases of the problems on which the people must ultimately cast their ballots."

Justice Douglas pointed out that Hitler and Tojo could not conceive of one man daring to disagree with the State or the Emperor.—USOWI.

Release and Re-arrest

A Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court has held by a majority that the Ordinance amending Rule 26 of the D.I.R. was *ultra vires* in the case arising out of the *habeas corpus* applications made on behalf of nine detenus who were being detained under Rule 26 of the D.I.R., and Court ordered immediate release of all the persons holding that their detention was improper. Two of the judges, Sen and Mitter JJ., held that the detention of the applicants was improper while the third judge, Khundker J., held the detention to be proper. The *habeas corpus* applications had been filed following the decision of the Federal Court that Rule 26 of the D.I.R. was *ultra vires.*

At the conclusion of his judgment Mr. Justice Sen observed: It is not for us to criticise the wisdom or the propriety of the Defence of India Act or the rules made thereunder. Our duty is to determine their validity and if they are found valid to administer them according to law. We realise that in times of emergency the executives have to be given extraordinary powers, which may have the effect of keeping out to some extent judicial scrutiny of acts done by the executive. But when through some unexpected crevice in the barriers of judicial action a cry against an illegal act does reach this Court it becomes our duty to be vigilant and to see that the liberty of none of His Majesty's subjects is touched except in strict compliance with the law and neither the clouds of war nor the dust of political upheaval must be allowed to obscure our vision or blur that strict scrutiny which we must always bring to bear upon any action which savours of oppression or injustice.

By order of the judges, the detenus were set at liberty but were immediately afterwards and in the High Court building re-arrested under Regulation III of 1818.

The action of the executive following the judgments of Sen and Mitter JJ. has again demonstrated the growing tendency of the Indian Executive to belittle the Judiciary. In their attempt to curb the appellate jurisdiction of the High Courts in Criminal cases, the Executive in India has made it abundantly clear that they still believe in the rough and ready methods of justice whose support is the gallows and the bayonet. In the recent judgments delivered by the Federal Court and Bombay and Calcutta High Courts, the Judiciary in India have given ample evidence of their desire to resist this aggression on their powers. Due to the continuous and systematic curtailment of civil liberties both in war and in peace, people in this country had begun to look upon personal liberty as a special privilege enjoyed through the sufferance of the Executive—more accurately, the C. I. D. police. They have practically forgotten that this is an idea utterly alien to civilised modes of thought, since with all nations claiming to be civilised freedom of person is not a special privilege but the outcome of the ordinary law of the land *enforced by the Courts.* Individual rights are the basis, not the result, of the law of any civilised constitution.

The judgments of Sen and Mitter JJ. of the Calcutta High Court has assured the people that there is still a security, however slender it might be, that the right of personal freedom has more than a nominal existence.

Ordinance Cannot Amend an Act

In their judgment on the *habeas corpus* applications, Sen and Mitter JJ. held that the new Ordinance promulgated by the Governor-General Validative Rule 26, of the D.I.R., was *ultra vires* of the Ordinance-making powers of the Governor-General, as in the opinion of their lordships the Governor-General by an Ordinance under Sec. 72 of the Government of India Act could not amend outright an Act of the Central Indian Legislature. Mr. Justice Mitter, in his judgment, fully dealt with this question and said:

Repeal by repugnancy of the law made by one competent legislative body by another legislative body equally competent to legislate on the same subject was one thing and direct repeal by one of the legislative enactments of the other was another thing. In case of the first type the Court had jurisdiction to decide but in the last type that jurisdiction would be robbed. This in his lordship's judgment was a distinction of fundamental nature which prevented the applicability of the principle, that where an authority could do away with a thing indirectly an authority could also do away with it directly, to a case of type which they had before them, a case where one legislature by its express provision sought to override the act of another legislature, both the legislatures deriving their powers from the same paramount legislature, and both being equally competent to legislate on the subject. His Lordship went further and held that the observations of Lord Watson (in L.R. 1896 A.C. 348) laid down a sound general principle. The observation made was to the effect:

The Dominion Parliament has no authority conferred on it by the British North American Act to repeal directly any Provincial Statute where it does or does not come within the limits of jurisdiction prescribed by Section 92. The repeal of a Provincial Act by the Parliament of Canada can only be effected by repugnancy between its provisions and the enactments of the

Dominion and if the existence of such a repugnancy should become a matter of dispute the controversy cannot be settled by the action either of the Dominion or of the Provincial Legislature but must be subjected to the judicial tribunals of the country. In their Lordships' opinion the express repeal of the old Provincial Act of 1864 by the Canada Dominion Act of 1866 was not within the authority of the Parliament of Canada."

In the opinion of Mr. Justice Mitter these observations would apply equally to the case with which their Lordships were concerned.

His Lordship said that the case before them was in essential features of the same type. Both the Central Indian Legislature and the Governor-General exercising their functions under Section 72 derived their authority and power to legislate from the same act of Paliament. Both were competent to legislate on items of Lists 1 and 111, bearing upon peace and good government of British India. An Act of Parliament did not give express powers to the Governor-General to directly repeal or amend an act of the Central Indian Legislature. His Lordship therefore held that the Governor-General had no power to repeal directly and in express terms any act of the Central Indian Legislature. The power to amend stood on the same principle, for whereas repeal meant destruction of the whole, amendment meant destruction of a part, followed might be but not necessarily by the creation of a substitute.

His Lordship accordingly held that Section 2 of Ordinance 14 of 1943 was *ultra vires* the powers of the Governor-General.

Government of Bengal asked for leave to appeal to the Federal Court against this judgment and the Court granted it.

Deliberate Distortion of Indian History

Sir Muhammad Azizul Huq cannot certainly be blamed if he had failed to resist the temptation of delivering a discourse on Indian history in a public meeting in London held under the auspices of the East India Association. He had thus utilised a few moments of the leisure he had been enjoying as the High Commissioner for India in a congenial London climate. The substance of his speech was that ancient India was grand and India under the Muslims was grander —but here he paused and looking around the all-white audience, declared that India under the British was grander still. He felt proud that " by divine coincidence the first Muslim dynasty was a slave dynasty." This pride raked up his own innate slave mentality, he lost the thread of his primary object to eulogise the Muslim rule and came to the inevitable conclusion that India under the British was the grandest paradise.

Sir Muhammad emphatically said that " it is a recorded fact in history that in many places the advent of the Mussalmans was welcomed by the people." He however failed to cite a single evidence in support of his categorical statement which finds no support on fact. Again he said, " With the establishment of Muslim rule a new India was born. First came the organisation of India as one political entity and one state. Just at the time the Mussalmans came, there was nothing known of India as one country. The Mussalman rule gave it the shape of one country and gave India the name of Hindustan." In this cleverly written passage, the speaker endeavoured to convey an idea to a foreign people innocent of all knowledge of Indian history that it was the Muslim Rule which for the first time attempted the unification of India. Such a deliberate distortion of historical facts for the purpose of making communal and political propaganda is rarely to be seen.

In the discussion that followed the course, the Speaker had got a sharp rebuff from Sir Alfred Watson. Sir Alfred gave the true key to the understanding of the Muslim rule when he said that the eloquence of Sir Azizul did not blind him to the fact that behind the splendid facade of Muslim rule in India lay the miseries of an enslaved people. The people of India will, however, admit that the Muslim rule was bad but in many respects it was better than the British.

Will Molotov be Helpful in a Conference on India ?

Mr. H. Wilson Harris, editor of the *Spectator*, had presided over the East India Association meeting mentioned above. After Sir Azizul had finished his discourse, the Chairman said that many present would have read the correspondence on India in the *Times*, and in particular a letter from Sir George Schuster. There were two points in Sir George's letter; with one of them he was in wholehearted agreement and from the other he dissented. Sir George had taken the strongest suggestion that we should take or refrain from taking a certain line in India because of the impression it would make upon American opinion.

The opinion of Sir George Schuster which the Chairman could not share, was that it would be disadvantageous to have a Conference of the United Nations on the future of India. It was a subject which must be dealt with with great wisdom, restraint and knowledge, and he did not believe that knowledge existed among their Allies to the necessary degree. Whilst he shared to the full the universal admiration for Russia's astonishing military achievements, he doubted whether the presence of Mr. Molotov, for example, in a Conference on India would be helpful.

Mr. Harris's speech contains material for understanding why Britain is so reluctant to face a discussion on India in a United Nations Conference.

The Food Drive in Bengal

The Minister for Civil Supplies had launched a province-wide food drive in Bengal in order to unearth hoarded foodstuff in the country. Calcutta and Howrah, the two strongholds of the really powerful hoarders, had, for some mysterious and unexplained reason, been left out of this drive. The scheme for this drive was disclosed to the public on June 4, the date for the beginning of the drive being fixed on June 7. This scheme had been drawn up mainly on two assumptions—(1) that there was no shortage of food in the Province and (2) that rice was hoarded in the villages.

Immediately after the Party Leaders Conference in which the Government's Food Drive Scheme was discussed, Messrs. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Kiran Sankar Ray, Santosh K. Basu, Shamsuddin Ahmed, Hem Chandra Nasker and Dr. S. P. Mookerjee issued the following statement :

"On the 17th May last the party leaders in the Bengal Legislature were invited by Sir Nazimuddin, Chief Minister, to attend a Conference regarding the food situation, Mr. Suhrawardy, the Food Minister, was also present at the meeting and a general discussion took place. It was the unanimous request of the party leaders and *this was agreed to by the Ministers, that the Government scheme should be circulated so that they might give their considered opinion* on a matter vitally affecting the welfare of the province. Since that meeting the situation has undergone steady deterioration.

"During the last few days reports reached us of a food drive organised by Government. Certain leaflets circulated in this connection also came to our hands. We were, however, *utterly in the dark regarding the detailed scheme*. Only two days ago we received a fresh invitation from the Food Minister to attend a conference on the morning of the 4th June, and the *detailed scheme was not circulated till the night of the 3rd June*.

A PROTEST

"It appears that this very *scheme was circulated* somedays ago *to various persons* in different parts of the province *and instructions had* already *been issued to local officers* to give effect to it on and from the 7th June, 1943. We attended the Conference on Friday morning and recorded our protest against the procedure adopted by the Ministry. *The party leaders were presented with an accomplished fact. No attempt was made to arrive at an agreed scheme by open and frank discussion.*

"We are in favour of action being taken against big stockists, hoarders and profiteers, who are thriving today in the province at the expense of unfortunate people suffering from want and privation. But *the persons against whom the drive is proposed to be undertaken is not this class of the privileged few*, but will include the ordinary people, the agriculturists and persons of modest means who before any investigation, are supposed to have hoarded plenty out of a sense of panic or profit-making. We cannot approve of the propaganda carried on by the Ministry that there is no real shortage of rice and paddy in the province. We deprecate this attempt to shift the responsibility from Government to the people themselves without proper data and investigation. That stock-taking is desirable and necessary no one can deny. But in the instructions issued Government have laid down criteria as to hoarding which are vague, incomplete, misleading and in certain important respects self-contradictory. These instructions, we are afraid, might lead to gross abuse of power and cause widespread hardship and suffering.

EVASION OF RESPONSIBILITY

"In our opinion the Ministry should face the present crisis boldly, acknowledge that there is shortage, organise with the co-operation of all parties and of the people for the best use of stock available, and what is most important, simultaneously guarantee that rice or wheat and preferably both will be brought to the province in sufficiently large quantities.

"Before it is too late, Government must accept the responsibility in this crisis for giving food to the people at fair and reasonable prices. While they should immobilise stocks within the province without prejudice to the legitimate interests of the agriculturist and the consumer, they must arrange for import of rice and wheat from outside the province. The scheme as at present contemplated amounts in effect to an evasion of responsibility on the part of Government. *All exports must be stopped. Purchases by Government and big employers at fancy price must be effectively checked.* The rice that is coming or may come from outside must be made available to the suffering consumers at a reasonably low price and must not disappear into the black market or be controlled by influential profiteers.

"The first step in the proposed drive consists in the collection of statistics of surplus stock available in the province. The public should keep a vigilant eye over the activities in connection with the food drive and see that the correct state of affairs is recorded and revealed."

Mr. Suhrawardy, however, did not lose his optimism. On June 8, he declared that his visits to Bihar and Orissa had yielded satisfactory results. About the food drive, he said :

Today is the first day of the food drive which is being undertaken *in every nook and corner of the province*. The special feature of this great experiment is the association to the fullest extent possible of non-official agencies with official effort towards the solution of the all important problem of an equitable distribution of all available stocks in the province. *Upon the success of this experiment depends the welfare of the poorest* sections of the community during the next few months until the next harvest is reaped. (Italics ours. —ED., *M. R.*).

On June 13, nearly one week after the drive, Mr. Suhrawardy had nothing to say, while another statement was issued over the signatures of Messrs. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Kiran Sankar Ray, Santosh Kumar Basu, Shamsuddin Ahmed, Hem Chandra Nasker and Dr. S. P. Mookerjee :

"We have received enquiries regarding the attitude to be taken up by the public towards the anti-hoarding drive of the Bengal Government. We do not think that it would be advisable for the public to keep aloof from the local organisations set up or proposed to be set up for the purpose. The public should be extremely alert so that these committees are formed with honest and representative men, and where the committees have already been formed with undesirable persons, they should carefully and systematically watch their working so that the public may not be harassed in any way. We have not the slightest sympathy for those who hoard rice or paddy for profit but at the same time the peasant producer and the ordinary householder should be allowed to keep foodstuffs for his family and dependents for at least six months. In making an estimate of six months' reserve in any particular area account must be taken of the necessary provisions for seeds and other essential requirements which are ordinarily met by selling one's surplus stock.

"*We desire to warn the public that stockists and profiteers from Calcutta and elsewhere have started to take advantage of the drive, and in view of the free movement of rice, to buy rice and paddy from the rural areas at high rates. Government has not taken any step to prevent the rural areas being thus completely dried up* Such movements of rice and paddy should be checked until correct statistics are collected. Any surplus available must first feed starving people in the local areas themselves Government must also come out with its definite scheme for immediate supply of rice and paddy for all areas which will be found deficit in stocks." (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

The Minister for Civil Supplies remained silent about the warning contained in the second paragraph of the statement.

On June 17, ten days after the drive, the Ministry of Civil Supply came out with a statement that one lakh food committees had been established in the Province. The statement contained no information as regards the amount of hoard unearthed in the villages as a result of the drive.

The following statement was issued from the Ministry of Civil Supplies, Bengal, on Thursday, the 17th June.

A Province-wide drive to locate hoards of paddy was inaugurated on June 7, and it is now possible to assess the preliminary results of a movement that has extended to every corner of Bengal. It is intended that ultimately every village in the Province, of which there are approximately 120,000, shall have one Food Committee, whose duties will broadly consist of taking stock of village resources and arranging for their equitable and amicable distribution amongst the village population as a whole The village Food Committee is in fact an extension of the traditional *panchayet* into a new sphere of activity and usefulness. Already 100,000 such committees have been set up, and Government will only encroach on purely village food administration where persuasion has failed, or where a surplus in one area has to be transferred to a deficit area.

In addition to the Committees some 30,000 whole ime workers are employed in the Food Drive. It is hoped that the village committees will, in fact, develop into something more than mere agencies for the unfreezing of hoards of food grains—necessary as this function undoubtedly is. In the long run the Committees should establish themselves as the means by and through which rural food policy will be determined and carried out, and Government are anxious that this aspect of the work should be fully understood by the public. Such is the broad picture.

A noteworthy feature of reports so far received from the districts are cases in which individual surpluses of food grains have been voluntarily disbursed by their owners amongst their less fortunate neighbours. On the other hand, in one or two isolated cases, panic was caused by rumours that Government were taking a census for the purpose of removing rice out of particular areas. As a result of educative propaganda, the situation is now better understood, and villagers have come to recognise that the authorities have no intention of removing stocks except to assist areas in serious deficit. Meanwhile, forward planning has not been neglected and, with a view to checking any rise in prices later in the year, District Officers have been authorised to requisition 25 per cent or more of all stocks in excess of 300 maunds held by traders or agriculturists, the surplus of the balance of the agriculturists' stocks being available for distribution through the Food Committees.

Prices of rice have shown some decline in Calcutta and a number of districts have reported falls, the most noticeable being Jessore and Khulna, where the rate has fallen by Rs. 7 to Rs. 20 per maund and by Rs. 10 to Rs. 16 respectively, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts where there has been a drop from Rs. 19 to Rs. 16 per maund.

The concluding paragraph of this statement was false and misleading. Price of rice in Calcutta had not gone down by a single pice and whatever decline there was in Jessore, Khulna or Chittagong Hill Tracts, it was a purely local affair and did in no way prove that the Ministry of Civil Supply were right in thinking that there were large hoards in the districts.

The discomfiture of the Ministry was complete when Mr. Suhrawardy had no information to give about the discovery of hoards and wanted to cloud the main issue by a new big scheme of doing away with the control shops and replacing them by 400 Government shops in Calcutta without telling his audience anything about the supply. He explained the failure of his food drive by saying that "goods have been shifted into jungles or removed by boats and carts." When he had got this precious piece of information why had he not seized them? Why did he not requisition the aid of the C. I. D. Police? Were they so busy rearresting already arrested people that they had no time to spare for helping him in his drive?

Question of Food Shortage

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee has contributed a foreword, to the monograph, 'Food Problem of Bengal,' written by Prof. H. C. Ghosh and Sj. Bimal Chandra Sinha. In his foreword, Dr. Mookerjee has challenged the Governmental theory of no shortage in the following words:

The Ministry has been stating, contrary to facts, that there is no real shortage of foodstuff in the province, and has put undue emphasis on private hoarding as the principal cause of shortage in supply. This is a deliberate device to shift the responsibility from the shoulders of Government to the unfortunate sufferers themselves. No one denies there is some hoarding but the recent campaign of the Ministry is directed not against the big stockists, profiteers and hoarders who thrive on official patronage and who have completely upset the market by their policy of purchase at fancy prices. *There is no drive against Government itself which has also been a purchaser without consideration of price.* The present drive will take place in rural areas to find out surplus stock. Stock-taking is both desirable and necessary. But it is criminal to start with a pet theory that there is large hoarding in rural areas and that one section of the people, to quote the language of an official leaflet, is grinding the faces of the poor, before any investigation is made or any statistics are obtained by Government. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

The writers of the monograph have disputed the accuracy of the figures given by Maj.-Gen. Wood who endeavours to show that not only there is no deficit, there is a *surplus* of 285,000 tons of rice this year. His data are :

		Tons
Current year's production	..	6,916,000
Carry over (lowest figure)	..	1,000,000
		7,916,000
Central Government's supply	..	550,000
Total	..	8,466,000
Average annual production for last 5 yrs. 1936-37 to 1940-41	...	—8,181,000
Therefore, surplus	..	285,000

According to Prof. Ghosh and Mr. Sinha the calculation should be as follows :

		Tons
Production for 1941-42	..	10,190,000
Average annual net import	..	264,000
Backward carry over from 1940-41	..	—2,138,000
(Due to deficit in actual production in 1941-42 amounting to 6,043,000 tons as against average production of 8,181,000 tons).		
Total available for 1941-42	..	8,316,000
		Tons
Less requirements for 1941-42 for consumption and seeds	..	9,260,000
Carry over from 1941-42	..	—944,000

Calculating with this backward carry over, the total available for 1943 comes to :

		Tons
Production	..	6,916,000
Contribution from Central Government	..	550,000
Net imports	..	—154,000
Backward carry over	..	—944,000
Total		6,368,000

i.e., there is a deficit of 8,181,000—6,368,000=1,813,000 tons

The *Financial Times* of Calcutta has also disputed the accuracy of Maj.-Gen. Wood's figures and said :

There can be no plausible argument to justify continuance of this rate, Rs. 30 to Rs. 35 per maund, if there had been adequate supply in the market. This will undoubtedly lead us to conclude that all Government measures to keep the price effectively under control have totally failed to bring about the desired result. Statistics now in possession of the Government seem to be based on wrong assumptions. Consequently, policy adopted on the basis of these statistics prove useless and ineffective.

Government of Bengal have *asserted* that there is no shortage but have been unable to *prove* it. The failure of the food drive leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Government had built up their theory of no shortage on insufficient data and innaccurate premises.

Requisitioning of Dwelling-houses

The Statesman, in an editorial on June 26, writes :

Requisitioning of premises for Governmental needs tells hardly on those suddenly made homeless. It is no less difficult for most of them to find new homes than for the requisitioners to find offices, and they have no special powers by which they can help themselves. What is a man to do who with wife and family is turned at short notice out of his flat, where he has lived for years, because some department wants more office room ? His flat gave them a home for 24 hours in the day, as an office it serves for 8 or 9, and is empty at night. What is a Calcutta nurse to do if turned out of her room ? She might light on another at Ranaghat or Asansol, but then she ceases to be a Calcutta nurse, which was her calling and livelihood. Letters which we receive, few of which we can publish, testify to the very strong feelings about some of the things that have been done. In general a home deserves much more consideration than an office; contrivance can make an office more easily than a home. Greater things than file sheets have before today been written on soap boxes in sheds. The Defence of India Act and Rules reduce the citizen's rights by giving special powers to authority. To balance this it must become someone's moral obligation to take thought for the dispossessed citizen. Otherwise there will be serious trouble.

This newspaper did not utter a single word when men, women and children had been ejected from their ancestral village homes in the Province at ridiculously short notice. It threatens "*serious trouble*" now when flats in the favoured quarters are being vacated.

Pandit Sunderlal

We are sorry to learn from a reliable source that Pandit Sunderlal—the distinguished author, journalist and orator of Northern India—has been suffering from heart disease in Central Jail Naini for the last eight months.

Pandit Sunderlalji has been a great worker in the cultural and literary field and it

will be a real tragedy if his life is shortened in this manner. Let us hope the U. P. Government will take a long view of things and release Sunderlalji, before it is too late.

China Day

China begins the seventh year of her war with Japan on July 7. India celebrates China day on that memorable date. India and China are two great nations who lived in peace and amity on two sides of the same frontier, not for years, not for decades but for milleniums together. India had cultural and economic contacts with her great neighbour from the remotest past without a single instance of political explosion. Both the nations bear the torch of two of the loftiest cultures the world has ever seen. Both in India and in China, civilisation is grounded on a simple rural economy which has taught them plain living and high thinking, brought them closer and has given them power to sustain the fiercest aggression and imperialist onslaught with a steadfastness unknown to the West.

Proposed Ceylon Constitution

Mr. Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, has recently made an important pronouncement with reference to the constitution that is intended to be conferred on Ceylon, after the war. The Board of Ministers in Ceylon have been informed that the British Government are pledged to a policy of a "post-war reconstruction" of a constitution, "directed towards grant to Ceylon of full responsible government under the Crown in all matters of internal administration."

The offer of the British Government is, however, qualified by the declaration, made by Mr. Oliver Stanley, in the House of Commons, that "defence and foreign relations will be retained by the British Government," and further that "there will also be safeguards regarding the rights of British subjects in Ceylon, trade and shipping with any part of the Commonwealth, racial and religious matters and currency." This is further elucidated by the statement that the reservation will extend to Bills "which (*a*) relate to royal prerogative, rights and property of His Majesty's subjects not residing in the island, and trade and shipping of any part of the Commonwealth; (*b*) have evoked serious opposition by any racial or religious community and in the Governor's opinion are likely to involve oppression or unfairness to any community and (*c*) relate to currency." The scheme is subject to the stipulation that eventually, after the war, there will be "such detailed examination and precision of definition as could not be achieved during the war," "by a suitable commission or conference of such detailed proposals as the ministers may, in the meantime, have been able to formulate, by way of a complete constitutional scheme subject to the clear understanding that acceptance by His Majesty's Government of any proposals will depend, firstly, upon His Majesty's Government being satisfied that they are in full compliance with this declaration, and secondly, upon their subsequent approval by three-quarters of all members of the State Council of Ceylon."

The offer has already been accepted by the Board of Ministers in Ceylon. In the course of a statement on the subject, the leader of the State Council, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, says: "We have given the declaration the interpretation that we think it is intended to bear, and we propose to inform the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that we are proceeding to frame a constitution in accordance with our interpretation." Referring to the reservations in regard to defence and external affairs the Ministers, among other things, observe: "The declaration does not assert that defence and external affairs would be withdrawn from the scope of self-government. These subjects would be transferred from the Chief Secretary to responsible ministers." Further: "We don't think special provisions relating to defence and external affairs are necessary. We regret, therefore, we are not to be regarded as Canada and Australia are regarded as potential allies in any just cause." With reference to the other safeguards and restrictions, the Ministers appear to be satisfied with the idea that the Governor will not act contrary to the wishes of the Ministers in those matters, for by taking such a course he "would run the risk of being unable to find Ministers who are prepared to work the constitution as he interpreted it." They add: "We don't like qualifications. We think, however, the offer should be accepted in the belief on the one hand, that the qualifications are unnecessary and on the other that they would decay from disuse as similar qualifications have decayed elsewhere. We also wish to point out that a responsible Government alone is entitled to speak for Ceylon in conferences of the British Commonwealth and Councils of Nations."

The present declaration of the British Government about the future constitution of Ceylon is quite in keeping with the policy enunciated from time to time by Mr. Winston Churchill and other British Imperialists, in

respect of the control and administration of British colonies after the war. The logical outcome of this policy, if adopted, cannot but be the continued use of the colonies and other possessions of Britain as fields for exploitation and aggrandisement by the British people and all that this implies. The Board of Ministers in Ceylon seem to have taken a too optimistic view of the nature of the situation with which they are confronted. They should profit by the bitter and sad experience already gained by India in spheres of almost identical reservations, safeguards and conditions. In Ceylon it is essential that they should not only have a fresh election but there should also be a demand for a constituent assembly on the basis of adult franchise. In view of the numerous ties, such as geographical, racial, social, cultural, economic, etc., between India and Ceylon, it cannot be denied that the progress of the two countries are bound up each with the other. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that leaders of public opinion in the two countries should remain equally wide-awake and vigilant.

S. K. L.

Pandit Kunzru on the Situation

While addressing the members and associates of the Servants of India Society, on the occasion of the thirty-seventh anniversary of the Society, held at Poona on the 14th June last, the Hon. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru made an important speech. In his address the President of the Society reviewed the present political situation at some length. Pandit Kunzru's speech is supplemented by a number of clearly worded resolutions adopted by the Society on the occasion. As a result, the country has before it the considered views on some of the more pressing and important among the questions agitating the public mind at the present moment. The Society and its President dealt with such matters as, refusal of the British Government to allow prominent leaders to interview Mahatma Gandhi in prison with a view to a proper settlement of the present political deadlock, the indefinite detention of Mahatma Gandhi on which the Rt. Hon. Sir Tez Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Jayakar and several other prominent leaders addressed a communication to the Viceroy some time ago, Mr. Jinnah's reactions to the Government's refusal to transmit Gandhiji's letter to him, and to permit Gandhiji to meet him, the move to set up ministries without parliamentary majorities in provinces where Section 93 of the Government of India Act is in force, the mir..e of the present censorship regulations regarding news supplied to newspapers in the country and sent to foreign countries, the anti-Indian legislation in South Africa, etc., and the views they expressed are a true reflection of the public feeling in the country. Pandit Kunzru dwelt on the unwillingness on the part of Government to part with power and their determination to exploit Hindu-Muslim differences in their own interests. "Influential persons in England," he said, "had talked of smashing Germany after the war by cutting her off into a number of states. It would not be surprising if such people wanted to divide this country also into several states, so that the British position might be affected as little as possible." It seemed to him that the authorities did not want to give them opportunities to settle their internal differences, as it was obviously to their advantage that the existing position should be continued as long as possible. Dealing with Mr. Jinnah's reactions Pandit Kunzru said that

> "While some of his own important supporters had condemned Government, Mr. Jinnah was not anxious to come into conflict with Government. Mr. Jinnah has stated that Gandhiji should negotiate on the basis of Pakistan. Like Government, he wanted fulfilment of his demands to precede negotiations, which was an intolerable position. He was far more concerned with interests of one community than with those of the country. In such a situation, it was futile to look to him for help in gaining our freedom."

Pandit Kunzru condemned the move for setting up ministries in Section 93 Provinces, and said this was due to Government's desire to show to the outside world that democratic government was functioning in the provinces. He pointed out how unjust the anti-Indian legislation adopted in South-Africa was to Indians. Referring to censorship of news in the country,—and in this connection he exposed as utterly arbitrary and unjustifiable the order recently issued against the writings and speeches of Mr. Louis Fischer—Pandit Kunzru said that it was exercised in such a way as to prevent Indian views from being adequately presented to the outside world. He knew that statements relating to the political situation and Mahatma Gandhi's detention had been mutilated in order to suit the interest of the Government. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru urged that all parties now functioning in the country should make a united front and carry on a persistent agitation for fulfilment of India's demands.

S. K. L.

The Servant of India Society on the Deadlock

The Council of the Servant of India Society at a meeting, held at Poona, on the 14th

June last, on the occasion of the thirty-seventh anniversary of the Society, very appropriately discussed the position created in the country by the present Indian deadlock. The Council adopted a comprehensive and well-reasoned resolution condemning the "obstructionist" policy pursued by Government in the matter and calling upon them to set at liberty the Congress leaders now that the situation in respect of law and order has so greatly improved and thus pave the way for a proper settlement. The Resolution runs thus:

The Council of the Servants of India Society views with grave concern the situation created by Government's refusal to permit Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and the deputation of the Delhi Leaders' Conference to interview Mahatma Gandhi in prison with a view to securing a solution of the present political stalemate. The Secretary of State soon after the arrest of Congress leaders promised in the House of Commons, to change the Government's policy if the Congress recalled its resolution of 8th August, 1942. This promise necessarily implies the grant of facilities to the incarcerated Congress leaders to meet for the purpose of taking counsel with each other and of consulting men belonging to other political parties. But the refusal of such facilities renders it impossible for the Congress to revise its policy collectively even though most members of that organisation may be so inclined. The Council cannot too strongly condemn the obstructionist policy of Government which will not only intensify the discontent in the country and prevent the formation of a National Government but also seriously impede the war effort. Indeed the situation in respect of law and order has so greatly improved that the Council feels that Congress leaders can be set at liberty without any serious risk to public peace. It, therefore, urges that they should be released immediately and unconditionally.

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, President of the Society, also urged that Government should release Gandhiji and the members of the Congress High Command unconditionally. He felt, he said, that the changed situation would induce Gandhiji to revise his policy. "There could," Pandit Kunzru added, "be no peace on the basis of Government's demand that Gandhiji and Congress should confess their mistakes and give guarantees for the future. In recent history there was no precedent for such a demand. The Irish rebels, he pointed out in contrast, were invited to a conference unconditionally though their hands were dripping with the blood of loyalists."

S. K. L.

Indian Problem in South Africa

The proceedings of the sixteenth session of the South African Indian Congress which met at Johannesburg on the 26th June last demonstrate the extent to which the feelings of Indians in South Africa have been stirred by the series of anti-Indian and discriminating laws enacted in that part of the British Empire. Sir Shaffaat Ahmed Khan, High Commissioner, in his opening speech at the Conference, said that the Government of India had represented strongly against the Pegging Act of 1943 and made proposals which, if accepted, would have made the Act unnecessary. These proposals were, however, rejected. The Act was rushed through in such haste that there was little time for mature deliberation and the measure was passed through a House which did not have a single representative of the Indian community. Councillor K. Ismail who presided over the session of the Congress, in the course of his presidential address said that the passage of the measure in the legislature was possible because the Indians were the only section of the community who had no representation. He urged the Congress to demand a clear and unequivocal statement from Government on their future policy in regard to Indians who should be given a full picture of what was in store for them. Referring to the forthcoming conference convened by the Hon. Dr. N. B. Khare, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, Indians Overseas Department, to discuss the Indian problem in South Africa, early in July, Mr. Ismail observed: "What corrective they can bring on the Union Government is in the lap of gods." It appears from a recent speech made by Mr. M. Webb, Chairman of the Indo-European Council, Durban, that some at least among the Europeans have begun to realise the need of replacing the present policy by a liberal one. The sooner this is done the better. Mr. Webb is reported to have said that the European must realise that "segregations as policy is bound to fail." He added:

"The European must recognise that the Indian is now more than ever a permanent part of the country's population and the retrogressive policy must be replaced by a progressive one. This would entail a repeal of the Pegging Act, reversal of the White Labour Policy, and restoration to the Indian of full franchise. In this way the Indian would be given a status and the time would come when he would not be disliked as a neighbour. That would be the beginning of the end of the Indian problem in South Africa."

The Government of India must have the courage to take a bold stand at this juncture. Anything short of removal of the colour bar and equality of opportunity can never be a proper and permanent solution of the problem.

S. K. L.

Sir Shaffaat Ahmed on Anti-Indian Legislation in South Africa

Sir Shaffaat Ahmed Khan's opening speech at the sixteenth session of the South African Indian Congress, makes out a strong case in favour of a bold and resolute policy on the part of the Government of India, with a view to vindicating the position of Indians in South Africa. Sir Shaffaat Ahmed describes at the outset the important part that Indians have played in the development of Natal. "But for the intelligence and enterprise of Natal Indians," he says, "the province would never have become the prosperous and thriving colony of today." He also points out "how in spite of the enormous amount of laws passed against them, beginning with the deprivation of franchise in 1895 and ending with the Pegging legislation in 1943, besides a swarm of rules and regulations on every conceivable topic by Municipal bodies in Natal and the Transvaal, the Indian community throughout the South Africa Union, have occupied a very important position in the economic life of the country." After referring to the so-called 1939 interim Act and the Pegging Act of 1943 he describes the disabilities under which Indians live in that part of the British Empire in the following words:

> The community has been subjected to a series of humiliating laws which have deprived it of social freedom and political rights. The community has been deprived of rights of representation in local bodies and public services in the Parliament as well as in the Universities. It is denied admission even to hotels, cinemas, places of culture, is subjected to colour bar for which history affords no precedent. It seems, the greater the progress made by the Indians the greater are the restrictions imposed on their development. There was no justification whatsoever for the Pegging Act. There would have been no encroachment on the European areas, had proper provision been made for housing. Promises in this regard in the past 20 years were not fulfilled. In any event the amount of penetration which took place did not justify the act which had been condemned by world-wide opinion.
>
> The Pegging Act had dealt a heavy blow to the hopes for the amelioration of Indian conditions. It was a stigma which had aroused the conscience of the civilised world. The Act had played into the hands of Berlin and Tokyo which applauded it as propaganda against the United Nations.

It is thus found that while the country was being defended by "the valour, devotion, and sacrifice of thousands of Indian soldiers in North Africa, it took the lead in the building up of the new barriers against Indians." Sir Shaffaat says:

> Such a province could not secure immunity from invasion through the valour of Indian soldiers and at the same time segregate m[illegible] of the same colour as those soldiers. The Indians could not be separated in two parcels—one for service, the other for segregation and colour bar. So long as they are deprived of franchise and citizenship it will be the duty of the Government of India to see that the existing rights are not affected in any way.

South African Indians have, in this circumstance, decided to formulate a Charter of Rights asking for franchise and other citizenship rights which will be submitted to the Union Government by a deputation of the South African Indian Congress. If the demands of the Indian community for citizenship rights are not conceded, a deputation would be sent to India, England, and America to explain to the people of those countries the nature and extent of the "repressive policy" of the South African Government. The deputation, it is proposed, should also come into contact with leaders of the United Nations at the Peace Conference. This is certainly a move in the right direction.

S. K. L.

Delhi Conference on the South African Indian Situation

A conference of prominent non-officials, including businessmen, has been convened by Dr. N. B. Khare, in New Delhi on July 7 to discuss the South African Pegging Legislation. Among those invited to the conference are:—Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Kumara Raja Sir Mutiah Chettiar, Mr. G. L. Mehta, Sir Reza Ali, Sir Henry Richardson, Sir F. E. James, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Mr. Hossainbhai Lalji, Dr. P. N. Banerji and Master Tara Singh. It is stated that the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri was invited, but he will not be able to be present owing to indifferent health and that Mr. Jinnah has refused to attend the Conference. In view of the demands formulated by the South African Indian Congress, at its sixteenth session, a heavy responsibility rests with the Conference as also the Government of India. It is to be hoped that they would act in a way which would uphold the dignity and honour of Indians and the Government of India. As a *Reuter* message from Johannesburg states, by 49 votes to 13 the Congress adopted a substantive motion demanding that the Govern- of India sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the Union and recall the High Commissioner. The motion declares that the Pegging Act is a violation of the uplift clauses of the Cape Town agreement and firmly believes that the self-respect and honour of India demand that India's "Izzat" be maintained in the eyes of the world by the severance of relations. It is significant that by the same votes the Congress rejected a motion calling on the Govern-

ments of India and South Africa to convene a round-table conference on which Indians would be represented to review the Union Government's policy regarding Indians and to determine whether the obligations assumed by the two Governments under the Cape Town agreement had been fulfilled.

S. K. L.

What Field-Marshall Wavell Did in Palestine

We are obliged to the *Leader* for an account of an incident which shows Field Marshall Wavell's farsightedness while the ex-Commander-in-Chief of the Middle East was on a visit to Palestine. It is stated that Field Marshall Wavell wanted that the Jews should be armed and trained to fight the enemy who were then at the gates of Palestine. He came to know that they had already built up, under the leadership of Raziel, a Russian Jew, a secret self-defence corps to guard their life and property during the Arab riots. But Raziel had been placed in detention in a dungeon, on the charge of having organised an illegal corps of volunteers. The source of information of our Allahabad Contemporary is evidently the book, *That Day Alone*, by Pierre Van Passen (Publishers: Michael Joseph, Ltd., London) which states: Over the heads of the British authorities...Raziel organized a secret "security service that made an end to the depredations in a few weeks' time. His 10,000 resolute men jumped to action from any task upon which they were engaged, whenever danger threatened, and before the British troops had left their barracks." Field-Marshall Wavell was impressed with what he heard about Raziel. "That is the man I want," he said. "Raziel," writes Pierre Van Passen, was brought from prison. The charge of havin organized an illegal corps of volunteers which carried the death penalty, was torn up by the General himself." It is stated Raziel repaid the trust reposed in him by Field-Marshall Wavell and died fighting for the United Nations.

S. K. L.

B. C. Chatterjee

It is with deep regret that we record the sudden and unexpected death, after a short illness, of Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, at the age of 64, on the 20th June last, at his Calcutta residence. He was called to the Bar in 1905; and on his return from England in 1906, after completion of his studies in that country, Mr. Chatterjee threw himself heart and soul into the Swadeshi Movement. His interest in public activities never waned, and latterly he devoted considerable thought and energy to a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem. He made his mark as a successful advocate, and his success in the Bhawal Sannyasi Case, which he conducted on behalf of the Kumar, brought him well-deserved reputation and distinction. The ungrudging help that he used to render to the accused in numerous political cases naturally made him a popular figure in an important circle of political workers. Mr. Chatterjee visited England in 1933 to give evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee on behalf of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. He was a member of the Bengal Legislature of pre-autonomy days and was an Alderman of the Calcutta Corporation at the time of his death. He had the reputation of a facile writer and an attractive speaker. Mr. B. C. Chatterjee was a son-in-law of the late Surendranath Banerjea. We offer our sincerest condolence to the bereaved family of the deceased.

S. K. L.

Appointment of the New Viceroy

It is announced that Field-Marshall Sir Archibald Wavell has been appointed Viceroy and Governor-General of India. He will take up the Viceroyalty in October. General Sir Claude J. E. Auchinlek succeeds him as Commander-in-Chief of India. It has been decided that the Commander-in-Chief in India will be relieved of the responsibility for the conduct of the operations against Japan. A separate East Asia Command will be set up for that purpose. The appointment of Field Marshall Wavell once for all sets at rest the annoying and mystifying speculations about the successor of Lord Linlithgow that disturbed and confused the public mind in India for a pretty length of time—speculations that were carried on in the press mainly by the agents and supporters of the numerous candidates and aspirants for the high office. A very unpleasing feature of the appointment is the unwelcome departure that His Majesty's Government have made from the long-accepted and well-established principle that the Viceroy and Governor-General of India should be chosen from among distinguished publicmen and statesmen belonging to the civil side of life. It was because of the resolute opposition of the late Lord Morley, that no less a distinguished military man as the late Lord Kitchener could not be appointed to the post, notwithstanding the fact that he had very high and eminent personages to advocate his candidature. It is interesting to note what Sir Archibald Wavell himself thinks about the

dangers and risks of a soldier assuming an important office in the sphere of civil government. In the course of a speech which he delivered at Cambridge some years ago, he said (as unearthed by the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* in its last issue) :

> Interchangeability between the soldier and the statesman passed for ever, I fear, in the last century. The Germans professionalised the trade of war; and modern inventions by increasing its technicalities, have specialised it. It is much the same with politics, professionalised by democracy. No longer can one man hope to exercise both callings, though both are branches of the same craft, the governance of men and the ordering of human affairs. . . . The politician, who has to persuade and confute, must keep an open and flexible mind, accustomed to criticism and argument; the mind of the soldier, who commands, and obeys without question, is apt to be fixed, drilled and attached to definite rules.

Since Field-Marshall Wavell's appointment was announced, there have been before us various forecasts, made both in this country and elsewhere about the line of action that he is likely to follow in India. On the one hand, there are responsible people describing him as "a symbol of strong arm rule in India and an indication of no change towards the solution of the Indian problem along democratic and co-operative lines." On the other, there are over-enthusiastic men who have come forward to declare their conviction, that the appointment will coincide with an effective endeavour to end the political deadlock and a new chapter will be opened in the relations between Britain and India. Let us see what Field-Marshall Wavell himself says about his future work. The Viceroy-designate made a public statement on India on the 22nd June, almost immediately after his appointment was announced, to a group of British and Empire journalists, at the India Office. In the course of his address Field-Marshall Wavell said

> "You will naturally not expect me to make a detailed statement on policy or to talk about future plans. I can only say that I am a sincere friend of India and am wholeheartedly in sympathy with her aspirations to political development and a firm believer in her future. I owe to India five of the best years of my life as a young officer and two of the fullest and most interesting years as her Commander-in-Chief.
>
> "India is a vital supply base for strategy of the United Nations in the East and here fully and rapidly India can develop and extend the great war effort she is already making. This does not mean that I go to India as a soldier or that there can be no political progress before the end of the war. I have put off my uniform—with what regret, you may imagine—and ended my military career in the hope that I can better serve our cause and India as a civilian.
>
> "There is certainly no intention to set up anything in the shape of a military rule or to withdraw or weaken in any way the pledges and offers already made to India by His Majesty's Government."

Sir Archibald Wavell's utterance was, on the whole, tuned in a delicate and refined key. By his speech he seemed to convey the assurance that there could be no bar to political development before the end of the war, and that his past experience with the machinery of government and with political development in other countries would be of help to him in his efforts in that direction. He also spoke of his responsibility to the people of India. It has, however, to be borne in mind in this connection that Field-Marshall Wavell's declaration has subsequently been attempted to be qualified by an ominus statement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons. Referring to the appointment of the successor to Lord Linlithgow in the Commons on the 24th June Mr. Amery said : "I need not say that the new appointment does not imply any change in the settled policy to which His Majesty's Government are pledged with regard to the development of Indian self-government."

The assurances and declarations of British statesmen and political leaders have so frequently proved illusory and undependable, that it does not appear to be proper to build any hopes on them. Responsibilities of a prodigious nature rest with the head of the Government of India, constituted as it is. These responsibilities have become doubly overwhelming on account of the arbitrary and irresponsible way in which executive power is being exercised in India now for a number of years. Further, all the virtues that the British people claimed for their administration of India have reached their nadir at the present moment. At such a critical juncture in the history of the British Government of India, when the administration in all its departments have touched the lowest point of efficiency and strength, the task of the new Viceroy cannot but be extremely difficult and onerous. In order that Field-Marshall Wavell may be able to lay the foundations of success, he should in the first instance release Gandhiji and his Congress associates along with many others who have been put into prison quite illegally and unconstitutionally, and then proceed to work on accepted and established constitutional lines for achieving political development. This requires that there should be fresh elections for the Central and Provincial Legislatures, the present executive irresponsibility put an end to, and the popular will of the country duly honoured and respected, without which there can be no hope of a proper settlement of the present Indian deadlock.

S. K. L.

TWO RAJPUT-FERINGI BATTLES : FATHPUR (1799) AND MALPURA (1800)

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

THE battle of Patan (20 June, 1790) has been described in the May number of this *Review*, as the first example of a full-scale contest between European-trained and European-led sepoys on the one side and Rajputs and Muslims following the antiquated indigenous method of warfare on the other. It was quickly followed by the battle of Mertā (10 Sept. 1790) which still more conclusively proved the superiority of the new arms and new tactics. Only two other battles of the contrasted systems were fought in Rajputana, and we shall briefly describe them today.

At the end of 1791, Mahadji Sindhia patched up a sort of peace with the Rajputs and set out for Poona, where he died in February 1794. During the eight years 1792-1799 the Government of Jaipur continued at peace with its external foes, but there were many fights on its frontiers and with its own rebellious vassals. The sickening tale of the internal feuds, heroism and treachery, murder and rapine, which ravaged the baronies of Khāndelā, Khetri and Sikar for over twenty years may be read in the dark pages of the *Annals* of Col. Tod (Vol. ii. Amber, chs. VI and VII.) These troubles brought the foreign spoiler in. An Irish sailor named George Thomas, after serving as a mercenary captain under some Indian chiefs, was now planning to set up as a Rajah and carve out an independent kingdom for himself in Hariana by taking advantage of the dissolution of the Delhi Government and the endless internal discords among the Indian princes.

Early in 1798 George Thomas, in order to pay his troops, made a raid from his base at Jhajhar upon the Jaipur town of Urika (35 m. n. e. of Jhunjhunu) and took a ransom of Rs. 52,000 from it, but the town was destroyed by an accidental fire. Soon afterwards, Thomas, as the agent of Vāman Rāo, the nephew and successor of Sindhia's northern viceroy Apā Kkande Rao (who had died on 25 June 1797), broke into Jaipur territory and destroyed a nest of Mina banditti about 60 miles north of the capital, in reprisal for their raids into Vāman Rao's *jāgir*.

BATTLE OF FATHPUR WITH GEORGE THOMAS, 1799

The situation worsened next year. Lākhwā Dādā who had now become Sindhia's foremost officer in Northern India, ordered Vāman Rāo to lead an armed force into the north-eastern districts of the Kachhwa kingdom for collecting arrears of contribution. George Thomas was offered a large subsidy and induced to join Vāman Rāo with his 3 battalions of sepoys (400 men each), 90 horse, 300 Rohilla musketeers, 200 peasant militia of Hariana, and 14 pieces of artillery. Vāman Rāo's force consisted of one infantry battalion, 900 cavalry, 600 irregulars and four pieces of artillery. The combined armies set out from Kanud and entered the Shekhawati district of the Jaipur Kingdom, making collections by attacking or threatening the landowners on the way. The Jaipur royal force present in that region was at first overmatched by the invaders' superior armament. Besides this, George Thomas was welcomed and subsidised by Bāgh Singh of Khāndela and other disloyal barons of that district to help them in their rebellion against their liege lord, the Rajah of Jaipur.

Thomas, after severe fighting, took possession of the fortified city of Fathpur,[1] made it his base on account of its copious water supply in that dry sandy tract, and strengthened the defences of his camp, by keeping the town in his rear and erecting *abbatis* and sand-heaps with artillery to command the approaches in his front and on the two flanks. It was impossible to dig trenches in that soil of loose sand, but the abundance of thorny bushes supplied very useful *chevaux de frize*.

A large Jaipur army, consisting of royal troops and contingents of the loyal feudatories, under Rodoji Khawās (lately entitled *Rajah*), arrived and encamped eight miles from Fathpur. After a preliminary skirmish for the possession of the wells outside, the Jaipur army next day advanced to attack the invaders' camp. Its Right Wing, consisting of the entire body of Rajput cavalry, was told off to attack the camp in the rear; the Left Wing, made up of 4,000 Rohillas, 3,000 Naga Gosains and 6,000 irregular cavalry, advanced against the city of Fathpur and the only water supply of the invaders, while the Centre or main body, formed by ten battalions of infantry, 22 pieces of artillery and 1,600 royal bodyguards (*silah-posh*) under Rodoji Khawās, had Thomas himself for the object of its attack.

George Thomas, leaving a part of his infantry and two six-pounders to guard his camp, and detailing four companies of sepoys

1. 75°E. 28°N, 30 miles north of Sikar.

and two guns to stiffen the Maratha force behind him, marched out to meet the enemy's onset at the head of five companies of infantry and three guns. It will thus be seen that he was extremely weak in cavalry, especially as his Maratha allies stood aside during the fighting. The Rajput horse advanced in close and compact order, and after a temporary check caused by the crossfire of Thomas's artillery, made a sudden and furious charge upon his main body; its leader John Morris and several other brave men were cut down. But Thomas pushed forward two companies of grenadiers, who after firing their volleys charged the Rajput horse with the bayonet and forced it to retreat.

The Rajput movements were not properly co-ordinated; for, while their Right Wing was waging this contest, the Left Wing delayed in pressing home their intended assault upon the city, after the first Rajput attempt (made without guns) had been checked with loss by the musketeers posted by Thomas in the highest houses. The British captain thus freed from the threat of the Rajput cavalry (their Right Wing), immediately turned to the succour of the defenders of the city, who were now being threatened with six pieces of cannon. A vigorous counter-attack by Thomas drove the enemy's Left Wing to withdraw their guns and retire from the attack on the city.

Rodoji now gave another example of his lack of plan and incapacity to make a simultaneous attack with all his divisions. It was only after his two wings had been foiled that he ordered a charge by his main body, which had hitherto stood idle under his precious self. But this "main body had by this time become a confused mass, without order, regularity, or method...Their general was not met with equal ardour by his troops; and Mr. Thomas, perceiving them at a stand, commenced a heavy fire of grape shot from his guns, when, after sustaining much loss, the enemy retreated."

Two twenty-four pounders had been abandoned in the field by the Rajputs in their retreat and Thomas tried to remove them to his camp. But a dense body of Jaipur cavalry headed by Ranjit Singh, the chieftain of Chomu, advanced sword in hand in a desperate charge for recovering the guns. The Marathas fled away before the onset, and the Rajput horse breaking into Thomas's Left Wing pellmell with these fugitives, began to cut down a great number of his sepoys. "The moment was critical....Mr. Thomas, with the only gun that remained, which he loaded up to the muzzle, and about one hundred and fifty of his followers, waited the event with fortitude. After permitting the enemy to approach within forty yards, he gave his fire, accompanied at the same time by a volley of musketry, with such considerable effect, that great numbers of the enemy were instantly knocked down. This first effort, being followed by two other discharges, completely routed the enemy." The brave baron of Chomu was severely wounded; Bahadur Singh and Pahār Singh (both of the Khangārot clan of Kachhwas) fell; but the guns were saved. The Rajput casualties were said to have exceeded two thousand; on the side of Thomas, Morris was wounded, and the total loss was 300 men. (*Memoirs of G. Thomas*, London ed., 151-171. Tod, ii. ch. vii.)

Peace negotiations now began, which were promoted by the arrival of letters from Daulat Rao Sindhia and Perron ordering Vāman Rāo to cease hostilities against the troops of Jaipur. Disgusted with his Maratha allies, Thomas made a painful retreat with his own contingent, hotly pursued by the Kachhwa army which had lately been joined by 5,000 men from Bikaner. Peace was made with Vāman Rāo by paying him a small sum of money, as against his demand for several lakhs.

BATTLE OF MALPURA, 1800

At last in 1800, a crisis developed in the relations between Jaipur and Sindhia's Government. The burden of money contribution levied by the Marathas was proving more and more galling to all the Rajput States, and now a new hope began to dawn in their hearts when they heard the news of the civil war between Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar in Poona, the disruption of Sindhia's administration, his persecution of his old and able servants, and above all his feud with the widows of the great Mahadji (known as the Bāis' war). This last dispute threw the affairs of Sindhia in Northern India into the greatest confusion, while all his officers became ranged in the rival ranks and busy in fighting one another.

Rajah Sawāi Pratāp Singh made an attempt to profit by these internal dissensions of his enemy. In March 1800 he openly repudiated the money clauses of the treaty of 1791 and prepared for war. The battle of Mālpurā ensued. But as the Jaipur army had not yet been sufficiently modernised and trained and lacked able tacticians, the result was the reverse of Tungā, (1787), and this appeal to the arbitrament of the sword failed.

Hearing of the Jaipur Rajah's war preparations in his camp at Sānganer, Lākhwā

Dādā assembled his own troops and took post four miles south of Mālpurā, a town about 55 miles south-west of Jaipur. His army consisted of De Boigne's second brigade (6 battalions commanded by Pohlman, a Hanoverian), Chevalier Dudrenec's brigade (of 6 battalions, supplied by Holkar), two battalions of Lākhwā's own contingent, a battalion furnished by the Kotā regent Zalim Singh, and a body of inefficient Maratha light horse, a total of about 16,000 men. The Jaipur army was formed by 18 battalions of musketeers, 1000 Ruhelas, 2000 Nāgā Gosains, and upwards of 15000 Rajput cavalry (including 5000 Rathor horsemen from Jodhpur led by Sawai Singh),—a total of 27,000 men, besides 54 pieces of artillery, ranging from 24 pounders to six pounders.[2] The Rajah of Jaipur commanded in person.

One arm of the Sohadrā river (a feeder of the Banas) after flowing southwards by the walls of the city of Mālpurā for three miles, meets, almost at right angles, another arm which runs due west to east in a narrow but deep channel. South of this channel the Maratha army lay encamped near the village of Hindoli, their front to the river. The Jaipur army came up and encamped north of this channel, with the town of Mālpurā on their left rear.

Planning to surprise the Jaipur army, Lākhwā Dādā set his troops in motion at four o'clock early in the morning of 16th April. His army was drawn up in two lines, the first being formed by Pohlman's brigade (Right) and Dudrenec's (Left), while the second, marching a thousand paces behind the first line, was composed of the Maratha cavalry, these pushing forward some squadrons to the two sides of the first line to guard their flanks. The light field pieces of each brigade moved before it. The Rajput right was composed of the Rathors and left of the Kachhwa troops.

The attempt at surprise failed, as the Jaipur troops got the alarm, through the recklessness of the advanced cavalry patrols of the Marathas before the infantry had forded the river. A heavy cannonade was opened from all their line. Major Pohlman, on this, ordered the second brigade to advance with its guns, but to reserve its fire till they were close to the enemy. These orders were punctually obeyed and his artillery did great execution. Sweeping over the five hundred yards of open space from the river bank to the line of Jaipur guns, Pohlman's infantry took forty of the pieces, though at some sacrifice of their own men.

But the toughest part of the battle now began. During this close engagement on the right, Dudrenec's brigade (the left of their front line) was charged by the Rathor cavalry. James Skinner, who fought in this battle in Pohlman's wing, gives the following spirited description of the scene that ensued : "The Rathors were seen approaching from a distance; the tramp of their immense and compact body rising like thunder above the roar of battle. They came on first at a slow handgallop, which increased in speed as they approached : the well-served guns of the brigade showered grape upon their dense mass, cutting down hundreds at each discharge; but this had no effect in arresting their progress;—on they came, like a whirlwind, trampling over fifteen hundred of their own body, destroyed by the cannon of the brigade; neither the murderous volleys from the muskets, nor the serried hedge of bayonets, could check or shake them : they poured, like a torrent, on and over the brigade, and rode it fairly down, leaving scarce a vestige of it remaining."

Holkar's infantry is described by a European general of the time as "illpaid, badly officered, and without subordination, undisciplined, nor can they make use of their arms." (George Thomas.) Besides, this was a new brigade recently raised by Dudrenec and not yet sufficiently trained. The result was that the left wing of the Deccan army was crumpled up in one short onset, 320 men being slain or wounded out of a total strength of about 2,400. "Captain Paish and several other officers were killed, and Dudrenec only escaped by throwing himself down amongst the dead."

The victorious Rathors, never looking behind them or thinking of their Kachhwa comrades, swept onward in the excitement of success, and crossed the thousand paces interval, up to the second line in a twinkle. Here the Maratha cavaliers did not wait to meet the shock, but "ran away like sheep," (Skinner), the Rathors

2. The detailed figures are taken from a letter written by an English officer of Pohlman only four days after the battle; but they do not make up this writer's total of 65,000 men on the Jaipur side and half that number in the Maratha army. A battalion in the Indian princes' service in those days ranged from 400 to 500 men only,—the lower of these two figures being the known strength of Dudrenec's battalions. I have corrected the total in the light of this fact. The absurd exaggerations of James Skinner that the Jaipur army numbered 1 lakh and 10 thousand men with 150 guns, and that the Maratha army lost 20,000 men in killed and wounded and the Rajput "probably, double that number," have only to be stated to be rejected.

pursuing them for many miles to the rear of the battle-line.

This gallant but reckless charge, exactly like that of Prince Rupert's cavalry during the Civil War in England, had a disastrous effect on their side. Pohlman's brigade, after defeating the van of the Jaipur army, was surprised to see its own left totally uncovered by the destruction of Dudrenec's wing and its rear exposed by the flight of the cavalry behind it. This was the crisis of the battle: but Pohlman's skill and coolness and the discipline of his sepoys saved the day for him. He formed his six battalions into a square,[3] the bristling line of bayonets and file-firing from the four faces of which prevented the enemy's cavalry from breaking in, though the Kachhwas made onset after onset upon them. The Rajput Centre had now come into the firing line, with their Rajah in a huge *ambari* elephant, at the head of 5000 choice horse.

Pohlman's dense column, "by an incessant and well-directed fire of the artillery, finally succeeded in coming to close action with the enemy, of whom great numbers immediately gave way; the main body however kept their ground for an hour and a half longer, during which the action is said to have been very severe on both sides."—(English letter of 20 April). "The Rajah now approached us within two or three hundred yards, when we gave them a salvo, which brought his elephant down. The horse twice attempted to charge us, but were beaten off with great slaughter.[4] On this, the Rajah mounted his horse, and retired. The horse went off along with him." (Skinner.)

".About 9 o'clock the field began to clear.... The field was ours; but the Rathors had not yet returned from their chase; they had driven the whole Maratha cavalry several *kos*. In a few hours we saw their dust, and found they were returning in a *gol*, *nakkaras* beating victory... They took us for the Jaipur infantry, but they soon found out their mistake, by receiving a discharge of grape from 30 pieces of cannon. Twice they charged us; and, though each time repulsed, several broke into our squares, and were bayoneted there...At last the survivors retired towards their camp." (Skinner, i. 151.)

Sawai Pratap Singh retired to Jaipur, with his army, but all his camp and baggage and guns were captured. Pohlman's brigade had 75 casualties and Dudrenec's 320, but these were only the first rough estimates. (*Asiatic Annual Register* for 1800.) Peace was soon afterwards made.

3. The contemporary letter from Pohlman's camp says so. But Skinner gives a different account: "Pohlman gave the word for each battalion to form close columns of companies, in rear of the right company. He next ordered columns of battalions to close upon the centre battalion; and this manœuvre was equally well performed; with our artillery supporting the front of our columns." I disbelieve Skinner, who told the story to his friend J. B. Fraser, 35 years after the event. (*Military Memoirs of Lt.-Col. James Skinner* by J. B. Fraser, 2 vols., London, 1851; i. 149).

4. Col. Collins reported to the Governor-General from Fathgarh, on 21st April, 1800, "Previous to the total defeat of the Rajput army, and whilst a possibility of restoring the battle still remained, Pratap Singh formed the resolution of making a vigorous charge on Mr. Pohlman's brigade with a thousand select cavalry, but he was dissuaded from carrying this spirited design into execution by his Diwan Rai Chand."

CHINA'S WARTIME LITERATURE AND LITERARY TREND

By SAMUEL M. CHAO

OUT of the turmoil of blood, sweat, and tears of the war, a new Chinese literature, bearing marks of western influence but fundamentally native in spirit and treatment, is gradually taking shape. It reflects the nation in its unprecedented struggle for freedom and independence. It also promises to constitute a dynamic force with the Chinese masses whose outlook on life is in many ways the same as characters in old Chinese stories and folklore.

Nationalism and war are the principal keynotes of China's wartime literature and literary thought. The expression and emphasis may differ with the writers but the theme and purpose are universal. No author can survive the judgment of the reading public if his works are contrary to the national interest and detrimental to the prosecution of war.

The predominance of national sentiments in Chinese wartime literature can be seen from the changed subjects, treatment, and vocabulary in recent writings. From pre-war copying of western plots and subjects Chinese writers are either turning to happenings immediately around them or seeking inspiration from old Chinese tales and legends. There is a distinc-

tive local color in current Chinese writings. Before the war, several schools of writers, especially those in Shanghai and Hongkong, vied with one another to present the decadent life in big cities under foreign domintaion. They aped the style of western pulp magazine stories and third class popular novels. Other schools, though dealing with Chinese subjects, were more concerned with selling the Chinese "Old Curiosity Shop" abroad than explaining the real changing China in its true light. These writers made name and money in China as well as abroad. But the war has swept them all overboard. Though they may still have a following abroad because no truly great modern novel has been introduced to foreign readers, in wartime China they are causing scarcely more than a ripple in a big lake.

The change in vocabulary is even more conspicuous and noteworthy. Formerly a number of writers believed in the beauty and richness of foreign languages and insisted that Chinese literature should be written in such a way as to read like English, French, Russian, German or Japanese, in fact anything but Chinese. They even advocated the adoption of foreign construction, meaning, and spirit by the Chinese language. As a result, only those who have had some training in foreign languages could understand the works resultant from such quasi-foreign, quasi-Chinese efforts. Definite changes, however, are noticed in wartime publications. Though in some cases somewhat reluctantly, most of these writers have new appreciation of the real beauty and usefulness of the Chinese language in its native form. Besides the popular and universal *pai hua* or Mandarin, writers have also gone into colloquial dialects in their effort to reach the masses.

Such adaptations are mostly due to changed conditions in wartime. Aside from the popular clamour for things Chinese as a result of greater national self-confidence, the writers, driven away from their coastal salons and cafes to interior Chinese towns and villages, have begun to rediscover themselves as well as their own country and people. The war brings them closer to the great majority of the Chinese masses, teaches them the ways of real Chinese life and thinking. They realise that Shanghai and Hongkong are not China. Their former writing was not Chinese. They see the necessity of change but they still lack in understanding and experience. Their shortcomings can be distinctly detected. Overlapping, paradox, disorder are common. Yet they are signs of growth and future.

Most wartime Chinese novels, in fact nearly all wartime literature, are in one way or another connected with the war. A number of stories, long and short, have been written describing how peasants, ignorant and peace-loving as they are, turned guerilla fighters to protect their homes and their womenfolk against the Japanese invaders. Stories are told of how they revolt against local traitors who co-operate with the aggressors. In this category, writers all try to portray the villagers and peasants in their true forms, a proto-type small village farmer who lives and talks as his forefathers did generations ago. Colloquialisms are sometimes employed with a vividness that was seldom attained before the war. The most noteworthy story of this type is perhaps "Spring Thunder" by Chen Sou-chu, winner of a National Writers' Anti-Aggression Association prize. Telling how peasants and villagers in traditionally "soft" southern Kiangsu turned mobile fighters against the enemy, this novel is also full of witticism and humor that are typically Chinese. "Liu Chuan-teh and the Red Turnip" by Yao Hsueh-ying is another example. Sergeant Liu Chuan-teh represents a proto-type old professional soldier, a "camp-slicker," and "Red Turnip" a proto-type ignorant and timid farmer. The author gives a satisfactory portrayal of the rough sergeant who from an unruly and badly disciplined "camp-slicker" woke up to be a real people's warrior and laid down his life for his comrades. It is the most successful work so far on the life of a Chinese soldier. Wu Chu-hsiang's "Yao Chu Lao," another prize winner, and Hsu Ying's "Apple Hill" are also stories of the people's fight against invaders. Hsu's work is unique in not having any female character in the 200,000-word narrative.

For students to join the war is a momentous change from their sheltered life before 1937. Many of the writers were students in coastal cities before the war plunged them in the national struggle. The best known novel in this group is "Fire" by Pa Chin. Two volumes have been published and the third is being written. The story revolves around its heroine, Feng Wen-shu, a middle class girl in Shanghai. In "Fire—Volume I," Feng devotes her time and energy in nursing Chinese defenders of Shanghai with the Battle of Shanghai and the foreign settlements as back-

ground. "Fire—Volume II" finds Feng on the war front serving as member of a propaganda group. The careful construction and detailed description in the story is typical of Pa Chin, who by virtue of his realistic treatment and insight into psycological changes, is easily one of the outstanding novelists of contemporary China. "Tide" by Tien Tao, portrays a girl and a boy on the North China front. Based on actual life experiences, the author gives another proto-type of Chinese students at war by making his hero appear reckless, emotional, brave. "Fire" centers on war aid activities. But "Tide" is mainly concerned with actual combat. The author evidently has spent sometime on the battle front. His presentation, however, is lacking in force and reality because of his lack of full appreciation and understanding of combat tactics.

In fact, most wartime stories are colorless in their descriptions of actual battles and of the men in "fox-holes." The only exceptions are the so-called reportage literature and a special branch of it known as "air force literature." Newspaper reporters covering major campaigns and touring war areas vie with one another in giving vivid and dramatized descriptions of what they see and hear. At best, these sketches make interesting reading. The so-called "air force literature" deals exclusively with air battles and raiding missions and the life of airmen. Being highly technical, these stories are mostly written by the airmen themselves or officers attached to the air force groups. Although falling short in literary value, reportage literature and "air force literature" are both highly educational in character. They give the public a better insight into war and combat, bringing the frontlines much closer to them than any other reading matter.

Another new field in China's wartime literature is the portrayal of life in frontier regions under Japanese occupation. This is made possible by the migration to Free China of a number of new writers from frontier regions. Drawing upon their own experiences, they are able to give descriptions of their own homeland, the customs and ways of living and the outlook of sections of the people that are somewhat unfamiliar to the average Chinese. They show that all racial groups in the Chinese nation suffer the same fate. They are most insistent that a unified nation against foreign aggression is necessary. Their descriptions always bring tears and wrath from the readers. The melancholy prevailing in their works is typical of the people driven out of their homeland. Tuan-mu Hung-liang's "Steppe of the Khorchin Banner," published in the earlier stage of the war, tells of the Mongol life in northern Jehol during the Mukden Incident in 1931. His "Beyond the Willow Palisade" tells of agricultural Mongols in the Northeast under the misrule of Japanese invaders. Pu Tah's "The Goldi-Giliak Tribe" tells the story of a Sungari River tribe which resists Japanese troops with bows and arrows. Pi Yeh's "The Night Sacrifice at Ulanblan" tells the story of Suiyuan Mongols in their fight against the enemy and traitors. These stories open up a new world for Chinese writers as well as readers and will play an important part in the future development of China's frontiers.

Social changes are also depicted with vividness by modern Chinese writers. The best of this group is Chang Heng-sui's "Eighty-One Dreams," a great piece of satire caricaturing the living forms and shadow shapes in China's wartime society. First printed in serial form in a newspaper, this book has had a brisk sale after its publication in book form. Chang represents writers who, trained in the old Chinese school but influenced by western technique, have caught up with the imagination and tempo of the great majority of readers. Chang has written more than 30,000,000 words in more than 20 years as a novelist.

Yet to be found are great works on the war as a whole, stories that give a comprehensive survey of all angles of the hostilities. A mediocre attempt was made by Tsui Wan-chiu in his "The Second Year" which describes the Chinese war in its second year from the fall of Nanking in December, 1937 to the evacuation of Hankow in October, 1938. The story is not a success, but it is the only one of its kind yet published. He is now writing "The First Year" covering the Shanghai-Nanking days and has plans for "The Third Year," "The Fourth Year," and "The Fifth Year." His ambition is a "quinquelogue" of the Sino-Japanese war. But how successful he can be remains to be seen.

Another characteristic of China's wartime literature is the part it plays in publicity. "Literature goes to the country" and "literature goes to the army" are the two slogans raised by a number of writers who devote themselves to the writing of simple-worded stories for less educated country people and soldiers. Mostly concerned with Chinese

patriotism and Japanese atrocities, these stories enjoy better circulation than "high-brow" novels. One of them, telling the story of Hua Ah-mao who drove a fully-laden Japanese military truck and four Japanese soldiers into the Whangpoo river during the first Shanghai war in 1932, sold more than 1,000,000 copies. They admittedly lack literary merits, but they serve the purpose of enlightening the people by using different literary forms—stories, songs, poems, and sketches.

Translation of western literature has been on the upswing in recent years. Besides such contemporary "best-sellers" as "Gone with the Wind," "For Whom The Bell Tolls," and "Moment in Peking," old masters like Shakespeare and Dickens are again introduced to the Chinese reading public. Leo Tolstoi's best works have been re-translated for the benefit of Chinese readers who do not read Russian. Some of the translations are expertly done in perfect smooth-reading Chinese without destroying the original style and spirit and meaning. Some, however, are done with the help of dictionaries rather than with a real understanding of the original.

Another group of writers devote a good portion of their time and energy in the translation of mediocre or third class Soviet novels. They are mostly stories of the revolution and Five-Year Plans. They are read with religious reverence and enthusiasm by a certain group of readers. The translation, publication, and even reading of such translations, however, are more political in motive than literary.

The war is giving much inspiration to poets throughout China. It provides a vent for the flow of the pent-up emotions of Chinese poets. Much has been written in poetic form about war, but a really great poet has yet to be found who can produce an epic that does justice to China's struggle.

From the first flow of emotions in poetry developed the "recitation poems" in 1937. "My Home On The Amur River" by Kao Lang established this form of poetry as an exciting subjective glimpse of the war and human emotions. They are most successful in publicity purposes through radio broadcast and other public gatherings. The popular and successful "Yellow River Chorus" is also featured by "recitation poems" accompanied by music.

From emotional outcries Chinese poets have gradually cooled down to short poems telling a story or incident or thought. Satire, reportage, description, are noticeable in such works. They are objective in nature. The best examples are those written on the bombings of Chungking, describing the sufferings of the wartime capital under indiscriminate Japanese air attacks.

Efforts are now turned to the writing of historical poems and epics. It is still too early to decide what success these poets will have. Lao She's "North of Chienmenkwan" is a travelogue on his trip to the Northwest. Coarse, unpolished but forceful, this long poem, more than 10,000 lines, opens up a new possibility. Tsang Keh-chia's "Blossom of An Old Tree" is a more successful attempt at epic writing. Telling the story of the late Shantung guerilla leader, Fan Chu-hsien, Tsang's 5,000-line poem is rich in feeling.

Old style poems also enjoy great popularity in time of war. The beautiful style and structure of Chinese poetry are unexcelled in the field of literature. Given real feeling and thought and facts like those experienced in the present war, Chinese poetry can carry on its great literary heritage. It has been revitalized for a fight to recover the place it used to hold in Chinese literature for several thousand years. The best example of the old school poetry is Lu Chien's "The Trumpet of National Resurgence," a prize-winning collection, which has been translated into English. He sings about new thoughts, tell new things, and employs new terms in established Chinese poetic style with plausible success.

The new literary trend is perhaps best summed up by Mr. Chang Tao-fan's "The Literary Policy We Need" published in 1942. In this article, the present Chinese Minister of Information points out that literature should no longer wait upon the pleasure of the leisure class, but climb out of the ivory tower to serve the war by rallying and organizing the people. It should give itself a political end by serving the entire people without any class distinction through the Three People's Principles. And it should reflect the characteristic Chinese philosophy of love, equality, sacrifice, service, and loyalty to nation and country.

The trend is healthy and a bright future is in store. But the appearance of masterpieces must wait until after the war when authors can afford to devote their full time to writing, and cool down to assort, analyze and organize effectively the materials gathered during the war for their best possible presentation.

WARTIME CHINESE DRAMA

By CHU FU-SUNG

DRAMA in wartime China not only has made and is making progress as an art, but is serving as one of the most effective mediums in arousing nationalistic feelings among the people.

Dramatic workers in China were among the first ones to respond to the national call. When the war spread to the Shanghai area, such noted playwrights as Hung Sheng, Ma Yen-hsiang, and Yin Yun-wei each led a dramatic troupe to work among the troops and the people in the war areas, while other dramatists, Tien Han, Ouyang Yu-chien, and Hsiung Fu-hsi in particular, organized dramatic societies in the interior cities. This period reached a climax during the defense of Hankow in the summer of 1938. With the fall of Hankow, Chinese dramatic workers moved with other sections of the population to the western part of the country. Since then, they have gathered in four major centers : Chungking and Chengtu in Szechwan, Sian in the Northwest and Kweilin in the Southwest. Among these places Chungking and Kweilin are the two largest centers. The dramatic movement suffered serious setbacks as a result of intensive Japanese aerial attacks on these Chinese cities in 1939. By that winter only a few of the large dramatic societies with strong financial foundations had weathered the bombings. Some of them had to rely on performance receipts, thus presenting another obstacle, as high prices meant fewer people going to shows. During this period the common themes were the exposure of evils in Chinese life, Japanese atrocities and the activities of puppets. Historical plays were popular during this period. These plays were written by contemporary writers or rewritten from old plays. It was not until 1939 that Chinese playwrights turned their attention to plays depicting wartime problems. The 1942-43 dramatic season marked the beginning of a new era, with the Chinese drama moving in the right direction. The general theme now is the uprooting of old evils and the creation of a new spirit necessary for winning the war and clinching success in national reconstruction.

At the beginning of the war the major problem confronting Chinese playwrights was whether they should work for art's sake or for the national cause. They decided on the latter course. Drama as a means of wartime propaganda was the order of the day. This order, however, was often executed at the expense of the literary quality of the plays. This neglect came with the belief that plays should be written in such a popular way as to meet the needs of the little-educated masses. A contributing factor was that the increasing demand for plays forced the writers to produce in a hurry. As a result, a tremendous number of plays were produced during the first year of the war (1937-38). In that year the playwrights pointed their pens mostly against the enemy and traitors. Their favorite subjects were the eventual death of traitors at the hands of patriots and the defeat of the enemy by heroic Chinese defenders. The treacherous activities of traitors and the sufferings of the people under enemy rule were exposed in the plays. As the choice of subjects was limited, the plays could not but be inferior and the plots and characterization trite. The dramatic movement at that time was successful in reaching the people, for the dramatic workers went from cities to the countryside and from theatres to street corners, but from the standpoint of art, little was achieved.

The victory at Taierhchuang in the second year of the war (1938-39) was a great stimulus for Chinese dramatic workers. Confident of final victory, they drew on their experiences gained at the front as well as in the interior, and turned their attention to the presentation of problems, big or small, arising from the war, such as conditions in the enemy-occupied areas and social and economic problems in interior cities. They had more time to think and plan. Soon they realized that dramas as an art and as a medium of propaganda are not mutually exclusive.

Plays written in this period were of three kinds : those describing conditions in the occupied regions, those recalling successful activities against the enemy in the past, and those presenting wartime problems in the rear. Sung Chih-ti's "The State Comes First" and Lao She's "Fading Mist" and Tsao Yu's "Transformation" were all representative works during this period. "Transformation" was the best, dealing with the resistance in China as an incentive to social reform. Last winter, this play was on for 30 successive nights in Chungking

and aroused nation-wide attention. The Ministry of Education and Ministry of Information have instructed public and private organizations throughout China, including schools, to stage this play as a means of educating the people and the younger Chinese. Besides showing the people the bright future in store for China, this play presents a group of typical characters in wartime China.

Beginning from the third year of the war (1939-40), Chinese playwrights have been writing more historical plays. Among these plays are Ku I-chiao's "Yueh Fei" (a famous general in Sung Dynasty who fought the Tartars), Kuo Mo-jo's "Chi Tsi-kuang" (a general in Ming Dynasty who routed the invading Japanese along China's eastern coast), and Wu Tsu-kuang's "The Song of Righteousness" (the story of the famous Sung Dynasty patriot Wen Tien-hsiang).

There has been little change in play writing in China in the last three years. Two things, however, may be mentioned. First, all playwrights are remembering their mission in the war. Second, all the plays written, though fewer than in the first years of war, are constructive in nature.

The total number of plays written during the last six years is estimated at nearly 1,000. In the six years before 1937 there were less than 500 plays written. In the 10 years preceding Japan's attack on Mukden in September 1931, about 200 were written. Of those written in the war years, 25 per cent are directly connected with the war. Fifteen per cent deal with anti-traitor activities. Another fifteen per cent are historical plays. About 13 per cent describe conditions in the occupied areas. About 10 per cent are translated or rewritten from foreign plays, such as Shakespeare's "Hamlet," Eugene O'Neill's "Horizon," and Tolstoy's "Resurrection."

Wartime Chinese drama is on the whole "realistic." Though still deficient in writing technique, Chinese playwrights all have strong faith in justice and humanity. They are no longer naturalistic onlookers of life, but are engaged in presenting a mirror on which all irrational phenomena in Chinese life are exposed and ways to a bright future shown.

The Chinese people have been enthusiastic all along about old plays, such as the *kun chu* (flute plays) and *pi huang* (musical plays of Peiping), and other regional plays. Chinese dramatists are improving them by giving them up-to-date interpretations. Tien Han, veteran Chinese playwright, is particularly interested in the "reformed plays." He has rewritten a number of Peiping musical plays and is making a series of readjustments in presenting the Kwangsi plays. Like new wine in old bottles, the "reformed plays" retain their old forms and music, but have new contents.

Hundreds of thousands of people go to the show every season. During the 1942-43 dramatic season in Chungking, corresponding with the foggy months when there was no danger of hostile visitors in the air, more than 250,000 persons went to the 313 performances of 20 plays. "Fascist Bactria" by Hsia Yen was the curtain-raiser. The last play produced, which is still showing at the time this article is being written, is "Home" by Tsao Yu, adapted from the well-known novel by Pa Chin. Six of the plays were directly connected with the war or had the war for background. The best among them was "Transformation" as mentioned before.

Historical plays have been particularly popular. "Behind the Manchu Throne" by Yang Tsun-pin, picturing the misrule under the Manchu Empress Dowager, had 30 full-house performances.

It has been estimated that since the war began, no less than 1000 dramatic societies have been formed. Of them about a half are still active. About a dozen of the best ones are in Chungking. They are of two categories, namely, government and professional. Among the professional ones the largest is the Chinese Dramatic Arts Society, headed by Yin Yun-wei. It has on its staff such playwrights and directors as Chen Po-cheng, Chang Chun-hsiang and Ho Meng-fu. Another well-known society is the China Arts and Drama Society, formed only a few months ago. It is headed by Chin Shan, a well-known actor and director.

The two largest government-supported dramatic societies are the Long-Live-China Dramatic Corps of the China Motion Picture Corporation and the Dramatic Corps of the Central Motion Picture Studio. As film is scarce and expensive in China, actors and actresses in the two movie studios give stage performances when not busy making pictures. They not only perform in Chungking, but visit other cities from time to time, particularly during the summer when there is less bombing in other cities than in the wartime capital. Another government-supported dramatic corps is the Central Youth Dramatic Society of the Kuomintang Youth Corps. The society is headed by Ma Yen-hsiang. It has branches in

various cities and schools, totalling about 200.

Mobile dramatic corps have been working throughout the country. In addition to those organized by various army units, schools, public organizations, and the people themselves, the Ministry of Education has sent out several road units to the countryside. The Political Training Board of the National Military Council directs dramatic work in the army, having several travelling dramatic corps at the front. The contents of the plays staged by the road units vary a great deal, depending on conditions prevailing in different places. The form of presentation includes dramatized news reporting and lectures, one-act plays and one-man shows, presented at street corners, in tea-houses, or in any other place where an audience may be gathered.

The dramatic workers throughout the country were organized under one banner as early as January, 1938, when the National Dramatists Anti-Aggression Association was created. Representatives of both the classical and new drama joined hands enthusiastically in a new spirit of co-operation. The association is headed by Mr. Chang Tao-fan, then vice-minister of education and now minister of information, who is a playwright in his own right.

The government has adopted measures to protect the rights of dramatists such as the collection of royalties. Prizes have been given to good plays. Tsao Yu won such a prize by his "Transformation." For the training of dramatic workers, the Ministry of Education has established the National Academy of Dramatic Arts and the National Musical Drama School. The National Academy of Dramatic Arts, founded in 1935 by Minister Chang Tao-fan, is headed by Yui Shang-yuen. It has three departments, namely, vernacular drama, musical drama, and advanced professional vernacular drama. In the five-year course, the students are taught Greek tragedies, Shakespeare, Ibsen and the works of other western playwrights, and the technique of famous actors and actresses, in addition to regular courses in dramatic arts. As the first modern drama school in China, the academy was located in Nanking before the outbreak of the war. It is now in Kiangan, Szechwan and has a dramatic society that gives performances from time to time by way of practice. Last winter, it staged Shakespeare's "Hamlet" in Chungking with considerable success. The play was translated into Chinese by Liang Shih-chiu, a well-known Chinese writer, and directed by Professor Tsaio Chu-yin of the academy. About 600 persons have graduated from the academy. Nearly 60 per cent of the well-known actors and actresses now working in various places were students of the academy. They both act and and organize others for the promotion of the dramatic movement.

The National Musical Drama School was formerly known as the National Experimental Dramatic School. It is now in Peipei, north of Chungking, headed by Wang Po-sheng, a noted singer of the musical plays of Peiping. Musical drama is still young in China. Efforts are being made to promote not only Chinese singing, but western-style opera.

The outstanding features of China's wartime drama may be summarized in five points: First, both classical and modern plays have been drawing their inspiration from events which are either directly connected with the war or which help awaken the national consciousness of the people. Second, the number of playwrights, directors, players, and other dramatic workers has been greatly increased since the outbreak of the war. It is estimated that China has now no less than 200,000 "drama soldiers." The Chinese theatre has not succumbed because of the spreading war. Third, outdoor and mass performances are popular. Street plays are particularly fit for wartime propaganda. Fourth, government encouragement has helped in promoting the dramatic movement. The educational and propaganda value of drama has been universally recognized. Fifth, modern drama is getting more popular with theatre-goers and is rapidly gaining equal importance with classical plays in the life of the Chinese people.

The only shortcoming of modern Chinese drama is its long-windedness. Usually a modern play has from four to five acts, taking four or five hours to perform. It contains too much dialogue. Long plays are usually unfit for performances in war areas and countryside.

The greatest difficulty that the Chinese dramatic workers face today is the lack of stage materials. The settings of recently-staged plays, however, were amazing as a result of the efforts made by the stage managers. The progress made in stage technique under war conditions adds much to the success of Chinese dramatic troupes. Another handicap is the lack of large theatres. Chungking, for instance, has only five or six theatres available for modern dramatic performances, the total seating capacity being a little over 5,000. Some of the theatres show movies and are not always available for stage plays.

CHINA'S FUTURE, HER POST-WAR POLICY AND PEACE AIMS

By Dr. TAO-FAN CHANG

Chinese Minister of Information

China's Future

China is now waging a war of resistance; she is at the same time engaged in national reconstruction. The whole nation realises that resistance and reconstruction should come before anything else and firmly believes that they will end in victory and prosperity.

Chinese national revolution began with destruction; but will end in reconstruction. We destroy that we may reconstruct; and in order to reconstruct, we destroy. Without destruction, reconstruction is impossible; destruction without reconstruction is disastrous. Our national revolution is a revolution in every sense of the word, because it is a process woven by the contradictory yet complementary forces of destruction and construction. Our national father, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, hit the right nail on the head when he said: "We began our national revolutionary programme with a sweeping destruction, but shall consummate it with reconstruction." This dictum provides the basis for the theory and policies of our national revolution and underlies the spirit of our Resistance and Reconstruction Programme which is supported by the whole nation.

In the course of resistance we have been clearing the way for reconstruction and laying down its very foundation. Meanwhile from reconstruction we draw the dynamic for the prosecution of the war. Our life, action, and work will be conducted in such a way as to push on the two-phase programme of resistance and reconstruction.

Loyalty, filial devotion, kindness, love, faithfulness, justice, harmony and peace underlie the traditional spirit of the Chinese nation; and propriety, justice, integrity, and conscientiousness lie at the root of our national virtues. Imbued with these high virtues, our people as a whole have distinguished themselves by loyalty and tolerance: loyal to one's duty and tolerant towards other people. Tolerance precludes encroachment upon foreign lands, whereas loyalty urges the whole nation to stand up resolutely against external aggression. Every time the country is invaded, the whole nation would heroically rally under the sacred cause of national salvation. Such a nation-wide movement would invariably result in a national renaissance and territorial recovery. Peaceful as our national character is, we have a tenacious national consciousness and great potential strength. From all our past experiences we infer and believe that our resistance will end in complete victory and reconstruction in success. China is destined to a national renaissance.

Our Post-War Policy

When our resistance ends in victory, we shall engage ourselves wholeheartedly in national reconstruction—to build up a modern state so as to contribute to the welfare of humanity as a whole.

But reconstruction involves thousands of problems. Where shall we begin? Following the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen's instructions and conscious of the demands of the age, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has with great clarity outlined a quintuple programme consisting of mental, ethical, social, political, and economic reconstructions.

Mental reconstruction emphasizes the development of our national tradition and the promotion of scientific learning. Ethical reconstruction relates to the cultivation of patriotic virtues and the elimination of decadent tendencies. Social reconstruction accentuates the furtherance of local self-government and public education and recreation. Political reconstruction centres on the fostering of democratic systems and the even development of all parts of the nation. Economic reconstruction stresses the realisation of the Industrial Programme laid down by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen in order to bring about an all-round industrial prosperity.

This five-fold reconstruction is a gigantic and arduous task. It aims at the construction of a modern state which is the ultimate goal of China's post-war policy.

What we propose to construct is a country along the lines of the Three People's Principles which are not only political in nature, but also embody mental, ethical, social, and economic

features. We may say that San Min Chu I (Three People's . Principles) reconstruction amounts to the creation of a San Min Chu I culture. Through mental, ethical, social, political, and economic reconstructions along the lines of the Three People's Principles, we shall establish a new culture for this new era so as to raise our people's standard of living, ensure our social existence, and prolong our national life.

Modern culture may be divided into three systems. One over-emphasizes its spiritual side and is often characterised by backwardness in production, national weakness, and the menace of foreign invasion. Another system stresses too much the physical side of culture and thereby ignores the real purposes of human life. The inducement of greater profit drives the people inexorably into the servitude of productive technique just as the desire of colonial expansion hitches human life to the destructive technique of war. The best representatives of such culture are the Axis countries who have been seeking to plunge the whole world into slavery and despair. The third system is one which strikes a fair balance between the spiritual and the material. It is the anti-thesis of the tyranny of science and cold-blooded aggression; it is the doctrine of humanity and universal brotherly love. Its aim is to achieve national independence and freedom and the equality of nations. The culture of San Min Chu I is that of democracy and anti-aggressionism. The post-war policy of China aims at the construction of such culture.

The war of today is essentially a war of different cultures. The failure of developing a healthy relationship among the existing cultures is really the fundamental cause of all international conflicts and social insecurity. The overemphasis on technology and the prevalent thought of war-technique-above-all are the two main causes of World War II. The Axis aggressors are permeated with the psychology of hatred, jealousy, and madness. Such a kind of culture must feed on war. War can never be eliminated unless the war-mongers are exterminated. "If we do not end war, war will end us." In 25 years' time we have experienced two monstrous wars. And this time we must not let these bitter lessons repeat themselves. It is the sincere wish of the Chinese people to contribute their share to the great task of eliminating aggression and establishing permanent peace.

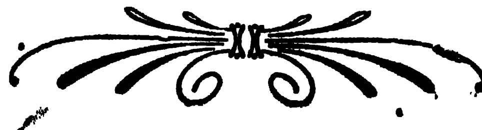
China's Peace Aims

The war of aggression destroys peace; the war of self-defence fights for peace. China and the United Nations are fighting for the preservation of peace and the existence of equality and freedom for all nations. The aim of China is to win a victorious peace.

China is a peace-loving country. "International Harmony" is the governing principle of her traditional foreign policy. The idea of aggression has never entered the realm of thought of the Chinese people. Occassionally there were a few emperors in the history of China who carried out a more severe policy towards the aggressors, like Shih Huang Ti and Han Wu Ti, yet neither the Chinese historians nor the Chinese people approved of their sanguinary actions. As the Generalissimo told the Chinese people before the beginning of the war against Japan, "We will not forsake peace unless we could not help it; we will not talk lightly of sacrifice until we could not possibly avoid it." Since we were forced to fight, we will fight till the enemy is completely defeated. Peace could never be attained without complete victory. A victorious peace is our ultimate aim.

China is not only fighting for the freedom and independence of herself but also for world peace and the righteousness of mankind. The war aims of China are the same as those of the United Nations. The war against the Axis Powers is a total war. Only a total victory can achieve a universal peace. And victory means the realisation of our war aims to guarantee righteousness and justice. We should not be satisfied with a military triumph only.

China will forever be a nation free and independent. Her destiny is assured by her titanic efforts and tremendous sacrifices in the present struggle against the barbarous forces of aggression. To fight for a victorious peace and to establish a San Min Chu I culture are the new guiding principles for the realisation of our cherished ideals.



SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF CHINESE YOUTH

By LO CH'UAN-FANG, Ph.D. (Chicago),

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In attempting to picture the state of mind of Chinese youth today toward contemporary social, economic and political problems, I have no wish to claim complete objectivity or comprehensive treatment. Scientific survey of public opinion in China is not feasible at the present moment, and any comprehensive study cannot ignore the regional differences that characterize the people of an unevenly developed country. What I intend to do is to present a personal interpretation of the mind of modern youth in China, based on eight years of daily contact with college students of both sexes, and supported by a few psychological measurements of their interests and attitudes. The limitations of such an endeavour are admittedly great. The only justification is that my observations and impressions, though partial and imperfect, may offer something of interest to the reader in India, and may even serve as a personal testimony to be weighed and criticized by other observers of Chinese youth.

It is impossible to enumerate all the perplexing questions and situations that demand the attention and judgment of Chinese students today. I select for discussion only the more pressing social, economic and international issues that either directly affect their personal interests or contribute to the fulfilment or frustration of their hopes and aspirations. Such problems as parent-child relationship, love and marriage, the coming status of labor and post-war international relations form topics of almost daily conversation among young men and women of the present generation. They may be problems common to youth throughout the whole world. To delineate some of the typical reactions of Chinese students to these problems is my present intent.

I

Chinese college students of today all belong to the new era in Chinese history which began, we may say, with the revolution of 1911. Most of them were born soon after the first World War. They never saw the darkness of old China when she was ruled by the Manchus. But they have witnessed plenty of action, confusion and new life, especially since the nationalist movement of 1927. Their primary education started with the reading of pictorial text-books written in *pei hua*, not with the memorizing of ancient classics. They have enjoyed, since early childhood, western movies, western music, and not a few translations of western novels and plays. Their world is not the world of their parents and grandparents. It is to be expected, therefore, that their outlook on life, their standards of judgment and their scale of values are often not in conformity with traditional Chinese patterns.

Perhaps nowhere is the difference in attitude between the generations more marked than in respect to family relations. Filial piety has for centuries been China's outstanding moral ideal, but it commands no absolute devotion or respect among youth today. Its meaning has undergone great and radical changes. For example, the father in the family of the traditional type (which is fast disappearing except in the backwoods villages) is a stern person looked upon with fear and awe by his children. But what do students think of their fathers now? Is the father's authority over children acknowledged without reserve? The new attitude toward the father in the family is reflected in the following reactions to two problematical situations which I once suggested to my students for their judgment. One question was the right of the father to use corporal punishment on his children. Nine out of every ten students thought it wrong for the father to use corporal punishment at all. In the old days the question would have been entirely unnecessary for the father exercised absolute authority in the family. The arguments against corporal punishment were not simply a denial of parental authority, but were usually based on intelligent reasoning. Many protested that corporal punishment at its best was only negative training; that it exploited the child's fear; and that it was likely to injure the child either physically or mentally. One may say that the chief objection to corporal punishment is not so much youth's revolt against parental authority, as its incompatibility with

new attitude toward the whole problem of child management.

That blind servitude to parents is not the popular standard of behaviour is seen also in students' reactions to a second question : Should a son or daughter be made responsible for the father's debts in case the father is unable to pay? Although some students acknowledge that it is quite fair to ask children to pay their father's debts, the more prevalent attitude is that the father alone is morally responsible, and that his children should not be placed under any moral obligation to clear debts which they did not contract for themselves. This attitude is again a departure from the traditional idea of filial piety, and indicates youth's desire to start his life as an individual person without being unduly hindered by the financial entanglements of his parents. Thus a new relationship between the generations is developing. There is not less affection between parents and children, but there is more mutual understanding. There is also a strong wish on the part of the younger generation for greater individual liberty and less family interference with personal affairs.

While Chinese students today enjoy greater freedom than their parents in talking about love and marriage, they still suffer from many social and traditional inhibitions. They are handicapped, too, by the lack of social contact with members of the opposite sex in their early and adolescent years, since secondary schools in China are not co-educational. For many young people in China their first opportunity for making friends with members of the opposite sex comes only when they enter college. The ordinary college girl is still too self-conscious, and is not confident of her ability to attract and entertain men of her own age. She may feel superior in her observational ability, but she keeps most of her observations to herself and is shy of social advances. On the other hand, though the college man is more confident of himself and more aggressive, his behaviour before girls is usually awkward, since no one has ever taught him, or given him a chance to learn what constitutes refinement in conduct in the company of women. He has to acquire this skill by his own trials and errors. But both men and women are truly hungry for intelligent information about love and marriage, and lectures or discussions on such topics invariably draw a big crowd.

Because of lack of social contact between young men and women, it is easy to understand why any advance toward a member of the opposite sex is generally interpreted to mean courting. There is often no clear distinction between friendship and love-making, and many are forced by circumstances to limit their attention to one man or woman only. This rather unwholesome situation is much aggravated by the numerical preponderance of males over females in all Chinese colleges and universities.

Although companionate marriage has its advocates among Chinese youth, the great majority do not approve of the freedom to indulge in sexual relations without a formal marriage ceremony. Women, especially, are apprehensive about companionate marriage in any form. They are afraid that companionate marriage is too great a risk for a woman to take, since Chinese society affords no proper protection to the girl's future security and good name.

Concern for healthy marriage is rather general. Both men and women would welcome compulsory medical examination before marriage, and restriction of marriage among people under twenty years of age. Limitation of size of family by means of birth-control has the support of most young men and women. They are quite aware of the value of birth-control as a means of protection of the mother's health and the child's future welfare.

A clear difference between the traditional attitude and the attitude of modern youth is seen in regard to divorce and remarriage. While remarriage of the widow was looked upon in old China as a moral transgression, and is still condemned in some places in the interior, the modern view upholds the right of the widow to remarry, and severely criticizes the old ethical system which proclaims one moral standard for men and quite a different one for women. The same modern demand for a single moral standard for both men and women lends support to the wife's right to divorce her husband. Easy divorce, to be sure, is not favoured by Chinese youth; but when divorce becomes unavoidable, many of them are willing to sanction dissolution of marriage by mutual consent without the intervention of law.

Like college women in other lands, the modern Chinese girl sometimes experiences a conflict between career and marriage. It interesting to note that while almost all college women desire to participate in productive enterprises, social or economic, there are still not a few young men who feel that a woman's rightful place is the home.

II

In the realm of economic thought Chinese students have manifested great interest and some mental exertion in recent years. Books and pamphlets on economic principles, problems and planning have been widely read by Chinese youth, though mature thinking on such matters is probably still rarer than verbosity. But there is genuine sympathy for any social or political endeavour to improve the economic condition of the common people; and I think I am right in saying that most students are willing to make a small contribution to the realization of a new economic order wherein the unequal distribution of wealth, as it now exists, will be greatly reduced. As a concrete example, some restriction on the acquisition of property by inheritance is generally approved and regarded with favor. A commonly expressed opinion is that a person who inherits property from his father or other relation is gaining wealth without labor; that transmission of property by inheritance tends to keep capital private instead of turning it to public good; and that it encourages a life of leisure on the part of the inheritor. Many would like to see private wealth used in some form of community service, instead of its being passed on from one generation to another.

Students in China as a whole are anxious to see the present hardships of labor relieved and its future status considerably improved. The suggestion of a minimum wage for labor is enthusiastically received. All agree that there should be some guarantee of the satisfaction of labor's primary needs, and protection against exploitation. A fair minimum wage law, once established, might alleviate the conflict between capital and labor by removing a constant source of friction. As to labor's right to strike, there are both defenders and opponents. Some fear that labor will be left without any weapon for self-defense should strike be made illegal under any circumstances. Others who believe that the strike should be prohibited, in peace as well as in war-time, point out that it interferes with public safety and production, and offers itself as a convenient tool in the hands of political manipulators.

One hopeful change that is taking place in the mind of the Chinese youth today is his growing sense of respect for manual work. It used to be the fashion among Chinese students to look down upon any work which requires physical exertion, for the scholar was supposed to be a literary man engaged in the higher forms of mental activity. It was below the dignity of a scholar to do household work such as cooking, cleaning and carrying water. And since labor was cheap before the war, it was not uncommon for a students' residence or dormitory to employ two or three full-time servants. But war has made labor dear and scarce; and it is a luxury for even a professor's house to hire a maid to help in domestic work. College students are now driven to assume, willingly or not, more and more of the menial labor that goes with everyday living. Men and women alike now do their own marketing, and help in cooking, cleaning and washing. They have to mend their own clothes, knit their own sweaters and polish their own shoes. They begin thus to appreciate the value of manual labor.

Another thing which war has contributed to the re-grading of physical and mental occupations is the sudden rise in social prestige of mechanical work. The man who can drive a truck today finds himself in much greater demand, and is much better paid, than his intellectual superior, the office secretary or college professor. The ability to read and write, which used to be the monopoly of scholars, can no longer compare favorably, at least in its financial returns and immediate practical value, with the ability to handle machines. It is amusing and telling to see nowadays how a truck driver will condescend to do favors to students and teachers, frankly confessing his financial superiority to the poor intellectuals. It is no longer fashionable for educated people to treat the truck-driver as one below their rank. It is not even expedient to call a driver a driver, for he is easily offended at such a low professional title, and feels happy only when he is politely addressed as a technician or mechanist.

The change in attitude of modern youth toward manual workers is a decided gain for social democracy in China. The traditional classification of occupations has made an aristocracy of the literati. But today students have learned from their own experience that any division of occupations into higher and lower ranks displays not only snobbishness but misinformation about modern life. A democratic attitude toward all vocations which acknowledges occupational equality is slowly gaining popularity among students.

III

Whether Chinese youth today has given much serious thought to the new world order after this war is very questionable. Like many people in other democratic countries, the attention of youth in China is mainly focused on the

primary aim of victory over the Axis Powers, particularly victory over Japan. The complexity of the problem of post-war world reorganization is perhaps not appreciated by the ordinary Chinese student. However, though he is not prepared to advance practicable ideas for world reorganization, if he is questioned about definite issues he is not without some ready response. In principle, at least, his mind is almost set for certain things and against others.

To illustrate the present frame of mind of Chinese students toward post-war world problems, let us consider their reactions to the question of indemnity and the question of the future status of subject peoples. So far as I can judge, I believe most young people feel that China will be justified in demanding an indemnity from Japan at the peace conference. Japan is the aggressor, it is reiterated time and again. The war has been fought on Chinese soil. The sufferings of the common people have been so great that some compensation for losses seems only fair. Besides, an indemnity payment by Japan will serve as a form of punishment for Japan's misconduct, and as a warning against any recurrence of acts of aggression. These students who have not worried themselves about Japan's ability to pay even go so far as to offer suggestions for the use of the indemnity fund for the development of education and industry in China after this war of impoverishment.

But there is a minority who voice a different opinion. There are a few who believe that an indemnity demand is not justified. According to their argument, Japan's war of aggression is dictated by her war-lords. The common people in Japan probably have never desired the invasion of China. It, therefore, would be unfair to force the Japanese common people to pay for the sins of their military leaders. A much better reason than this is the grave doubt over Japan's ability to pay anything at all. The more idealistic among young people also hold that forcing an indemnity upon defeated Japan may drive her to extremes, and may be just the obstacle to the re-establishment of friendly relations between the Chinese and the Japanese people after this war.

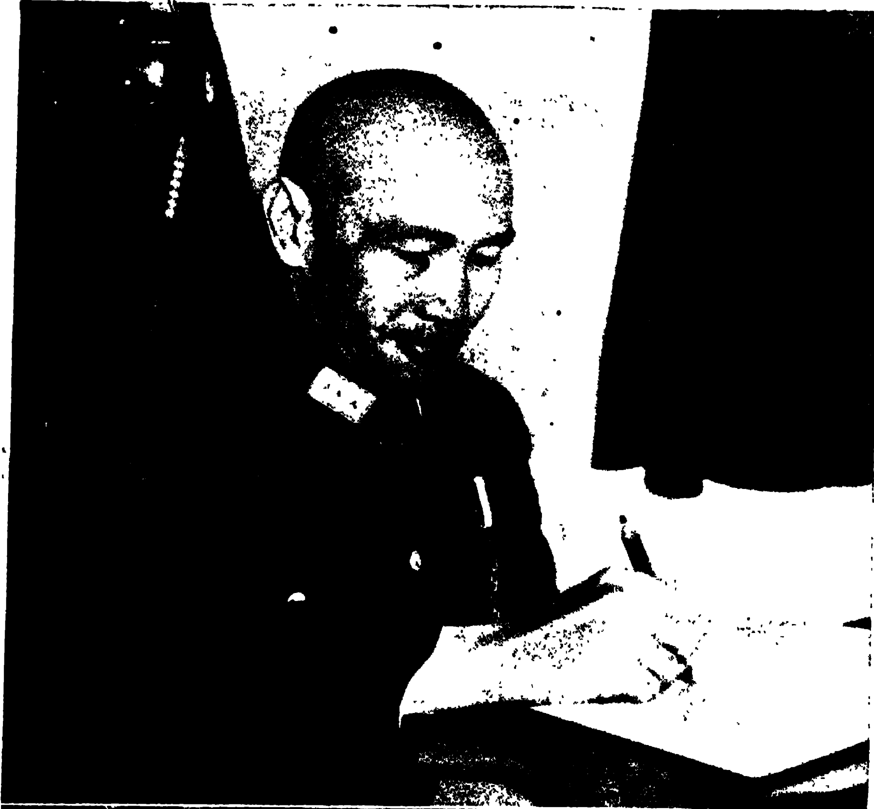
On the question of treatment of subject peoples, there is greater agreement of opinion. Chinese students remember only too well the hard struggles that China has gone through in her fight for political freedom and independence. They themselves have often taken an active part in support of China's fight. They have keenly felt the insult of being treated as a semi-independent people. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that their sympathy is strong for any other people engaged in the strife for freedom and equality. They ardently hope that this war for democracy will not bring dishonor upon itself by ending in the frustration of democratic aspirations. The principle of self-determination is accepted as a sound doctrine by practically all Chinese students. It is confidently maintained that every people should be allowed to develop itself, not only politically as an independent nation, but also culturally, so that it may make its greatest possible contribution to a new world civilization.

It is important to add here that while Chinese students' attitude is one favoring greater freedom for all subject peoples, they are not so enthusiastic about any plan of action which plays into the hands of China's enemy at the present moment.

What role China should play in the post-war world is still vague in many students' minds. They are at least looking forward to a victorious China, a China that will be treated as an equal by her Allies. Long disciplined to play only a minor role in world affairs, youth in China has no greater ambition than to share in the responsibilities and joys of a new world.

Speaking from my own experience and knowledge, the majority of Chinese college students are eager to learn, anxious to do the right thing, and are governed in their actions by worthy ideals and aspirations. They have suffered from the hardships and deprivations of war; they have also been unspoiled by too much material comfort or too easy an education. Their enthusiasm for a better home, a better economic order and a better world is the enthusiasm of young life. But life is not all sweet success for an individual or a nation. The one great question that cannot be answered with certainty is how Chinese youths will react in the face of a series of disillusionments—disillusionment about love, disillusionment about marriage, disillusionment about the dearly anticipated economic order or the much advertised democratic society of nations. If there is anything that is lacking in the education of Chinese students, it may be mental preparation not for success, but for the possibility of frustration in their noble effort to realize their cherished democratic ideals.

Photographs Courtesy : **Thomas Kwang**



Left : Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

Bottom : The members of the U. S. A. Congress acclaiming Madame Chiang Kai-shek after her address



Mr Wendell Willkie being received at Chungking by the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek



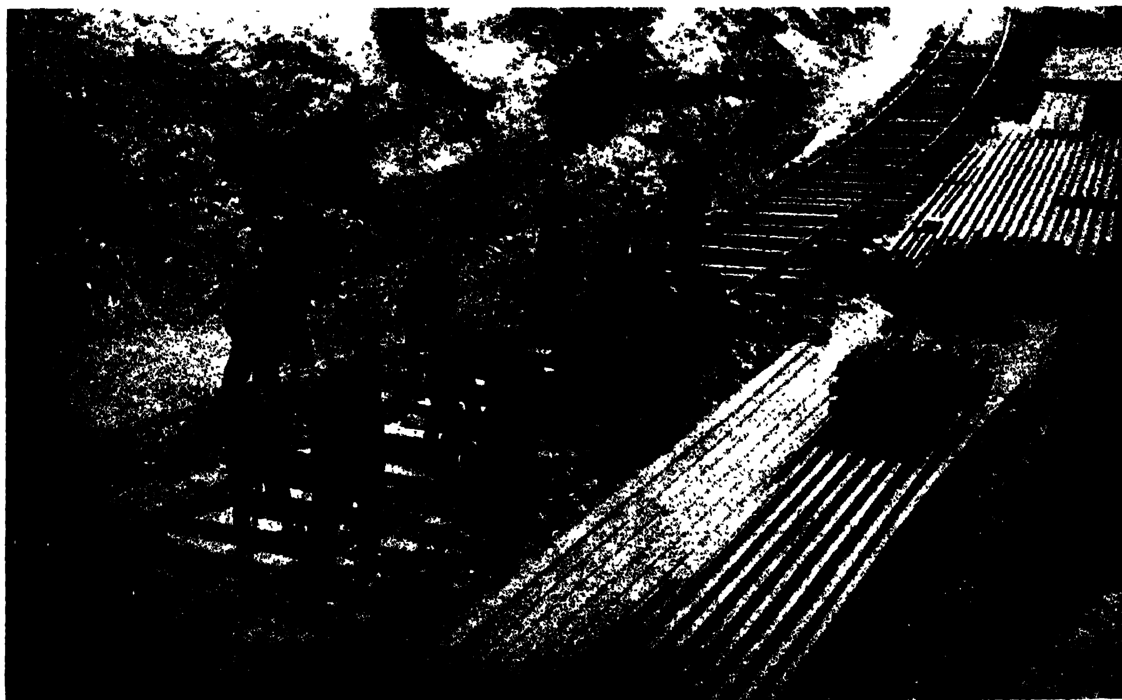
Burmese journalists mission in Chungking received by the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek



Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Mr. and Mrs. Luce of "Li



Ancient Temple converted into War-time College Library



Rushing a railway line through in free China



Chinese soldiers gather fuel in spare time

The watch on the **Yangtse**

THIRTY YEARS OF WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT IN CHINA

BY MAYLING SOONG CHIANG
(MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK)

HISTORY shows that steps towards the emancipation of women are closely related to the development of revolutionary ideology. The women's movement in Europe, for instance, had as its springboard the French Revolution; that in America was motivated by the abolition of slavery, and that in Russia dated from the October Revolution. The women's movement in China goes back to the constitutional reform during the decline of the Manchu regime shortly after the Boxer Uprising in 1900. It passed through the 1911 Revolution, the May Fourth Movement, the Northern Expedition and continues during the present national struggle for independence. Through all these stages, the feminist campaign has progressed in co-ordination with other social movements.

Though the Chinese women's movement can be traced to the constitutional reform in the late period of the Manchu Dynasty, until the 1911 Revolution it had found expression mainly as a budding revolt against old moral codes and ideas. It was only after the 1911 Revolution that the revolt in thought became one in action in which the women showed their strength and determination. In order to analyze the women's movement as it developed from thought to action, together with all factors that contributed to its progress, this article will essay to describe the different stages of the movement both before and after the Wuchang Revolution.

I. WOMEN'S MOVEMENT BEFORE THE 1911 REVOLUTION

After the Sino-Japanese war in 1894 and the conclusion of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, more and more foreigners came to China, while China began to send additional diplomatic representatives and students abroad. With these increasing contacts, European and American cultures, systems, learning and ideas were gradually introduced to China. This led to the attempt to bring about a constitutional change.

Revolutionary ideas began to spread among the people. Discussions regarding the equality of men and women freely took place. Chinese women began to realize the importance of their responsibilities. At that period women paid greater attention to broad political problems than to their own. Their activities at this time may be defined as follows:

1. *Participation in the Revolution and establishment of women's forums*: The first three women leaders who made their supreme sacrifices for the revolutionary cause in the 26th year of Emperor Kuang Hsu of the Manchu Dynasty were Chow-Fu-Chen, Mao Chih-hsiang and Liu Hui-fang. Two years later the first women's journal made its appearance. This was followed by a number of women's papers published in Peking and Shanghai.

In a book entitled "A Call to Chinese Women" by Chin Yi, the author advocated that women should be entitled to six privileges: attending school, making friends, doing business, handling finances, freedom to move in or out of the home, and freedom in marriage. On matters such as women's social intercourse, marriage, participation in government affairs and education, she imparted new ideas and her book produced a profound influence on women's thought at the time.

In the 30th year of Emperor Kuang Hsu, Chiu Chin, a woman revolutionary forerunner and martyr, joined the Tung Men Hui. She became a pioneer of women's education and personally took charge of the Ming Tao Girls' School and Ta Tung Athletic Association. Later she met her death at Shaoshing, a martyr in the anti-Manchu and anti-monarchy revolutionary movement. Up to the present, she is kept in reverential memory by the Chinese people.

2. *Establishment of women's educational system*: Many among those who were concerned over women's education advocated the establishment of women's schools. The private Hui Hsing Girls' School at Hanchow was turned into a governmental school. Many women's educational associations were formed. Then the Manchu government installed a special education department and promulgated regulations governing schools in which provisions concerning women were embodied in the Home Education Law. Thus women were given a definite place in the educational system in China.

3. *Activities of Chinese women students in Japan*: Dissatisfied with the educational facilities in their own country, many Chinese women students went to Japan. That country was then in the midst of a modernization movement, and most Chinese thought that they could benefit by studying in Japan as the two peoples were similar in racial and cultural characteristics. As far as cultural similarity was concerned, it was inevitable as what culture Japan possessed had come from China. It had seeped through Korea and the Japanese speedily assimilated features of value to them such as the adoption of the calendar, writing, and the compilation of history.

Chinese women students in Japan organized the Chinese Women Students' Association there in the 32nd year of Emperor Kuang Hsu, and in the name of the association several publications were turned out.

In brief, before the 1911 Revolution the women's movement in China was mainly brought about through the influence of the West. It began with the founding of schools for girls and gradually turned into the channels of the revolutionary movement against the Manchu dynasty. The Christian mission schools exerted a powerful influence and the Chinese people and women in particular owe much to them. Pioneers in modern education for women, they were largely responsible for the long strides taken towards the goal of freedom released from the shackles of an outworn past.

II. From the 1911 Revolution to the May Fourth Youth Movement

The women's movement from the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution to the May Fourth Youth Movement may be divided into two stages. During the Revolution, their activities were exclusively confined to participation in the revolutionary movement. After the successful conclusion of the Revolution, the scope of their activities widened to embrace many aspects.

1. *Women's Movement during the 1911 Revolution*: The eve of the 1911 Revolution saw Chinese women active in the cause. Positive action took the place of freedom in thinking. They organized themselves and participated in the revolutionary front. Their activities during this stage may be summed up as follows:

Women joining the army. After the occupation of Wuchang, the Revolutionary Army, to increase its strength, called for recruits. Many women responded to this call, and among them was Miss Wu Shu-ching with several hundred amazons under her command. Girls in Chekiang also participated in the battle of Hangchow. Then there were organized the Women's Dare-to-Die Corps, Women's Kuo Min Chun, Women's Warriors' Society and Women's Assassination Corps. They took part in the garrisoning of Wuchang and the attacks on Hankow and Nanking. In Shanghai also women organized themselves into military bodies and took an active part in the Revolution.

In the Northern expedition, too, women played a distinct and heroic role, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the men.

The organization of women's rescue and first-aid corps: When the Revolution started in the Wuhan area, Chinese women there organized the Rescue and First-Aid Corps which later marched northward with the army. The Red Cross Society at Shanghai organized rescue and first-aid corps which were sent to Hankow, Hanyang, Chinkiang and Nanking to attend to the wounded. In medical relief work, women rendered an even greater service than as soldiers.

Espionage and canvassing for supplies: With the revolutionary campaign sweeping the entire country, there was started in Shanghai an organization to enlist the sing-song girls in espionage work.

Another organization to the credit of feminist leaders in Shanghai was the Women's Aid-Revolution Association which engaged in raising funds and supplies for the Revolutionary Army. From Shanghai this movement spread to Hangchow, Chinkiang, Sunkiang, Changshu and Kashing when patriotic women busied themselves with collecting military provisions. Another women's organization specialised in soliciting funds in aid of the revolutionary cause. The infusion of modern and liberal ideas manifested itself in various and hitherto unexplored ways. For instance, Madame H. H. Kung, having just finished her college education in America and returned to China, was the first to realize the value of the theatre for the cause. She organized plays in which girls of good families took part and their appearance on the public stage was responsible for raising large sums for the relief of wounded soldiers.

At first women's efforts were exclusively devoted to the nationalist movement. It was only after the establishment of the provisional government in Nanking, that they began to shift their attention to a movement purely for the promotion of their own rights and welfare.

2. *Women's Movement from the 1911 Revolution to the May Fourth Youth Movement*: Following the successful conclusion of the 1911 Revolution, revolutionary ideas spread far and wide. The majority of educated women became at once extremely enthusiastic in the campaign for participation in government and in the idea of equality between men and women. Many organizations came into being at this time. and the common purpose seemed to be obtaining for women the rights of participation in government affairs on an equal basis with men. It was contended that women should be entitled to hold official posts and be elected members of the Parliament as freely as men. Their organizations consisted of the following:

Organizations for Women's Participation in Government Movement: The most influential organization was the Women's Participation in Government Tung Men Hui. This comprised as its constituent bodies the Women's Aid-the-Rear association, the Women's Warriors' Society, the Nanking Women's Tung Men Hui, and the Hunan Women's Citizen Association. The Tung Men Hui submitted a petition urging that provisions should be made in the constitution that women shall be entitled to the right of electing and being elected on the same basis as men. As an alternative, the petition suggested that a separate mandate be issued to the public defining the "citizens of China" referred to in the constitution as inclusive of each sex to serve as the evidence on official record on which women might base their claim for participation in government affairs. When the provisional constitution was made public, however, it lacked any provisions on equal rights between men and women. This led to an indignation demonstration by all women's organizations.

Organizations for educational and intellectual advancement: Newspapers, as the channels of public opinion, drew considerable attention after the 1911 Revolution. Realizing the importance of the press for the expression of opinions on public affairs, many women turned to the journalistic field, and newspapers, periodicals, and other publications were produced with the common purpose of promoting women's education, championing women's rights, helping to forward the Republican Government and cultivating women's political knowledge and consciousness so as to prepare them for participation in government affairs.

Industrial and other organizations: The Shanghai Women's Industrial Company was a firm managed and staffed entirely by women. Its sole purpose was to turn out native products to promote women's industries. In Nanking, preparations were made to establish a Central Women's Arts and Crafts Factory and a Chinese Women's Bank. There were many other organizations with women at the helm of affairs.

III. From the May Fourth Movement to the Reorganization of the Kuomintang

The May Fourth Youth Movement in 1919, brought about mainly by the patriotism of the Chinese students, should not be interpreted as a mere political or cultural movement. It was a social movement with all the different problems confronting the nation at that time as the underlying cause. In its political sense, it was directed against the feudalistic and militaristic system. It had as its purpose the overthrowing of antiquated and traditional ideas and the sanctioning of the theory of individualism.

From the women's standpoint, the Youth Movement marked another step forward in their cause. The prevailing public opinion favored women's participation in government affairs, freedom in love and marriage and social intercourse, the establishment of the "small home system" (that is, the establishment by a son of the house of his own instead of following the traditional practice of living with his parents and grand-parents), and women's economic independence.

The development during the May Fourth Movement can be divided into the following four phases:

1. Educational: Prior to the May Fourth Youth Movement, there had been Chinese-operated institutions of higher learning for women. Among those founded by foreign missions were the Peking Union College for women in Peking, Ginling College for Women in Nanking, and South China College in Foochow. These were the only institutions where Chinese women might pursue higher education. In the sixth year of the Chinese Republic (1917), the Women's Normal School in Peking conducted a special class in Chinese culture and the following year opened another special training course in art, painting and drawing. Later, the University in Canton started to enroll women students. The following year, the Peking Women's Teachers' College was formally inaugurated. Since then, co-education has been introduced in most colleges and universities in the country. Therefore, co-education, which gives women the opportunity of higher education,

may be said to have its beginning in the May Fourth Youth Movement.

2. Women's rights: The May Fourth Youth Movement swing the Chinese women activities in all parts of the country into action. Besides women on the faculties of schools who banded themselves together, women's associations were organized in Shanghai, Kwangtung, Chekiang, Hunan, Szechuan and Kiangsi, bound together by the single purpose of participation in government affairs. The spring of 1921 saw the formation of the Women's Tung Chih Hui (Comrades Society) in Peking, the Women's Movement Committee in Shanghai and other feminist organizations. Under various names, all these organizations were charged with one purpose: seeking the right of franchise and equality with men before the law, in education, and in vocation.

3. Vocational: After May Fourth, teaching became a common occupation of educated women. At the same time, the number of those entering factories and business gradually increased.

4. Social welfare: At this time, the Y. W. C. A.'s in the country began to engage in social welfare activities which included the movement for the protection of women and child laborers and the establishment of women's dormitories. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, a mission organization with branches all over the country, tried to bring about reforms in the home. It established the women's educational institute and women's hostel, and did much for the promotion of women's welfare in general. All this serves to show the attention which had been aroused in women's social welfare.'

IV. From the Reorganization of the Kuomintang to the Mukden Incident

In the Outline of Basic Policies of the Kuomintang are provisions governing women's rights which read: "In law, economics, education and social affairs, appropriate recognition should be given to the principle of equality between men and women to help/promote women's rights." The position of the Kuomintang in the women's movement has been one of fostering and guiding its development. The Nationalist Government was formally established in Nanking in 1928 and the women's movement then began to be under the guidance of the Kuomintang, and women's organizations were placed under its direct supervision Women's activities under the direction of the Kuomintang may be summarized as follows:

1. Organization of the Women's Department under the Kuomintang: Both the central and local Kuomintang executive headquarters were provided with a women's department, while women's movement committees were set up in Shanghai and Canton, charged with the task of promoting women's rights in equality with men and sponsoring labor education among women workers.

2. Inauguration of women's associations: The Women's Department of the Reorganization Committee of the Municipal Kuomintang Headquarters in Nanking and the Political Training Department of the Headquarters of the Commander-in-chief of the Nationalist Army convened a meeting of women leaders at which a decision was reached to organize the Nanking Women's Association. Similar associations were later organized in the municipalities of Shanghai, Peking, Tientsin and Foochow, and in centers in the provinces of Anhwei and Honan Their functions were more or less identical. Besides enlightening the women-folk and enabling them to realize their own suffering and the need for emancipation, they enlisted the different women's groups in their areas to work under their supervision and strengthened their organizations. In addition, they conducted short-term schools to give women supplementary training and schools for the training of women employees. In the interests of women labor, they fought for equal treatment of men and women workers. They did all they could to establish women's equality with men in politics, law, education, and other spheres. Especially noteworthy were their efforts to solve matrimonial problems.

3. Organization of the National Women's Association: A general conference of delegates of women's associations from different parts of the country was held in the spring of 1929 for the purpose of petitioning the Government for the organization of a National Women's Association. Representatives at the conference came from Kiangsu, Kwangtung, Szechwan, Shanghai, Tientsin, Shantung, Honei, Peiping, Shansi, Chekiang, Nanking Honan and Anhwei. Many resolutions were adopted, including those to be submitted to the Third Plenary Session of the Central Executive and Supervisory Committees of the Kuomintang, though efforts to carry them out failed.

V. From the Mukden Incident to July 7, 1937

After the Mukden Incident, the people of the entire nation were seething with indignation

against the enemy and women in all parts of the country, were they teachers and students in schools, or housewives and daughters at home, or engaged in free occupations, organized themselves into enemy-resisting national salvation bodies. Up to the present stage of the national resistance, women have all realized that their own emancipation lies in the national liberation of China. The only dissimilarity lies in the fact that prior to the beginning of resistance, there had been no strongly unified organization for women. The women's movement during this period comprises the following fields :

1. National Salvation activities : Among the women who started the organization of enemy-resisting and national salvation associations after the Mukden incident those in Nanking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Peiping, Canton and Hankow were most enthusiastic. Similar groups came into existence in other cities. When the first Shanghai " war " broke out on January 28, 1932, a great number of women factory workers, students and family women participated in war-aid work. They engaged in making garments for the soldiers, in organizing hospitals for the wounded and rescue and first-aid corps, giving consolation and encouragement to the warriors, soliciting funds and doing publicity work. All did their share in helping the resistance against Japan. In the subsequent war along the Great Wall, in the Suiyan battles, and finally in the present national resistance, women have, with the same spirit of patriotism, actively participated in war-aid work.

2. Famine relief : The disastrous flood of 1931 affected almost two-thirds of the population. A special flood relief commission was formed by the Government to handle the relief work. Chinese women leaders organized a relief committee, and women groups in Shanghai, Nanking and North China distributed more than 10 000 pieces of winter clothing and quilts among the sufferers. Refugee camps and hospices for women in childbirth were also provided.

3. Women's right movement : When the People's Assembly was convened in May 1931, women groups in Nanking submitted a proposal asking for certain revisions in the Civil and Criminal Codes which were ultimately made.

Another four-point petition concerning the recognition of women's rights was submitted by women groups to the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Executive and Supervisory Committees of the Kuomintang held in 1935. When the rules and regulations governing the election of delegates to the People's Assembly were proclaimed, it was seen that provisions therein would make it difficult for women to be elected. Feminine activities again organized themselves and petitioned the Government for more representation. This created quite a sensation at the time.

Aside from the organizations in charge of the different phases of the movement, there was a nation-wide network of women's relief societies and women's associations, all having as their common goal the emancipation of women.

VI. Women's Movement in Four Years of Resistance

After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese hostilities on July 7, 1937, the people of the entire country were mobilized under the banner of the struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation. With the rising tide of war, the women's movement advanced to a new stage of development. Women's activities began to assume a broader and more practical aspect. Special mention should be made of the following features of their work :

1. Unification of women's organizations : As soon as the curtain rose on national resistance, women throughout the country banded themselves together and organized the Chinese Women's National War Relief Association. In May of 1938, more than fifty women leaders from 13 provinces attended a meeting of unprecedented importance at Kuling. Up to the time that we met at this conference, there had been, as has been seen, much energy and effort expended in the endeavour to better the condition of women, but the organizations and associations concerned were scattered in different localities and were individual bodies with no central aim for guidance. In a word, there was no correlation and it was clearly necessary to bring all these organizations and associations together, co-ordinate their activities, and inspire them with one common aspiration. At this Kuling meeting we drew up the " General Outline of Principles Governing the Mobilization of Women to participate in Resistance and National Reconstruction." It was realized that the prerequisites to women's mobilization lay in raising their educational standards, improving their living conditions, safeguarding their economic independence and organizing intellectual women for a mass education campaign. It was also decided that all women groups in the country should have their highest executive organ in the Women's Advisory Committee of the New Life Movement. Thus this meeting opened a new era

for women in the movement's history of the past thirty years. Under the guidance of centralized and unified organization, co-operation waxed stronger and efficiency of work increased.

2. Scope of work :

(*a*) Training of leaders : A total of 941 women leaders were trained in six terms. They have been assigned to work in rural districts, factories, hospitals for wounded soldiers, and orphanages.

(*b*) Production enterprises : While the Government was at Hankow, Madame H. H. Kung laid the foundation for the magnificent production work in which women have played the leading part in Free China during the last few years. Madame Kung started visiting the factories in Hankow in order that she should obtain sufficient data to enable her to decide what would be the most useful lines of production for women helpers in the national effort in the rear. She came to the conclusion that the improvement of silk and hand industries, such as cotton weaving, had most to commend them. Since then she has been, among other things, the driving force behind the revival of the silk industry in Szechuan. As executive director, she introduced modern methods of sericulture in eleven hsien in Szechuan. Last year the crop produced by the improved methods introduced were seventy per cent better than those of the previous year. The silk co-operatives under the Production Department already number over 12,000 families. It is now assured that in the near future Szechuan will regain the proud position of being one of the foremost silk producing centers of China.

It was not to silk alone that Madame Kung devoted her attention. On her initiative four projects were undertaken in Szechuan, namely, a spinning and weaving factory, a handicraft institute, a sericultural district and a spinning and weaving experiment district. One part of the annual output is sold within the country to meet the needs of the people and the army while the other part is exported to obtain foreign exchange. A large group of technical personnel has been trained, and co-operatives and advisory agencies have been organized to direct women in rural districts in their productive activities.

(*c*) Child welfare : The Refugee Children's Association was organized under the Chinese Women's National War Relief Association, with branches in the provinces to handle wartime child welfare work. Up to the present 54 orphanages have been established taking care of 24,997 war orphans.

(*d*) Giving encouragement to soldiers : Following the inauguration of the Chinese Women's National War Relief Association, branches were orgnaized in the provinces of Hunan, Kwangtung, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Shensi, Kansu, Kiangsi and Kweichow, and in New York, London, Paris, and the Philippine Islands. At various times, drives for winter garments, for cloth shoes and socks, for medical supplies and for cotton-padded garments were launched. These campaigns netted more than $50,000,000 in cash, over 500 ounces of gold and silver ornaments, 30,000 pairs of cloth shoes, hundreds of thousands of suits of summer and winter clothing, and more than 20 kinds of medicines. These have either been sent to the front for distribution among the fighters, or given as gifts to wounded soldiers in hospitals, or to families of conscripted men. Workers are stationed in hospitals to look after the wounded.

(*e*) Advice on living : This phase of work is intended to bring women of all social strata into the fold of the New Life principles. More than 30,000 women laborers in the Wuhan cities were evacuated to the interior to continue their productive efforts. In all big factories are stationed regular workers giving advice and enlightenment to the women emlpoyees. In addition, information and service agencies have been set up to help solve the problems confronting women of all classes.

(*f*) Rural work : Literary classes for women and children as well as women's vocational training schools have been established throughout the rural districts seeking, on the one hand, to raise women's living standards and, on the other, to improve their living conditions. During the past few years, the sphere of this work has been along the Yangtze. The districts already benefited by this program comprise four counties including Huangpi and Hsiaokan in Hupeh province, ten counties including Tungan and Hengshan in Huan province, and 28 counties including Chekiang and Pengshui in Szechuan province. Activities are forging ahead in 50 other Szechuan counties including the Meishan and Pihsien while plans to increase personnel and further extend the work in this province are under way.

(*g*) Establishment of contacts and promotion work : For the advancement of its program, women's work committees have been called into being within the country and abroad. To date, such committees have been formed in Szechuan,

Hunan, Kweichow, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Honan, Shensi, the Fifth War Area and Kansu, in San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, Boston, Washington, New York, Los Angeles, Sacramento, Baltimore and Portland in the United States, and in Hongkong. The work of the branches is similar to that of the head office. In addition, special New Life Women's Service Corps have been organized in each government organization including the National Government, the Executive Yuan, the legislative Yan and 20 others. This system is also in force in the provinces. The wife of each provincial chairman is responsible directly to the Standing Committee of the Women's Advisory Council for women's work in her province. They have been performing their duties with zeal and devotion and throughout Free China these corps are promoting women's activities on logical and well-thought-out lines.

(*h*) Cultural work: With a view to raising the cultural level of women, directing their views and opinions to proper channels and keeping them informed and in communication with one another in their work, magazines and periodicals have been published and circulated. In these publications, new ideas and theories concerning the women's movement were introduced and the progress of women's work and their living conditions in different localities described.

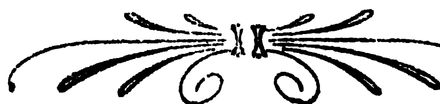
Under the guidance of the Women's Advisory Committee of the New Life Movement the women's movement during this period has become more substantial, enriched in content and better planned to merit more favourable progress. It has become not only a campaign in which women have sought their own emancipation but also an effective factor in the cause of national liberation.

3. Government promotion of women's movement: During this period, Chinese women have had the support and promotion of the government. In the Outline of General Policies Governing Resistance and National Reconstruction, for instance, it is officially provided that "women should be trained and enabled to serve in social welfare activities to increase the strength of resistance." The organization of women's corps is included into principles governing the organization of Wartime Citizens Militia promulgated by the Central Government. The People's Political Council, in its first term of office, allowed ten seats to women, and since its second term women's representative has been increased by six more. Women are also represented in the various provincial assemblies. A decision was reached at the Seventh Plenary Session of the Central Executive and Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang that a women's board should be established under the Central Kuomintang to direct the activities of women of the whole country. All this tends to show the keen interest the government takes in promoting the women's movement.

To sum up: The women's movement during the past 30 years has run the course from theory to practice; from trying to secure individual freedom and equal opportunities to striving for the liberation of the nation; from a stage of dissension and disorganization to that of being well-organized and well-planned. The strides of progress have been notable. Although much remains to be done, equally much has already been accomplished. Promise has become performance. Freedom and hope have been brought to the women of China. They are making a real contribution to national resistance and reconstruction. They recognize that the emancipation of themselves and securing their own rights are indissolubly bound with gaining undisputed sovereignty for China. Their aims are not selfish. They know that there can be no liberation for China from the chains that Japan is endeavouring to rivet upon her while nearly fifty per cent of her people remain in a status of inferiority. They are not content to allow their men to win freedom for them; they want to take their full share of the new agony and sweat that must be borne before China is blessed by that freedom.

Chungking, Szechuan
30th September, 1941

[This article, though written in September, 1941, may be regarded as a comprehensive and fairly up-to-date survey by the First Lady of China. We received this article through the courtesy of the Chinese Ministry of Information.]



FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

The nursing profession is one which has a very strong appeal to the women of Britain. To-day British nurses are to be found on every battlefield, carrying on the high ideals of service set them by the great Florence Nightingale the last century. In the following article is recorded the story of Miss Nightingale's great work.

FLORENCE Nightingale has often been depicted as a rather ethereal and mysterious figure who moved through hospital wards in the Crimea at night, and earned the title of the Lady of the Lamp. After the Crimean campaign had ended, a dinner was given to naval and military officers, who were asked to select the person whose achievements would be remembered the longest by posterity. The name chosen unanimously was that of Miss Florence Nightingale.

It was indeed no ethereal creature who had won that tribute from those tough men of war. It was a woman of indomitable will; a woman of tremendous physical endurance, of unbreakable courage; a woman who slashed her way through red tape, who fought incompetence of every kind till she had beaten it down, and who was the real founder of the modern British training system for nurses.

Florence Nightingale came from a cultured and moderately wealthy family. She was a girl of high spirits who enjoyed life, but she pondered deeply on the amount of human suffering which might be relieved by women's skill and patience. She was further inspired by Elizabeth Fry, the Quakeress, who was largely responsible for European prison reform in the early nineteenth century; and she began to study hospital systems and surgery on the continent of Europe as well as in London, Dublin and Edinburgh. She was thirty-four years of age when from the dispatches of a newspaper correspondent, the British public learned of the dreadful condition of the sick and wounded Crimean troops. It was evident that a woman of initiative was required to organise the nursing services, and there was only one whose character and training had equipped her for the task. The War Minister wrote to Florence Nightingale—and, by a strange coincidence, she was writing to him at the same hour to offer her services.

Within one week she had a detachment of nurses ready to set out for the Middle East. When they arrived at Scutari, all were amazed at the loveliness of that scene, where the hospital looked down over the waters of Bosphorus. The building itself might have been the palace of some Eastern emperor, each side of the quadrangle being fully a quarter of a mile long. But when Florence Nightingale entered, she was horror-struck at the filth and confusion. There were about four miles (6 kilometres) of corridors and galleries and men lay there with undressed wounds. The place was verminous and rat-infested. On the day after she arrived, 4th November 1854, the Battle of Inkerman was fought; and soon more casualties were pouring in—men who were suffering not only from wounds, but also from fever, dysentery or cholera.

Florence Nightingale tackled her new task with fierce determination. She realised that conditions must be improved—and without delay. Day and night she toiled with the nurses she had brought from England. Sometimes she stood for twenty hours at a stretch, as fresh convoys of sick and wounded arrived. She was not merely a born organiser; she was a trained organiser. She attended to the government stores as they arrived; she entered the kitchens, and soon had everything running smoothly; she took a neighbouring house and turned it into a laundry, using as laundry-maids some of the soldiers' wives who had been permitted to accompany their menfolk on the campaign. Bandages were made, as well as splints, mattresses, pillows, and she had thousands of shirts sent out from England—these being paid for by herself and her friends. By the end of the year, that great hospital at Scutari had been transformed. No longer did men lie with broken limbs unset or wounds undressed. Those four miles of corridors and galleries had been swept and garnished, and there was food in plenty.

Soon fifty more nurses had arrived. Their help was urgently needed, for sick men were arriving in great numbers from the siege of Sebastopol. Many of them had cholera, and most of them suffered from frost-bite. Few had the strength to survive; indeed, for many weeks the death rate was as high as 60 per cent. It was during those winter months that Florence Nightingale received the name by which she is still known, the Lady of the Lamp, for during

the hours of night she would walk, lamp in hand, around those corridors and galleries, pausing now and then at the bedside of a sick man. In the words of a wounded soldier, "we lay there by hundreds....but we could kiss her shadow as it fell, and lay our heads on the pillow again content."

As soon as she felt she could leave the base hospital at Scutari, Florence Nightingale sailed across to the Crimea. Her intention was to reorganise the medical services in the field, and she went right up into the trenches around Sebastopol. After working hard to put things to rights in the hospitals at Balaclava, she herself fell sick with Crimean fever. This tireless woman had come to the end of her strength, and her death was feared.

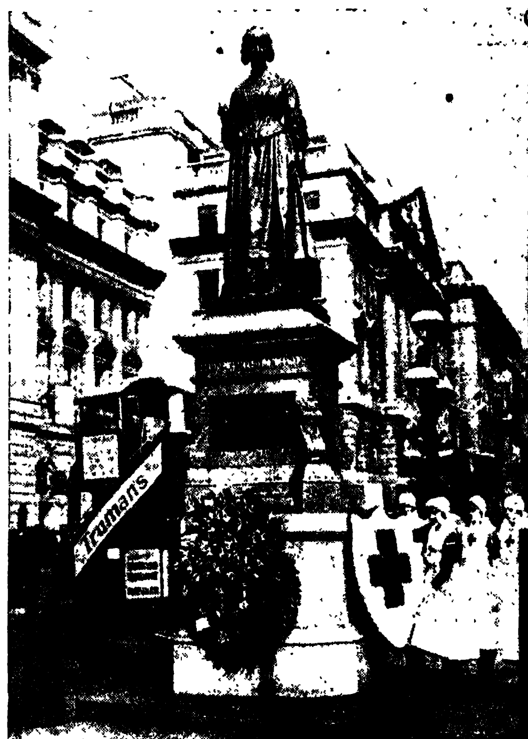
After a fortnight had passed, however, she began slowly to recover. All the doctors urged her to return to England as soon as she was able to travel; but she insisted on going back to Scutari, only to return once more to the Crimean hills after peace had been restored.

There she remained, looking after the wounded soldiers until they were shipped home, and travelling round the camp hospitals to visit sick men from the army of occupation.

Meanwhile, in England, the gratitude of the public took tangible shape in the Nightingale Fund, which was to be handed over to her to "enable her to carry out her object regarding the reform of the nursing system in England."

When she arrived home at last, she avoided a national ovation by travelling under an assumed name; and she settled down in the old family house in the heart of the countryside, with the full knowledge that she was a sick woman and would never again be able to lead an active life. But although she shunned publicity, her writings and promptings and advice were fuel for the fire she had set alight. Queen Victoria, when she met her and realised the power of that personality, wrote, "I wish we had her at the War Office."

For many years Florence Nightingale lived almost like a recluse, but her great and tender heart sent forth its courageous messages. She lingered on until 1910, an old lady of ninety years. Her deeds of mercy are still remembered; her inspiration lives on to-day and is manifest once again on the world's new battlefields.



Red Cross Commandant laying a wreath at the base of the statue erected in London to the brave and resourceful pioneer of British nursing, Florence Nightingale



WOMEN AS ENGINEERS

BY GEORGE GODWIN

[One of the many ideas that have been challenged in Britain owing to wartime conditions is the notion that for women all that concerns machines is, and must ever remain, a complete mystery. This fallacy is yielding fast before the performance of women in this sphere, and the war is expediting that process. In fact, on January 1, 1943, women were admitted to the Amalgamated Engineering Union—a union which had previously resisted the acceptance of women members.]

IT was in 1919 that Lady Parsons, wife of the inventor of the turbine, who described herself as "an engineer by marriage," founded the Women's Engineering Society, which was the direct result of the magnificent work done by British women in engineering between 1914-1918. Today, it has over 200 members. As with all pioneer women's organisations, the Society has had a difficult time. Even so, by 1925 it was sufficiently firmly established to organise a Conference of Women in Science Exhibition at Wembley, at which the Queen (then the Duchess of York) made her maiden speech. Shortly afterwards it set up another organisation, the Electrical Association for Women, which swiftly outgrew the parent society and has today 9,000 members and 85 branches.

It was one thing for women to form an engineering society, quite another to implement its objectives—the promotion of training and employment in all schools of engineering and technical colleges, and the right of admission to the various professional bodies.

The attitude of the male engineer was strikingly similar to that of the male doctor and surgeon when women first knocked at the doors of the medical schools. And even today, much of that old prejudice persists. One by one, however, the Institutes opened their doors, even if they did not fling them wide, and today a woman can become a professional engineer with professional standing in the appropriate association, in the same way as a man.



These girls are here seen receiving interesting technical training in a Ministry of Labour training factory

Two main obstacles impeded the advance of the woman engineer. The first was the reluctance of engineering firms to accept girl

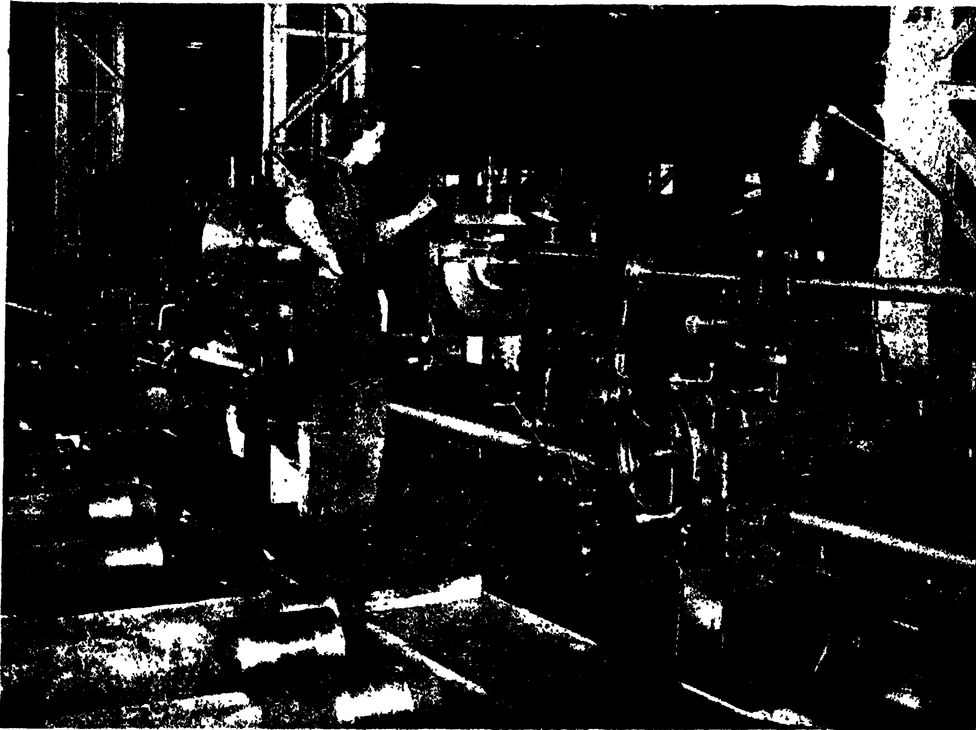
apprentices, and second the attitude of the trade union.

The second was removed when the great Amalgamated Engineering Union lifted their embargo, and from January 1, 1943, admitted women members.

Now it may be considered that to take so strong a fortress women must have been able to present impressive credentials. Let us see what a few individuals have achieved and what contribution women engineers *en masse* have made to the present war effort in engineering workshop and munitions factory.

In 1940, the Ministry of Labour took over Beaufoy Institute, Lambeth, founded in 1938 by the Women's Engineering Society for the training of women as supervisors of operatives. The Ministry then invited Miss Caroline Haslett, C. B. E., President of the Society, to act as Adviser on Women's Training. Shortly afterwards they appointed three women as Technical Officers.

The importance of these appointments may be measured by the magnitude of the Government's Training Schemes for men and women. At the start, it was considered that women would be chiefly of use in the national emergency as unskilled or semi-skilled workshop operatives. This was the official view and that of most employers. But the women trainees proved unexpectedly quick, accurate and conscientious. They did excellent work in the longer, three-month, training period, and passed on to such skilled jobs as oxy-acetylene welding, centre lathe turning, instrument making, draughtsmanship, and inspection and viewing.



A girl is seen boring the barrel of one of the many guns turned out in great quantities by British Ordnance factories

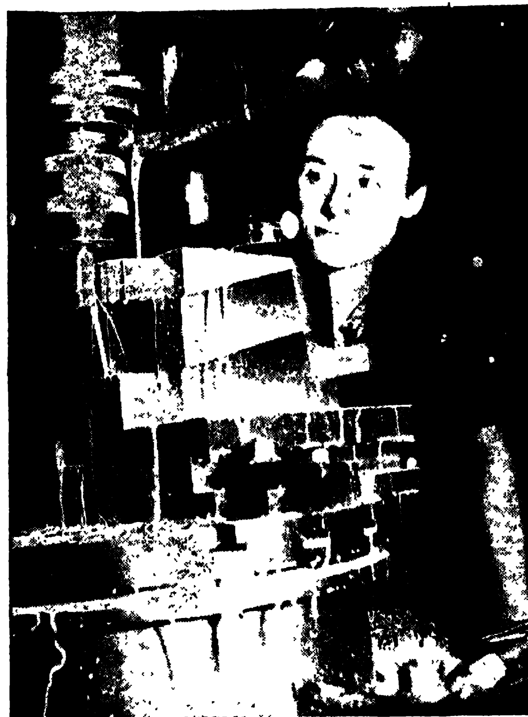
Here are a few typical examples of the work done by the women engineers under war conditions. One firm's maintenance repair shop is staffed by women workers, all of whom were, only a few months ago, unskilled paper-mill workers. Two of them now work a shaping machine. They set up, sharpen the tools and mark out the job, all without male assistance. One Coventry firm, forced by circumstance to recruit women labour, found that its production figures rose thereafter. Under a woman personnel manager and a woman shop superintendent, the female staff of 700 rose to 6,000.

On expert gun work the dilution of woman

labour is now 65 per cent. In one firm, a girl without previous experience, after three weeks, was grinding Gap Gauges to 0·0001 of an inch and doing all the operations save one. Another woman, single-handed, operates four Cincinatti-Horizontal Millers with hydraulically-operated traverse; a third is turning on a large new Centre lathe with all-geared head. Among more highly-skilled women workers are women gauge grinders, inspectors of thread gauges by optical instrument inspection and press tools setter on S. A. presses up to 120 tons.

In aircraft production the story is similar, though in character it carries over from the workshop to the laboratory, and to the work of the woman engineer with university and professional qualifications and status. Here women engineers are engaged on research and as Scientific Officers, Technical Officers and Technical Assistants—one interesting job is the preparation of notes for the use of pilots on each type of plane in the R. A. F.

Of individual achievements only a few of many careers can be mentioned. There is, for example, Miss Margaret Partridge, now a Ministry of Labour Officer, who ran a large electrical engineering business, laying street cables and other contracting work. There is Miss Dix who completed the installation of new lighting in Winchester Cathedral; Mrs. Douglas, who formerly managed a Southampton shipyard; and Miss Verena Holmes, inventor of the poppet valve gear used in the Diesel engine. Last, one might mention Miss Kathleen Butler, civil engineer, who acted as Dr. Cragfield's assistant in the building of the great Sydney Bridge, Australia. The list could be extended almost indefinitely.



An eighteen-year-old worker is seen milling a breech ring

BATTLE UNENDING

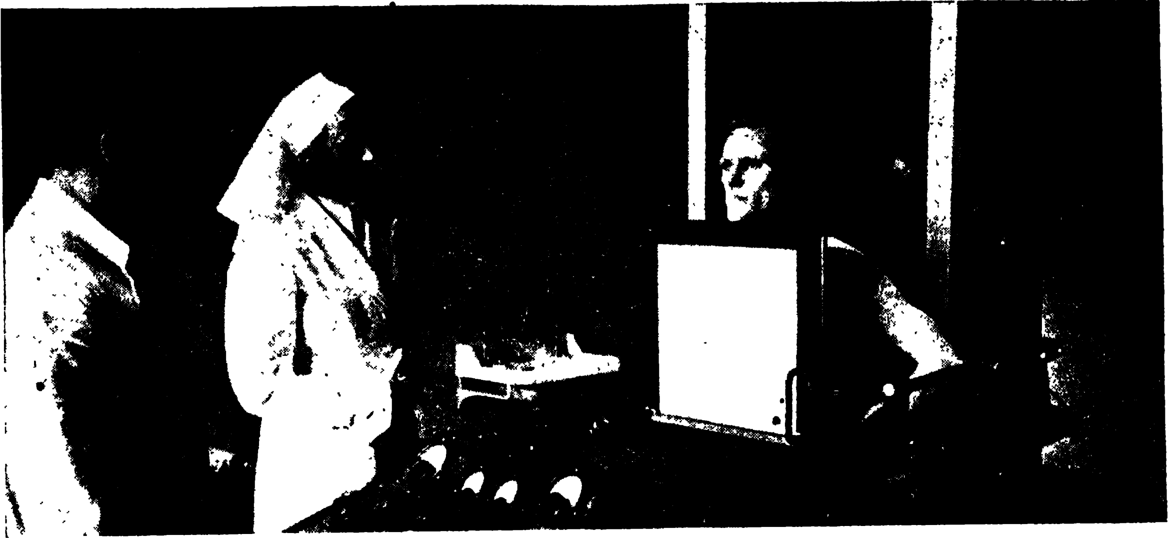
By SIDNEY HORNIBLOW

In the following article is described the magnificent work which is being carried out throughout Britain in many dispensaries specially constructed and equipped to combat tuberculosis.

THERE is one battle in Great Britain which will never end. This battle is fought night and day with tireless energy, through years of war as well as peace, by a devoted band of doctors, scientists and public officials. This battle is the battle against disease. It is more than that; it is the battle to win, with each succeeding year, better health and happier conditions of living for every man, woman and child in Britain.

To look back through the centuries and to trace the advance of medical science and social conditions in Britain, is to find an encouraging story—a story not only of many spectacular, far-reaching discoveries which have changed the whole course of medical treatment, but of sure and steady progress which, from one generation to the next, has brought higher hopes to mankind in its never-ending quest for longer and healthier life.

One disease which (more, probably, than any other) has engaged the attention of medical men the world over, is tuberculosis. And in the story of Britain's fight against this disease—a fight in which the doctors are slowly winning and the disease losing—one chapter stands out in the record of steady achievement. It is the chapter which tells of the truly remarkable work done at the Tuberculosis Dispensaries through-



The patient's lungs are being examined by X-ray

out the country, of which Paddington Dispensary is an excellent example.

It was Paddington which really began the great battle against tuberculosis on modern lines in 1909 by opening the first Tuberculosis Dispensary in England. This Dispensary was established by a small group of public-spirited people, who there began the systematic teaching of healthy living with a view to prevention of the disease.

It was at Paddington Dispensary that the first tuberculosis officers were trained, and it was on the model of the Paddington Dispensary that most of the other British dispensaries were founded

Within two years of the opening of the Paddington Dispensary, tuberculosis became a "notifiable" disease, (*i.e.*, it was laid down by law that all diagnosed cases must be reported to the authorities), and since then every city and municipality throughout the country has established a health centre for combating the disease. Since these centres have been established, the death rate from tuberculosis has been reduced by as much as fifty per cent.

During the thirty-three years during which the Paddington Dispensary has been open, many thousands of people have received care and advice there. Doctors, nurses and social workers have devoted their untiring energies not only towards the patients themselves, but also towards their families.

In all cases, the cause and character of the illness have been investigated, some patients have been transferred to sanatoria, all the homes have been visited by doctors, and the simple laws of health and the prevention of disease have been taught.

While the Dispensary itself is equipped with an X-ray Department, and every modern device for pathological and bacteriological in-



The patient is being given a lung-refill in the artificial pneumothorax treatment

vestigation, the work of the clinic by no means ends with the detection and treatment of the disease. It is realised that tuberculosis may bring in its train poverty and hardship for both the patient and his family.

So, at the Paddington Dispensary and at every similar clinic throughout the country, the patient and his family are regarded as one



A women's sanatorium in the country. Fresh air is essential in the cure of all tuberculosis cases

"unit." Obviously, the doctor cannot prevent further cases of the disease from occurring in this "unit" if the conditions of the home are unsatisfactory. The role of the social worker attached to these Dispensaries is, therefore, an important one.

Children, for example, whose mothers have had to be placed under treatment, have been cared for; and in other homes, where the bread-winner has been taken ill, financial aid has been arranged for the rest of the family. Where it is found that delicate children already bear the seeds of infection, special and constant care is devoted to them to enable them to resist the disease.

For many years the Paddington Dispensary carried on under increasing difficulties As its work became better known and extended over a wider field, it was found that the original premises were inadequate, and recently a splendid new building, set up at a cost of many thousands of pounds has been opened.

Since the opening of the new premises, the Dispensary service has been able to extend far beyond the hopes of its original founders, not least among facilities now available to patients being a modern X-ray apparatus, which enables every patient to be X-rayed at the time of his first attendance.

The Paddington Dispensary is contributing to Britain's war effort, for the patients attending the Dispensary for examination have included a number of recruits sent by the Army Medical Board. This co-operation is particularly welcomed by the Army authorities, since it prevents the possibility that infected men may be admitted to the Services. The results of the examinations of these recruits, and of the men sent by the Civil Defence Organisations, indicates that the health of the general public



The wife and children of a tuberculosis patient are seen talking to the Almoner, who will help them while the patient is being given treatment which will take him away from his home for a while

is most satisfactory. It is particularly noteworthy that the percentage of Service recruits found to be infected with tuberculosis is well below that of 1914. This, in itself, is undeniable testimony to the success of Britain's anti-tuberculosis measures during the past twenty years.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The war has entered in its third phase. According to some western commentators, this is the last and the decisive period of the war though, according to the more cautious of the western authoritative spokesmen, it might be still a long war. In the meanwhile the Axis commentators are reported to have kept a strict silence on the matter, the only statement being that a "Nerve War" was about to end and that the stronger language of cannon was about to be used. The Allied press is laying great stress on the movements in the Mediterranean, and upto the time of writing (29-6-43) the fullest emphasis has been laid on the naval movements in that region and the Axis reaction to the same. Even the tremendous intensification of the aerial offensive over Western Germany and Western occupied Europe has latterly obtained a secondary place in comparison with the recalm given to the preparations for an offensive in the South.

If the second front is going to be opened in the South of Europe—France, Italy or Balkans—then this fanfare is indeed strange, unless the Allied command is of the opinion that a plain declaration of intentions is the best method of puzzling the enemy. Of course, for a war of nerves this is excellent tactics and for the present at least this has effectively held up all Axis operations in the Eastern zone of the war in Europe. The latest news indicates a flare-up on the Donetz and the Kuban fronts, however, and if anything develops out of it then this "Nerve War" may be assumed to have come to an end. In the alternative, that is if this uncanny lull continues much longer on the Russian front, it should be taken for granted that Hitler's strategy is being altered substantially and that Germany is assuming the defensive for the present, pending the culmination of Allied strategy on the European front.

The campaigning season in Eastern Europe is strictly limited at both ends so far as mechanized warfare is concerned. No large-scale offensive with mechanized divisions can be initiated before the thaw ends and the ground regains the character of terra firma. The German campaigns of last year met with disaster at the hands of General Mud, who proved himself to be as formidable an adversary as his compatriot General Winter of Russia. The following extract from a USOWI *communiqué* embodying an Italian comment throws a great deal of light on the matter. It further explains a lot of queer problems that has come before every student of the present war :

WASHINGTON, June 16 (By Cable)

"Readers will have observed that from the beginning of the war reports have always mentioned the same aircraft, the same guns, the same tanks; in other words, German factories from the beginning of the war until last autumn have not brought out new weapons, with rare exceptions, but only improved weapons,' declares an issue of the Italian paper *Il Poplolo de Roma* which reached here in an article entitled "Crisis in Germany's War Industry."

"New weapons, however, have been designed by the brains of German engineers, and prototypes have already been tested with excellent results," the article continues. "What then? German military production, from the standpoint of new discoveries in engineering and design, is at least one year behind what it might have been today. This delay is due to the crisis caused by the course of the Russian campaign, a severe crisis which is running its course. If the autumn of 1941 had been identical with that of 1942, in all probability the Russian campaign would already have been a memory of the past *But last year we ourselves were wading in the mud of the Ukraine, and we witnessed with our own eyes the circumstances which saved Russia from collapse*. It is perfectly useless to inveigh against fate. Every one knows what happened.

"What few people know, however, are the results which the failure to liquidate Bolshevism produced in Germany's heavy industry. The enormous wastage of war material in order to continue the campaign prevented heavy industry from suspending production of the type of war material already in service in order to modify plant and installations for the series construction of new types.

"An immense front, thousands of kilometres away, rapidly swallowed up the tanks, aircraft, vehicles and guns made in the Reich factories. In addition, the gaps which were caused by the enormous battle of the summer of 1941 had been made good with all speed—and they were terrible gaps, as the Fuehrer said at the time. For many months German heavy industry was forced to produce the old type in series while prototypes of new aircraft, tanks and new war material continued to undergo tests and improvements.

"In the meantime, British and American industries were tranquilly providing for series construction of the most modern types of aircraft—high altitude, long-range bombers (the Italians recently learned to know what the four-engined Avro Lancasters are like), high-altitude fighters, night fighters, long reconnaissance aircraft, greatly improved guns and tanks of the latest type, and this industrial tranquillity enabled our enemies to obtain the technical superiority which has borne fruit in Africa and is bearing fruit in Russia."—USOWI.

The prolonged lull in the East may be explained likewise from the points made by the Italian commentator. The North African campaign must have brought home to the Axis supermen that despite all theories of racial superiority, it is the quality added to quantity of arms and armed men that count in major operations. Allied superiority in the air became an established fact in North Africa from el Alamain and the menace of the stratosphere and high speed bombers of America and Britain soon developed into a disintegrating mechanism of immense power with disastrous results for the Axis forces in Africa. On land too the Sherman and Crusader tanks with their more formidable but slower brethren soon demonstrated that with their numbers, weight and fire-power, they were too formidable a factor to be lightly engaged in a show-down even by the redoubtable Afrika Korps. It may be that the lessons of North Africa are bearing fruit in Germany and that Rommel has been seriously disturbing the theories of the Herrenvolk with his own experiences with the armour of the Eighth army and with the fighting men of "inferior peoples" like those of the Indian divisions. This war has effectively debunked all theories of racial superiority, Axis and anti-Axis, if it has not done anything else and has demonstrated beyond all question that it is the weight and quality of arms that count most, given equal skill and discipline in the wielder of the arms, which latter qualities are not the monopoly of any race, Teuton, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, Slav, Mongolian or any other.

But whatever be Germany's head-ache, the problem before the Allies is no less vital and urgent. Germany on the defensive may prove in the long run to be even more formidable than she is in an offensive. The complex and most efficient organisation that runs the Germanic fighting services has probably by now worked out in detail all the plans necessary to meet the moves of the Allied High-Command strategists. Fighting on known terrain, with established lines of communications and regular supply and refitting depots and with no exhausting and vast-scale demands to meet from armies suffering war-wastage at a terrific rate as a result of major offensive operations, the mechanism of the Axis War-machine may run more efficiently than it did during the 1942 offensives. Under those circumstances everything points to a long war of attrition, equally exhausting and destructive to the assailant and the assailed. On the Allied side the only hopes lie in the time factor involved in the completion of the highly-complex Axis plans for the defence of Europe, and thus the Second Front now resolves itself into a race against time. Breaching the Axis defences means the establishment of great bases for operations, near the weakest points in the Axis lines and the launching of a major offensive—regardless of cost—for laying the secure foundations of a vast bridgehead all within the minimum of time, that is well below the time period needed by the Axis to gear up its defence machinery to full strength.

The aerial-offensive against Germany, occupied Europe and Italy that is being pressed home now with great determination, is an experiment at disrupting the morale of the German peoples and a big part of their production organisation. It is too early as yet to gauge the results but opinions now seem to be inclined to limit the results to the substantial lowering of the efficiency of German production. This means that the time period for recoupment and reinforcement of the Axis forces would be extended beyond their calculations.

Aerial assault alone, however concentrated and fierce it be, has not as yet been able to yield concrete result. If followed up by air-borne ground troops, as in the case of Crete the consequences may be quite different. Disrupting production in industrial centres, dislocation of labour on a large-scale and creating bottlenecks in production and transport, all may be caused by a blitz on the scale now being assumed by the R.A.F. and the U. S. A. Air-corps. But industrial plants and the attendant labour may be dispersed over a very large area and alternative transport routes may be brought into play, such as canals and river routes, which can stand any amount of bombing. Therefore, any aerial assault, however successful in attaining its immediate objectives, can only yield limited results, more or less transitory in nature.

In the Far-East no new developments have materialized. On the Yangtse front a new Japanese offensive is being predicted, and American spokesmen are clearly stating that Japan has shot her bolt in the Pacific and in the South-seas. We have so far not been able to find any comfort in such statements.

INDIA—WAR—AND AMERICA

By HILDA WIERUM BOULTER

Member, India League of America, New York

AMERICA is tremendously aware of India just now. All over the United States, Colleges, Clubs and Forums are holding meetings on India, and Indian lecturers are busy as the proverbial bees. It is a recrudescence of an interest that has never really died, but has not for many years been so lively.

Even before the days of World War No. 1. America was first made aware of India by Swami Vivekananda, and after him by Indians whose message was more political in character. Of these the first were the late Lala Lajpat Rai, and the late Lala Har Dyal who, after years in Europe, came back to America on his way home to India from his long exile only to die here unexpectedly and tragically. Dr. Taraknath Das was another of the early comers to America. Dr. Das is now lecturing at the College of the City of New York. Dr. Das's former students are to be found teaching history in the schools of New York City—and elsewhere—and through them Dr. Das reaches a very large and valuable audience among the youth of America. Anyone who has had occasion to address one of the "Current History" classes in a New York Public School knows that Dr. Das's message of justice to India has landed in fertile soil, and will soon bear a rich crop—for these boys and girls are the future legislators of America. Mr. B. K. Roy is still living in New York, and though he now does little lecturing, his writings are seen from time to time—Mr. Roy is held in great veneration by all the younger Indian patriots in America. Mr. Gobind Behari Lal, another Indian veteran here, is now science editor for the Hearst publications, and not long ago received the Pulitzer prize for reporting. Perhaps in some ways the greatest of all the "old-timers" is Dr. Syud Hossain. He makes his headquarters in Los Angeles, where he now has the chair of Oriental Civilization at the University of Southern California. Syud Hossain came to America immediately after the first world war, and for years he has travelled the length and breadth of America lecturing on India, and debating the subject with prominent Englishmen, among them Lord Meston—former Governor of U. P.—P. W. Wilson and Radcliffe, noted journalists, and the younger Churchill. There is hardly a town of any size at all in the United States which has not heard Dr. Hossain. And he is still hard at work.

These are the veterans in the field. Some of the younger men are almost veterans now. One of them is Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar. Dr. Muzumdar came here fresh from the famous Salt March with Gandhiji. He is the most consistent apostle of Non-Violence among the Indian lecturers here, and is consequently in especial demand among the church groups, notably the Society of Friends, the Pacifist organizations, and other subscribers to the Gandhian idea.

Dr. Anup Singh is another well-known lecturer who has been here for some time. He is more and more in demand, particularly at universities and colleges, and for the debates that are so frequent at Forums in these days. Dr. Singh is also the author of "Nehru: the Rising Star of India," and a contributor to such periodicals as *Asia* and *Harpers,* and to the liberal weeklies like the *New Republic.* His most recent article appeared in the *Far Eastern Survey.* Dr. Singh has frequently debated with Dr. Bertrand Russell at meetings of the Foreign Policy Association.

Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani is the latest comer to the field, and the youngest of the lecturers. This young man already has three books to his credit, *War Without Violence; My India, My America;* and very recently, *Warning to the West.* Dr. Shridharani is witty and brilliant and is well liked as a lecturer.

Besides the above-mentioned lecturers, there are the two college professors, Dr. M. N. Chatterjee, and Dr. Sudhindra Bose, who have for many years been engaged in educating the youth of America in their respective colleges. Perhaps even more important than any teaching is the day-to-day contact, and the living examples that these gentlemen provide of what a cultured Hindu really is like.

There are in America several Indian organizations which also carry India's message, and plead the cause of her freedom. The Hindustan Association, primarily an organization of students, flourished for years, but is now more or less inactive, owing to the very small number of Indian students here at this time. The Gadar Party, organized many years ago in California, still keeps on working on the West Coast. The Sikh Temple in Stockton, California (and the same may be said of the Sikh Temples in Vancouver and Victoria, British Columbia) is not only a centre for the Sikh Community in California but a good worker in the field of dis-

seminating knowledge of India. No prominent Indian comes to America without addressing at least one meeting held by the Sikh Temple of Stockton.

Most recently organized of all these associations is the India League of America, with headquarters in New York City. The League was formed in 1937. It has Indian and American members, and many very prominent Americans are on its advisory board. In April 1940 it started publishing a monthly bulletin called *India Today*. From small beginnings this bulletin has grown until it is now recognized by Universities, Public Libraries, and such sections of the Press and Radio as are at all open-minded, as the best source of authentic news from India. Ever since its beginning Dr. Anup Singh (who got his Ph.D. in Political Science from Harvard University) has been its editor. Associated with it now is a Bureau of Research, directed by Dr. Anup Singh. Every day this Bureau receives inquiries of all sorts, from all possible sources, for every conceivable variety of information on India—her culture, her customs, her geography, her natural resources, her industrial development, her history, and above all, her politics. During the days of the ill-fated Cripps Mission, and also while Mahatma Gandhi was fasting, the telephone in the India League office rang continually; dozens of persons, particularly from the Press, came in for interviews with the editor of *India Today*. And the subscription to the bulletin rose markedly.

From its earliest days the League has sponsored exhibitions of the works of Indian artists, and recitals of Indian music and dance. It holds annual meetings on the occasion of the birthdays of Gandhiji and Tagore and on the Indian Independence Day. At first these meetings attracted rather small audiences. But they have been increasing all the time, and this last year, due to the wide-spread interest in India since the war, and particularly since the Cripps Mission, they have been very large affairs. On January 26, 1943, for instance, the annual India Independence Day Dinner of the League was held at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City, and over 700 persons—mostly Americans—were present. The speakers at that dinner included such well-known people as Miss Pearl Buck, William Shirer (of "Berlin Diary" fame, and a very popular radio commentator), and, among the Indians, Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, Former Finance Minister of the North-West Frontier Province, and Dr. Syud Hossain. Mr. J. J. Singh, President of the India League, and Mrs. Frances Gunther, wife of John Gunther (author of "Inside Asia") welcomed the guests. The League has also held meetings in co-operation with the East-West Association, (recently founded by Pearl Buck), and large overflow meetings at the Town Hall, New York, in co-operation with the Post-War World Council. The League was co-sponsor with the Post-War World Council of a debate on the issue of Freedom for India Now, in which Dr. Anup Singh and Mr. Norman Thomas (leader of the Socialist Party in America) took the affirmative, and Dr. Bertrand Russell and Mr. H. L. Pollack took the negative side. Last of all a full page advertisement appeared in the *New York Times*, sponsored by the India League and signed by over 40 prominent Americans, urging mediation by the United States.

There have been great meetings in Washington, D.C., Detroit, Chicago, Boston, and other cities, at which speakers from the India League have appeared. Dr. Singh, Mr. J. J. Singh and Dr. Shridharani (who is not himself a member of the League) have spoken over the radio frequently. Moreover, the League is constantly called upon to supply or to recommend speakers on India for smaller groups, and for the public schools—all of which are studying Indian politics these days. One could cover pages merely by listing these meetings, great and small, and the speakers' names.

All of this is most encouraging. And the response is very sympathetic and friendly. The American people, by and large, are not only interested in India as a question of the day—and of the future—but they are sympathetic with India's claims to freedom. During Mahatma Gandhi's fast many Americans wrote or telegraphed the President of the United States asking him to use his influence to obtain Gandhiji's unconditional release. Unfortunately, it is not so easy to move a Government to action as it is to move a people to sympathy.

Moreover, some of the questions that are asked every speaker on India show that there are certain things that bother the American public. One of these, of course, has been the question of expediency during the war. It is perhaps natural that Americans, especially since Pearl Harbor, should feel that winning the war is of paramount importance, that everything else must come second to that, and that every issue must be judged according to its bearing upon the war. But there are many Americans of the opinion that settling the Indian problem would be one of the greatest possible contributions to a United Nations victory—and I think that the number of such Americans is

growing slowly but surely. But here are still those who ask, "Wouldn't it be wiser to wait?" and unfortunately they are to be found in the most influential quarters. The other most troublesome question to Americans is that of Hindu-Moslem Disunity. In spite of everything that the Indian writers and lecturers can say, or that Lin Yutang—the famous Chinese author—or Pearl Buck—Asia's stout champion here, or such liberals as Oswald Garrison Villard, can write or say, this issue is so constantly stressed in the great dailies that it is small wonder Americans feel bewildered. Not a lecture passes without some question about the Moslem League and its strength, the hold that Mr. Jinnah has, and how great is his following. Americans are subjected to a constant and systematic fire of propaganda on this subject, not only from openly British sources but from another less obvious, and hence more telling, source. There are numerous visiting Indians lecturing here who are widely advertised as being Indian Nationalists, or at least as representing other quite authentically Indian opinions, and the principal task of these Indians seems to be to keep alive in the minds of Americans every possible argument against giving India her freedom. One splendid exception among the recent arrivals from India is Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, former Finance Minister of the North-West Frontier Province, who came to America to attend the conference of the Pacific Relations Council held in Canada. Mr. Khanna has consistently presented the Nationalist point of view wherever he has spoken. But Mr. Khanna is the exception that proves the rule. And the rule is that these visitors from India are sent around so that every time a Nationalist Indian speaks he finds that he has been immediately preceded by, or is to be immediately followed by, some one who will neatly confuse the issues. The services of these visitors are offered *free*, in most cases, to the various organizations and groups by the British Library of Information, which constitutes most serious competition to a lecturer who may not be able to offer his services free. It is very hard for many Americans to decide just which Indian is a really representative Indian. Not long ago the writer, who herself occasionally lectures, was asked if after all those Indians who support the British Government do not represent a very large section of India and should not therefore be listened to with corresponding respect. My answer was that first of all it is unnecessary to get this point of view from Indians since it is fundamentally the British point of view, and secondly it is subscribed to by a relatively infinitesimal number of Indians; that if you want to hear what *India* thinks and feels, ask an Indian Nationalist, for as the very words imply, he represents the feelings of his Nation. Nevertheless, I can well imagine how confusing it must be for an American who has never before given any serious thought to this subject to hear all this contrary information—all of it purporting to come from perfectly genuine sources. When, for instance, an American desirous of getting information about India hears that a Mr. T. Raman, "Member of the Indian National Congress, an Indian Nationalist, close associate of Mr. Gandhi" (to quote from some of the notices of Mr. Raman that have appeared here) is to speak on India, he attends that lecture confident that he is getting authentically Indian views. But what does he hear? That Mr. Gandhi is such a pacifist that he would be a danger to India and the United Nations, and that it would be most unwise to grant India her freedom at present. In short—the familiar British arguments, which coming from a Hindu carry extra weight. With the exception of Mr. Khanna, and of Mr. Panniker who has not made any speeches at all, the members of the Indian delegation to the Pacific Relations Conference, who have been touring the United States speaking on India, have done serious damage to the cause of Indian freedom in this country. And Americans as a rule do not realize that this so-called Indian delegation did not in any way represent Indian thought. Without a good deal of independent study of your own, it is not easy to judge the authenticity of a speaker on India. And in the hands of a clever propagandist, caste and creed can be made to loom exceeding large on the Indian political horizon.

India actually is a United Nations problem. There is no doubt of it. Because of her unsettled condition she constitutes a hazard to the successful pursuit of the war, and will, if that condition is allowed to remain, constitute an even greater hazard to the attainment of a permanent peace. Any decent future world order depends very largely upon the settlement of the whole Colonial and Imperial question—of which India is the key. Of that, too, there is no doubt. India's freedom can only be won in India. It is common knowledge that no country can attain its freedom elsewhere than on its own soil, nor otherwise than through its own endeavours. But, there is such a thing as the pressure of public opinion. It is a mighty force. An auxilliary force, but nevertheless one to be reckoned with, and counted upon. The British

Government is well aware of this—as is evidenced by the mighty efforts it is constantly making to mold American public opinion in its own favour. Why else this stream of visitors, English and Indian, at a time when space on ships and planes is so precious?

The mighty force of public opinion, generated in the United States of America, could be the most powerful auxilliary the Indian Nationalist Movement could possibly have. There is absolutely no denying the influence that this country now wields through her wealth and strength. Her influence after the war will be equally great. Even should reaction set in, as it did after the first world war, the influence of America in making the peace and shaping the world to come is going to be enormous. That influence exerted on behalf of Indian freedom could achieve more than any other force outside of India. But unless there can be created here a sufficient body of public opinion in favour of granting immediate independence to India, that force will be lacking. For the Administration is tied up in the red tape of diplomatic relations, of economic relations, and of more or less sentimental relations stemming from the past—all of them relations with the British Government. Without the push from the people, the Administration here *cannot* act.

The Indian patriots whom I have named individually are working hard to create that force of public opinion here. Countless other Indians here are doing their smaller, but still important, share in that work. Americans who have the cause of India at heart, or who are intellectually convinced of the necessity for India's independence as part of the reconstruction that must soon take place, are also doing their bit to create a volume of public opinion here. But some of that work also must be done in India. Let no Indian think that I am taking the liberty of preaching to him, or of intimating that India is neglecting her own cause in any way. Far from it. No one, outside of India and Indians, has more sympathy, more understanding sympathy if I may say so, with the many and serious problems that confront you in India, or a more profound admiration for the courage and endurance that India has shown in her long struggle. It is only that I see the effect *here* of some phases of the Indian problem, and also see what great help could come from here—if only Americans could have some of their doubts satisfied.

There is a saying in America, "I am from Missouri"—meaning thereby, I must be shown, so that I can see for myself. Why Missouri—I do not know. But that is the saying. When you *tell* Americans that Hindus and Moslems can get along together, that there *is* fundamental unity of a very real sort in India, the response is, in essence, "I am from Missouri—show me by your *actions*." Any rapprochement between Hindus and Moslems, any sort of agreement between the Moslem League and the Indian National Congress, would go a very long way toward creating in America a volume of public opinion which would *force* the American Government to action on behalf of Indian Independence. I know that the news you in India get from America does not seem to indicate any such thing. But, you are as handicapped in what you hear of us, as we are in what we hear of you. I am also aware that no action by this Government would entirely solve the problem. India would still have to solve her own problems, still have to make her own terms. But she would have acquired a powerful backer.

Indian individuals and organizations here will never let up. They fight under great handicaps, perhaps greater than anyone in India can realize. Theirs is no soft or easy job. And their work does count. There is an overwhelming desire on the part of America to make sure that whatever is to be the future of the world, it must be based on justice and equity. It should not be impossible to turn so intense a feeling to account. The cause is a world cause now, and must be fought on a world front—and the fight for India's independence is an integral part of that world cause. India's main battle must of course be fought in India—but this is the second front.

And the soldiers on the second front are only here because they know that someone must lead that second front, and that the leaders must be Indians. Most of them would far rather be in the main line of battle. But they know that there is need of them on this second front. Those who have lived here for years, and have travelled all over America can feel the latent strength of public opinion here. They know what it could accomplish if it were sufficiently aroused, and properly channelized. It is their part to arouse it, and to channelize it. Up-hill work, sometimes seeming very unimportant compared to the work in India itself. But, still a part of the whole, and a necessary part, now more than ever before. People are thinking more and more internationally. India must take advantage of that international-mindedness. And she can only do so as long as there are Indians here to speak for her.

WANTED A TECHNOLOGICAL HIGH COMMAND

By P. C. BANDYOPADHYAY

SCIENCE has made it *technically* possible to satisfy man's needs and to give him freedom from wants. The problem is to make the satisfaction of man's needs *socially* possible. From the scientific point of view it is a technical problem comparable to making a gearless car. Scientists make discoveries so that millions of people may get the benefit. But in the process of transmission the discoveries pass into the hands of a set of people whose aim is largely either to make a profit out of them or to arm themselves with enormously powerful weapons of destruction. The man-in-the-street looks upon science not as his greatest potential ally but as just another of the forces which exploit him. The real cause of the trouble has been that the scientists themselves are isolated in artificial detachment from the social and the political problems which are looked after by the machinery known as the State. Hence, at present, if science has anything useful to offer it tends to be imposed from above.

Social and international relations of the world population that require very careful and scientific study, have long been left in the hands of 'all-knowing' politicians. These need looking after by an organised body of scientists, whose methods and works have revolutionised world movements. The task reduces itself to securing unbiased scientific advice and maintaining a direction of work from a source removed from all 'artificial' and coterie-rooted economic and political pressures. Extraneous factors now submerge the facts and there is always a twist in the process of applying the knowledge so skilfully gathered by the scientists. The necessity of science being put in action in our day-to-day life, in other words, of a technological high command, has been terribly underlined by the new surgings all over the world. In this war the technologist has been moving into command because all other 'amateurish' handling has failed and his methods have alone shown how to bypass to any extent the inevitable bottlenecks and shortages. Economic and industrial considerations of the business men and politicians never outweigh scientific deliberations and the present stress has put up scientists—scientifically-minded people—on top of things, maybe for immediate military plans. But it must not be forgotten that success in the present war which has invaded the individual homes is not an unequal guarantee of success in peace-time social structure, where also we have destruction, which comes with subtlety and in slow and scattered pace.

Signs are visible of active collaboration of the 'professional' scientists in the management of the affairs of the State in the countries now vitally affected by the war. The leading scientific societies have been called to lend their help and advice on Government projects and moves. The march of events has added momentum to the politicians' march towards the scientists. The latter, according to the tradition of government of pre-Industrial-Revolution days, have been segregated so long in a 'vacuum' of scholarship, being unnecessary for ordinary life.

The progress towards a technological high command in the U. S. A. and Britain is still a movement by jerks forced upon by one disaster and then another. Technocracy, defining it loosely as the management of the affairs of the State by the scientists, has been kept as a water tight compartment without giving it so long the right to encroach on the domain of national problems. Moreover, the technological agency sponsored by the Government has suffered from a great weakness due to utter neglect of the scientists as also total lack of appreciation of the role that scientists can play. The weakness of all government technology is its obvious lack of a co-ordinated programme. Further no government has ever before put forward the required standards of salary, efficiency and equipment which together can only develop a really strong *technical* civil service. The ordinary civil servants have been given preference in dictating policies.

It will be interesting to give a telescopic view of the organisation of science in the United States. The Charter for the National Academy of Sciences was signed by Lincoln during the Civil War. To this Academy President Wilson added National Research Council to meet the further technical demands of World War I. One of the first big tasks the Academy was called upon to do in the present war was to investigate and recommend standards of selection and training for airplane pilots and

within this limit it sponsored a great programme of experimental projects in U. S. universities. Academy committees rapidly grew up around other technical problems of the army, the navy and the government. The technological tide pressed in from all sides in such a volume that by the spring of 1940, a group of leading scientists proposed to the President to set up a body with funds and power to correlate and initiate research on instruments of war. This step was necessary as the National Academy cannot on its own initiative, in terms of the Charter, undertake any programme concerning administrative details. Accordingly, under the Council of National Defence a new National Defence Research Council was created in 1940. A year later President Roosevelt placed over it the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD) and it has spread out its branches all over the hundred educational and industrial research units scattered in the country. OSRD spends over 20 million dollars and has mobilised and co-ordinated the whole scientific personnel and resources of the country. At present 3500 scientists and technicians including nearly all available top-rank physicists in the country are working on 600 research schemes in industrial and university laboratories. Scientists as a class have been saddled with the most onerous responsibility of making or marring the country's welfare.

No wonder that our position in India is so pitiable. At the beginning of the century a number of Government Scientific services were created in our country. There was also a Board of Scientific Advice composed of heads of the scientific services. The Board has since been abolished and the Government-sponsored conferences of the staffs of the different departments have also been abandoned. Contributions by departments retrenched and suffering from a want of proper atmosphere can easily be appreciated. And that is why in the year 1942 a distinguished well-wisher of India had occasion to say that India has all stages of civilisation from the Rolls Royce to the bullock cart. India with her teeming millions is looked upon as an anthropological museum, and the 'wonderful' land of wild nature abounding in snakes, tigers and elephants is being progressively civilised under the benign care of the government of the country !

It is told that wars have been fought to make the world free from one or the other evil. The last war was fought to make the world safe for democracy. The high ideals enunciated as basis of future peace drew millions for cannon-fodder. The present time has also made the politicians who direct the destinies of people repeat to the multitude that blood, toils and tears only can hold up the pillars of freedom (freedoms of different definitions) !

There have been indications of changes of permanent changes, in the backward as well as in some of the most civilised parts of the world. But the lessons have been soon forgotten. 'Lawrence of Arabia' has explained the position wonderfully :

> "It felt like morning, and the freshness of the world-to-be intoxicated us. We were wrought up with ideas inexpressible and vaporous, but to be fought for. We lived many lives in those whirling campaigns, never sparing ourselves any good or evil. Yet, when we achieved and the next world dawned, the old men came out again and took from us our victory and remade it in the likeness of the former world they knew. Youth could win but had not learned to keep and was pitiably weak against age. We stammered that we had worked for a new heaven and a new earth, and they thanked us kindly and made their peace."

The pattern of society is changing constantly due to the interplay of new forces. The change is in a way which is seldom noticed as significant and less often recognised *officially* by the leaders. Nevertheless evolution and/or revolution in society is heaving up periodically new tangles and conflicts for the not distant future. Very few people are eager to acknowledge new situations, and on fantasy have been thriving the seeds of destruction of the whole society—call it by any name, imperialism or fascism. The birth of democracy was co-eval with the recognition of certain fundamental facts about men and matters. This understanding has grown up with the achievements of science—the fool-proof process of reasoning and planning on basis of facts. The future of democracy rests on how we manage 'fact-getting' and utilise those facts in our works.

A new process in administrative methods is overdue. The dynamo of the modern age has set in a furious revolution. Science has been cursed but it is again science that people are looking up to. Above and below the din of events rages the unmasked struggle for the survival of the technologically fittest. Modern technology (to be brief, it is science in action) has been welded solidly to the iron hand of demoniac politics and is an integrated weapon of destructive power. Nothing less than the fitting of such a total instrument to the skilled hand can beat the evil to earth in time. The goodness of purpose will give the extra momentum.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Mr. O. C. Gangoly's Art-Review

By Prof. J. H. COUSINS

The review of the progress of art in India during the year 1942 by Sri O. C. Gangoly requires some amendment regarding matters that have not come fully into his survey, and the absence of which is one point in the evidence for the need of an organisation through which knowledge of the art-activities and achievements in India could be recorded and exchanged between the cultural areas of the country. Mr. Gangoly, having two corners to his eloquent mouth, blows hot with one and cold with the other, in his congratulating Mysore State for acquiring twelve landscapes by Bireswar Sen for the Chitrasala, and then criticising the acquisition of a number of works by one artist as being contrary to some ethics and principles of gallery-acquisition which he does not indicate. As I happen to have been concerned in this acquisition (and others that Mr. Gangoly's review does not mention), I would request space to say that the twelve paintings, being exquisite post-card miniatures, each of which is a gem of composition, feeling, colour and craft, occupy no more space than a fair-sized single painting; and, so far as the ethical spending of available funds go, these and subsequent additions of the same genre, which make a most attractive section of the gallery, do not amount to much more than the cost of one large painting by either the same artist or others. A rule-of-thumb such as one artist one picture would debar the exhibiting of various aspects of an artist's work. But, apart from theoretical notions, which do not apply to galleries that have been created and are continued through the taste and bounty of eminent individuals who are the final sources of authority, I should like to add to Mr. Gangoly's record of last year, certain acquisitions to the Mysore Chitrasala which he does not mention, and which have been made available to the thousands who visit the gallery through the fine sense of what the public need for the expansion of their knowledge of the pictorial achievements of India and the development of the capacity to enjoy the skill and beauty shown in the works, that His Highness the Maharaja possesses. These consist of, a copy of the Ajanta fresco called "The Black Princess," a most impressive example of the old Buddhist art; a set of twelve Rajputs illustrating a seventeenth-century Hindi poet's description of the twelve months; another set of twelve Rajputs of the story of Krishna and Sudama—these two sets having been retrieved from obscurity as heirlooms in a family in the far north, beautiful examples of their kind; five paintings in Chughtai's latest style of rhythm and fresh colour; and two lovely lotus-studies by K. Madhava Menon of Cochin, an artist who follows the old masters in particularity of detail and fineness of technique, carried into largeness and nature, whose work has not yet received the all-India recognition that it so richly deserves, and without which recognition an artist in the high tradition of India runs the risk of discouragement and necessity for want of patronage. The gallery contains work by eighty modern Indian artists, apart from other items.

Mr. Gangoly's review might have given a word to the Sri Chitralayam in Trivandrum, which is now a place of art-pilgrimage from all parts of India. The development of this gallery has been divided between the remarkable and only recently recognised mural art of the State and the modern Indian movement, also Indian continental art (Persia, Tibet, China, Java-Bali, Japan) and Ceylon. In the exercise of my duty as Art Adviser to the Government of Travancore, for whom I created the gallery in 1935, I saw, last year, to the hanging of copies of murals from the eighth-ninth century cave temple of Thirunandikkara, in South Travancore, works that vie with Ajanta in style and workmanship, five copies of the original seven panels, two of which are completely obliterated. Copies from Polonorawu were also hung; also from temples in Travancore. With these were hung items by moderns. The modern Indian section contains 120 items by 50 artists, between two and three works by each. And if art is not to exclude metal-work, it may be added that the Government Museum has been marvellously enriched by south Indian bronzes, while the Ranga Vilasom Palace Museum has acquired a large collection of bronzes and brasses made in Travancore. The beginning of a section of illuminated manuscripts was made in the Government Museum, and one Koran signed by the Emperor Aurungzeb as his own work, is accompanied by a very fine large Mughal portrait of the Emperor.

Two other items in Mr. Gangoly's review ask for comment. "Except at the Calcutta University there is no permanent place of art in any of our educational institutions," he says. This does not recognise the fact that the University of Travancore has a Department of Fine Arts, of which I happen to have been the Head since its foundation. Though my desire to have degree, diploma and certificate courses made integral in the University's curriculum has not yet been fulfilled, I do not think that the work of the School of Arts, which is an institution of the University and my Department, is negligible. In my official capacity I have given extension lectures on art. I have also recently adjudicated on examination papers in the history and characteristics of the arts by candidates for the L. T. degree in the Teachers' Training College, Trivandrum, the fourth year of an obligatory course, with eighty each year, that is to say, 320 graduates who will take the atmosphere and some knowledge of the arts to the schools in which they teach, together with an acquaintance of practical arts and crafts in obligatory courses, and the inspiration of visits to the galleries in which I have been able to add artistic example to intellectual knowledge and precept.

Mr. Gangoly very rightly commends the work that Srimati Rukmini is doing in the south. But his appeal to her as President of the *Kala-Kshetra* at Adyar, Madras (of which I happen to be Vice-President), "to open a department to study and popularise the best phases of Indian Painting and Sculpture, ancient and modern,—phases of Art hitherto neglected, if not ignored by the *Kala-Kshetra*," is somewhat late in the day, as painting and sculpture have for some time been departments of its work, not to mention artistic textiles. It is true, as Mr. Gangoly says, that Srimati Rukmini is "principally concerned with Dance and Drama . . . ." This, however, refers only to her work as an artist. As founder and president of the *Kala-Kshetra* her interest is in all the arts and crafts, and her ulterior motive, if I may so term her ideal, is the carrying out of the principles of art in personal, domestic and collective life. May I add that, along with those who realise the tragic necessity of the spirit of art in human affairs, I pay tribute to the long high service that Mr. Gangoly has done and continues to do for the cause ?. I only wish there were more with his knowledge, acumen and disinterested enthusiasm and industry in the country.

THE TRIUMPH OF SOVIET SCIENCE

By G. KOLMANOV

The Hitlerites have set themselves an insane task: to deprive mankind of the age-old achievements of science; to revert to the primitive times. In the captured cities they have destroyed universities and libraries, museums and scientific laboratories. They persecute scientists, kill them, and throw them into prison. In Norway, for example, they imprisoned professor Mueller, only for his "daring," bold lecture about the great traveller and polar explorer, Frietjof Nansen. Hundreds of scientists were forced to flee even from Germany itself after the Hitlerite clique of the obscurantists came to power.

Soviet scientific thought is continuing to develop and enrich the world's store of scientific knowledge and discoveries.

Recently, in Moscow, Stalin-Prizes were announced for the outstanding works of the Soviet scientists and innovators in industrial science, inventions and radical changes in the methods of production made in 1942.

Hundreds of the Soviet scientists and innovators in production received the high title of 'Stalin-Prize winner.' The first prizes are 200,000 rubles apiece, second prizes 100,000 rubles and the third 50,000 rubles.

During the 25 years of its existence, the Soviet Government has displayed great care and solicitude for the men of science and has created all the necessary conditions so that the old Russian scientists could continue their fruitful work. In addition to this, it has taken a great care of the education of vast numbers of young scientific workers.

In the period of the great patriotic war against the Hitlerite invaders, scientific technical thought in the U. S. S. R., far from retarding its development, has blossomed forth with a fresh vitality.

The present war is a war of motors. The Russian scientists have placed all their energy, knowledge, perseverance and scientific technical experience at the service of the Red Army to help equip it with first class weapons. During the war, the Soviet scientists and inventors have created new types of arms and new constructions of planes, tanks, motors and trenchmortar guns, vastly improving on the old models.

In 1942, outstanding works appeared literally in all the fields of science in the U. S. S. R., advancing the human knowledge, and equipping the Red Army far better for its struggle against the base enemy.

Stalin-Prizes have now been awarded for outstanding works in the fields of physics, mathematics, engineering, chemistry, geology, geography, biology, agronomy, medicine, military art, history, philology and philosophy.

Among the prize-winners is Academician Kapitsa, a world famous Russian scientist—especially well-known in England. He has received the first prize for his discovery and investigation of the phenomenon of the superfluidity of helium. The member of the Russian Academy, Lisenko, also well-known abroad, shares the first prize with the collective-scientific-workers for developing, and introducing into agriculture, a new method of planting crops of potatoes and rubber. Academician Eugene Tarle has received the first prize for his scientific work, the "Crimean War," published in 1942.

Among the Stalin-Prize winners one finds in addition to world-famous scientists, simple workers whose perspicuity has permitted them to propose radical improvements in the methods of production. Such, for example, is Anna Yutkina, brigadier of collective-farm "Krasny Perekop" who has received prize for introducing into agriculture improved agronomical methods which resulted in a record crop of potatoes in 1942.

Stepan Smirnov, a turning lathe operator of the "Krasny Proletary" plant, has been awarded prize for new improvement in mechanical finishing of metals which process guarantees a high productivity.

Among the Stalin-Prize winners is the brilliant group of the well-known Soviet constructors, Ilyushin, Polikarpov, Kotin and others. In 1943 they worked out improved models of military planes, tanks, motors, etc., furnishing the Red Army with new and highly improved types of arms of destructive force.

Among this year's Stalin-Prize winners are numbers of academicians, constructors, professors, inventors, engineers and Stakhanovites.

In addition to awards for individual achievements in 1942, the Stalin-Prizes were also given this year for long meritorious service in the fields of science and engineering. Thus, prizes have been received by the great, well-known scientists, Auerbach, Baikov, Vernadsky and others.

The successes of the Soviet science are a triumph for all progressive, and freedom-loving mankind which is waging war for the destruction of Hitlerism.

Photographs Courtesy: Thomas Kwang

Madame Sun Yat-sen giving presents to Chinese soldiers



Madame Chiang Kai-shek and war orphans

Chinese girl guides

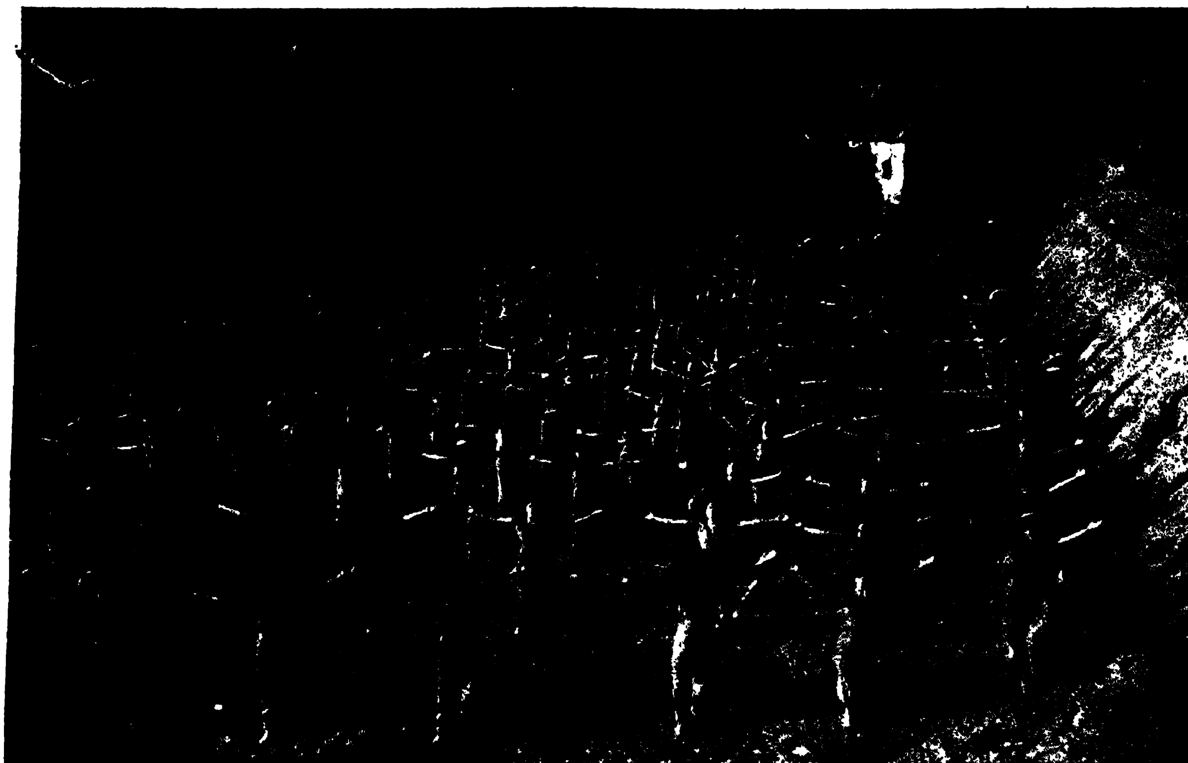


Children's School and Kindergarten in wartime China



Chinese youth in training

Chinese children become air-minded



Chinese physical education school for girls



Chinese students cheerfully salvaging books after air raid

THE SOVIET SCHOOL

By DIANA LEVIN

[As we watch with admiration the brilliant achievements of the Soviet Union, in the battlefields and in the factories, it is only natural that we should want to know more about the educational system that has produced such men and women. That is the subject of this article by Diana Levin, who writes from personal experience, for Miss Levin has just returned to Britain from Moscow where she taught for five years.]

I first went to Moscow in 1933 and got a job as a teacher in the Anglo-American school there. I don't want to tell you just about my school. You know, I think so many people have got the wrong impression of the present-day Soviet Union; impressions formed on what it was like, say, 2o years ago. Well, I don't think you can count the first 10 years of its existence; it was only war and famine then, but today it is very different. I'd like to try and give you a general idea of what the Soviet system of education is like.

Soviet schools are of one type—the seven-year school, which is free and compulsory for all children from eight to 15. They are co-educational, and the boys and girls take the same subjects. The aim of the Soviet Union is eventually to have a 10-year school, when there are enough buildings and teachers to go round. One of their biggest problems has been to get enough trained teachers. At the time of the Revolution, there were very few teachers indeed, but in those early days, anybody who had any kind of education at all, was asked to volunteer for the teaching profession. These people have been working steadily all through these years, and in a way of course, they have become qualified by their own experience. But in 1937, the Soviet Government passed a decree stating that all teachers must become fully qualified according to present-day standards. When I tell you that in Moscow alone it was found that somewhere, I think, round about 40 per cent of the teachers were unqualified, you can get some idea of the problem they had to tackle.

These unqualified people were given a chance of taking a special course for a year, at the same salary, or of attending an evening institute for two years. If they didn't do one or other of these two things, they'd have to stop teaching. They aim at opening teachers' training colleges in every district, but Russia is such a huge territory and there are so many people, that the demand is much greater than the supply. There are still too few specialists to go round, and naturally there are more in the large cities than outside, though every national republic has its own training scheme carried on in its own language. In these centres, Russian is only taught as a second language. But the general aim is to provide adequate training colleges, and to try to produce enough specialists to cover the whole country.

Today there are practically no illiterate children in the Soviet Union. I remember meeting an Englishman who was helping in the tea planting in Georgia. He was travelling over the mountains in his car, and he stopped at some remote village. He started talking to the people, and when he saw a number of children, he asked if there was a school for them. Now he'd always thought that every village, however small, however remote, had its school, and when on this occasion he was told "No, there's no school," he said, "Ha, I've at last caught you out; look at all those children." And then his chauffeur said, "But they go to school over there"; and he pointed towards the mountain. "But how do they get there?" "By bus" was the reply. And it turned out that in the summer a bus took them to school every day, but in the winter months, when they're snowed up for some time as they are in the mountains, the children lived in the school, and carried on with their schooling as usual.

The standard of literacy, among the adult population up to the age of 45 or 50 is very good, but there are still many people over 50 who are illiterate, except that they can sign their own names, and some of them can laboriously read the newspapers and books. The charwoman in our school is a typical example. She was about 55, and had lived in a village up to the time of the Revolution. She was attending an evening school which was run by one of our teachers, especially for the domestic workers on our staff. She had reached the third class, which was about two classes below her youngest child. Her five children were very

proud indeed, and they thought she was wonderful, because at 55 years old, she was learning, not only to read and write, but history and geography as well. And she was a typical example.

People everywhere are so interested in what is going on that they want to be able to read and write, so they are willing and eager to go to school. Wherever you go you'll find this tremendous desire for learning. It was a rule, I should say before 1925, for the younger members of the family to teach their grandfathers and grandmothers to read and write, and I'm told you'd quite often see the whole family sitting round the table studying. You could see children of 12 to 15, who'd learnt these things in their schools and had come home, helping the older members of the family, and it was quite common to see the children and their parents sitting on the same bench at school studying together. But that period has passed now, and when I was there, the attitude was : "Now we've reached the point where we can get on without the aid of the children; we'll let them enjoy their childhood and we won't burden them with the responsibility of their fathers and grandfathers." But of course, now that war has come, things have altered again, and the children have been helping with the agricultural work and collection of scrap metal, and doing other war jobs.

The Soviet Government carefully studied the educational system of other countries, and have new and improved ideas; their own standards had been pretty low. But they've been learning a tremendous lot, and because of their interest in what is going on in the rest of the world, they've gradually been able to raise the standard of their own teaching and training to pretty much the same as in our own country. Every school has a full-time doctor as a member of the staff; all medical services are free in the Soviet Union. The children are given every care to make them strong and healthy. But their production of text-books, for example, while I was there, was far below our own. The paper was very poor, and the type used was not at all good. They had not yet learnt the size suitable to a child's eye. And their coloured matter wasn't at all good. But I must say, I've seen text-books published since I left, in 1938, which have impressed me very much. But even so, they're not yet comparable with ours, less so with the Americans. That is something the Russians are still trying to achieve, and I remember when I came back to England in 1936 for a short holiday, they begged me to bring back with me some text-books, and these went into their research department to be examined, to see how they could help in improving their own. They're always very willing to learn, and will always pick the brains of a foreigner, if they think they'll be of any help to them in their own difficulties.

For example, I teach mathematics, and I was always being invited to talk to other groups of mathematics teachers in Moscow, to explain to them my methods, and to exchange experiences. Up to now, a relatively small percentage of children go to school after 15, though there is the option of keeping on till you're 18, and reaching university standard. I should say about two per cent reach that standard. Young children may not work till they are 16, and then from 16 to 18 only part time. That was in peacetime, of course, but now there is a war on, the rules are somewhat relaxed, and I think they can go to work when they're 16. But normally, between 15 and 18 most boys and girls go into technical schools, or factory schools. If it's an engineering school, they'll do three or four hours' academic work a day, and three hours' practical work in the factory. Then, when they have finished their three years at a technical school, they are qualified workers in a factory, fully skilled. The point is, they're going on with their academic education at the same time as they're learning their trade.

The Russians in the big cities, at any rate, in their one type of school, their universal school, are getting a general standard of development at the age of 15, which I personally think compares more than favourably with our own 15-year olds in our secondary schools. You've got to remember they've only had compulsory schooling of any kind for little more than 20 years. Backed up, the intellectual development of the quite average young Russian worker is simply amazing, even from our own standards, and I think that is because their general syllabus in the schools includes a very wide study of literature and cultural subjects, as well as utilitarian ones. The academic work in a Soviet school occupies only a part of the day. The rest of the time the school is turned into a kind of club, and groups are organised in any subject which the children themselves decide on. In our school, we had groups in drama, choir, dancing, gymnastics, sports, aeroplane-building, scenery-making, painting, sculpture, carpentry and several others. The leaders for these groups are specially engaged and paid by the school.

They're not connected with the academic side, and the only obligation a child has on joining a group is to remain until the particular job undertaken is completed—until the play is produced, or the aeroplane finishes. In this way, Soviet children get many opportunities of developing their technical skill and their aesthetic taste. If a child shows special aptitude in music or art, the school can send him to the local music or art school for afternoon lessons, or if he's interested in technical subjects, he'll spend several hours a week at the local technical centres, where there are fully equipped workshops, under the supervision of a specialist in woodwork, or metal work.

These people are not ordinary school teachers at all and will only attend the school during the afternoons. For instance, the orchestra or choir will be run by some musician who'll probably visit a number of different schools during the week. The actual teaching staff day ends at about two or three o'clock, when they finish their ordinary teaching work, but if they wish to carry on an afternoon group—and many of them do—they're quite free to do so, but it is not one of their obligations. In the villages there were very few schools before the Revolution, but now most of them have built one, and their cultural and technical developments here depend far more, of course, on the teachers themselves. In the winter this cultural life in the villages is very often shared with the grown-ups as well, because while the snow is on the ground, they often can't carry on with their outdoor agricultural work. In this way, you can see the scope for the development of the peasant arts and craft. Naturally in the village, people have to draw far more from their own resources and from their own local talent.

The Russians believe in self-criticism on a constructive basis. Actually I hated it at first, when I met it at staff meetings, and then after a while I began to realise its value, and I thought to myself, well after all, it's good, it's very sanitary, like a cold bath. There's absolutely no malice at all behind their criticism; it was done in a very friendly spirit, and the whole basis of the thing was co-operation, and not competition. We used to have regular meetings to discuss our work and our methods, and any weakness of the teacher was discussed too. I remember early on, one of the American men who taught English, said: "I've been having trouble with my class, can you help me?" I was astonished, I'd never met anything like that before. Several of the other teachers gave him helpful suggestions; the principal himself would come and sit in a class, in order to find out where a weakness lay, and would discuss it at great length after each lesson with the teacher, until he was helped to find a solution to his problems. The idea was to produce the best results from our teaching, and to help the children to gain as much knowledge as possible, and what better way, than by the teachers sharing their methods in the common interest?

But the fact that you can criticise people and this applies also to Soviet factories—means that you can get along with them far better than you would, if you felt you wanted to criticise, but couldn't express it. There's naturally always the possibility of a clash of personalities, and if it comes to the point where you and your colleagues cannot get on, some adjustment has to be made. There is a trade union organisation which functions in every school, and it exists to try and help you overcome such difficulties. As a matter of fact, one of our American staff did leave while I was there. He went to teach in the university, and actually he preferred it, and found it more interesting, and although he couldn't get on at an ordinary school, at the university he made good.

You could see the whole political basis of the Soviet Union permeating right through their teaching in the schools, even in their mathematical problems. They taught the children about the international brotherhood of children all over the world, to be courteous to their neighbour, to respect social or public property; to respect their own school buildings, and not to carve the tables, or write on the walls, because they were their own, and they should look after them. They were taught to care for older people, because they'd had very hard lives, and because through them, the children had all these advantages. That was their ethical training, and that, I personally consider, is just the sort of teaching that is necessary for a child.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

PESHWA MADHAV RAO I: *By Prof. Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A. Published by A. Mukherjee & Bros., 2, College Square, Calcutta. Crown Pages 250. Price Rs. 6.*

Prof. A. C. Banerjee concludes his excellent thesis on "Peshwa Madhav Rao I," with an apt quotation from Fisher's History of Europe to the effect that a historian cannot ignore the play of contingent and unforeseen forces in the development of human destinies. The premature death of this greatest of the Peshwas was indeed the primary cause of the fall of the Maratha Empire; which was built up by the genius of Shivaji and later extended by the valour of Bajirao I. Indeed looking back upon Maratha history as a whole one cannot resist the conclusion that the accidental and premature deaths of Shivaji, Bajirao, and Madhav Rao I and II fully account for the short life of this singular Maratha effort at nation-building. Shivaji died a premature death at fifty-three; if he had lived a few years longer, there was every chance of the future course of South Indian history being changed, possibly crushing Aurangzeb's activities in the Deccan. Bajirao I died at forty and Madhav Rao I at 28 only. The last and the most unfortunate death is that of Madhav Rao II, who was accidentally cut off at 21 just as he was blooming into a bright promising flower of hope wistfully adored by the Maratha nation. If these two Madhav Raos had lived full normal lives, there was every chance that British ambitions would not have received the easy walk-over that they did in building up their empire in India.

In a short compass Prof. Banerjee has given a lucid and correct exposition of a complicated subject, with a charming simplicity of style which captures the reader's attention. There is no book even in the Marathi language, which can stand even a distant comparison with this performance as a piece of correct history which is at the same time literature. Indeed, this treatment of the life of Madhav Rao I supplies a long wanted link in the chain of the historical survey of the complicated post-Panipat period.

But the striking feature and value of this production consist in the most judicious use, the author has made of the vast scattered materials, Marathi, Persian and English. He has laboriously ransacked the archives of the East India Company's unpublished records at the three Presidencies, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. I consider this to be the best service rendered by the author to Indian history. I could have wished that he had reproduced in English some of the excellent letters of that Peshwa, which disclose his farsighted diplomacy and correct grasp of the political forces of his time. Another great service rendered by this Peshwa was the unerring instinct with which he recognised merit among his untried subordinates and trained a race of highly capable young enthusiasts, who worthily filled the places of the able generals and workers who had mostly perished in the holocaust of Panipat: Ramshastri, Gopal Rao Patwardhan, Mahadaji Ballal Guruji, Visaji Krishna, Govind Shivaram, Nana Fadnis, Haripant Phadke are all names which have become household words in Maharastra and whose part in the history of the period deserves to be recognized.

The political effects of the treaty of Kankapur were far-reaching for the Maratha nation and exhibit the master-stroke of Madhav Rao in dealing with the recalcitrant Bhonsles of Nagpur. Kankapur by the way is not on the river Bhima as mentioned on page 80, but far towards the east of it, in the present Nizam's dominions. It stands at the confluence of the river Manjra with the Godavari.

G. S. Sardesai

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS OF INDIA: *Edited by P. C. Jain, M A., M.Sc. (Econ), London. Kitabistan, Allahabad. 1942. Pp. 241. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This symposium is another evidence of the wide interest that the war has evoked among economic thinkers in this country in regard to the problem of industrialization. Each of the contributors to this volume who are all Professors of Economics at various Indian Universities has approached the problem from his special point of view and has brought to bear his special study on the particular aspect dealt with by him. These penetrating and scientific essays undoubtedly give the reader an insight into the complexity and many-sidedness of the problem, but through them all runs a unity of purpose derived from the view that industrially India must rise to the full height of her possibilities to bring happiness, prosperity and a higher standard of life to her entire population.

In an admirable introduction to this volume, Dr. Gyan Chand surveys the problem both in its theoretical as well as practical aspects, analyses the ideas underlying the agitation for fiscal autonomy, the appointment of the National Planning Committee, Mahatma Gandhi's opposition to industrialization, etc., and arrives at certain conclusions. According to him, industrialization is inescapable, but the crux of the problem is the taming of power which has to be achieved in order to avoid the social evils which industrialization has brought in its train even in the most advanced countries of the West. Dr. Gyan Chand considers the Gandhian ideal of a non-violent social system based on co-operation and service established on the foundation of handicrafts and cottage industries as rather unreal in the world of

today, but maintains that Mahatma Gandhi's programme of the development of village industries would acquire a new meaning for us if industrialization is taken not as an end in itself but as a means to larger life for our people. The learned Professor justly emphasizes the social costs of industrialization and holds that industrialisation is no solution of our economic problem and that its further development cannot but be severely repressed by the basic factors of our economic and political life. True, but it is difficult to agree with Dr. Gyan Chand when he places so much reliance on international factors to bring about a social millenium in India. There are many who would rather think that the social and industrial reforms in post-War India could be fashioned more effectively by Indians themselves than by a new Geneva.

Other contributors to this volume include Professors B. P. Adarkar, Bool Chand, Mehta, Dubey, Rao, Qureshi, P. C. Jain, and Narayanaswamy Naidu. Their essays are all brilliant and make this symposium a stimulating work.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

OCCASIONAL ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES: *By Amaranatha Jha. Published by Kitab-Mahal, Allahabad. 1941. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a nicely printed collection of essays and convocation and other addresses by a well-known educationist, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad. The book is comprehensive in its outlook and suggestive in its method. There is hardly any topic of general interest which has not been touched, and there is not the least of pedantry so frequent with "specialists." That would not have squared with a writer who in a Convocation Address holds up the ideal of a joyous life. When the religion of the Gita, the poetry of Goethe, Shakespeare and Ghalib, sympathy for students and reverence for true culture are blended together, the result is bound to be productive of provocative thought and beneficent action.

P. R. S.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI: *By Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Head of the Department of History, St. Stephen's College, Delhi. Published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. Pp. 288. Rs. 8.*

The book under review is the Ph.D. thesis of the author approved by the University of Cambridge. Dr. Qureshi deserves high praise for his courageous attempt in building up the historical structure of Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi out of obdurate and scanty materials. He has turned out a very readable monograph out of historical facts gleaned patiently from diverse sources. He writes without any parade but with force, elegance and judicious restraint. Not only specialists in Indian history but also the general reader will find this book extremely interesting and profitable too.

The pioneer work in the field surveyed by the author in the present book was, and shall always remain, Dr. Ram Prasad Tripathi's learned contribution, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.* Dr. Tripathi has followed a hard, realistic and inductive method in arriving at his conclusions; whereas Dr. Qureshi has treated the subject as an illustration, a phase of the Muslim polity as conceived by the Muslim jurists in India and outside; and each has a merit and charm of its own. Dr. Qureshi's book may rank with Ibn Hasan's learned work, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire,* which has perhaps been taken by Dr. Qureshi as a model. In fairness to the author it must be said that the period chosen by him is more extensive and less perfectly surveyed by contemporary historians.

Space would not permit a detailed survey of the nine chapters and twelve appendices of the book under review. The author has given us a very exhaustive and useful bibliography showing the wide range of his acquaintance with relevant historical literature. Dr. Qureshi's book in truth removed a long-felt need for a standard text-book on the pre-Mughal Administrative System for our Universities. It is not difficult for a reviewer to find fault with an author as the cynical Greek deity criticised the creation of Zeus. However, without meaning any reflection on our young and promising comrade in the field of Indian history, we may say that the author might have omitted the last chapter of the book, the *Spirit of the Government.* The period from the second battle of Tarain to the second battle of Panipat taken up by the author has no doubt a sort of historical unity of its own. But it cannot be presumed that throughout this period the government was essentially the same, and that the same spirit must have inspired the rulers. Under the general term *pre-Mughal* we have the semi-feudal Mamluk regime followed by the Khilji and Tughlaq imperialisms in Delhi; the Lodis established again clan-feudalism and the Surs laid the foundation of a national—I mean Indian—government thereafter. So the spirit of the Sur Government cannot be taken as an index of the spirit of the Government throughout this period. The author ought to have shown more clearly the *historical development* of the administration and the administrative system at each stage.

Dr. Qureshi's book is a mine of useful information for students of Indo-Muslim history. We wish it a wide and genuine appreciation, and its learned author years of successful literary career.

K. R. QANUNGO

THE AGARIA: *By Verrier Elwin. Published by the Oxford University Press, Indian Branch. Foreword by Sarat Chandra Roy. 1942. Pp. xxxv+292 with 44 figures, 36 plates and 5 maps. Price Rs. 12-8.*

Mr. Verrier Elwin is widely known as an eminent Anthropologist and as a champion of the primitive peoples of Central India. His long residence among the people about whom he writes and his intimate personal contact have enabled him to see them from various angles. For five years his nearest neighbours were Agaria, and he "woke every morning to the roar of the bellows." He also made extensive tours in the area he calls the "Agaria belt," which extends from Dindori in the Mandla district, C. P. to Neterhat in Palamau, Bihar.

The author speculates that "the Agaria-Asur of today is descended from and in the same line of business as the Asura of old legend." The conflict between the Asura and Deva of Sanskrit mythology "finds many echoes in the Agaria legends"; and there is a similarity of name of the tribe,—the tribe in Chota Nagpur and a subtribe in Surguja and Bilaspur styling themselves as Asurs,—and of name of the Agaria demons,—"Lohasur (*i.e.,* Loha Asur), the demon of the iron-kiln, Koelasur, the demon of Charcoal, Agyasur, the demon of fire."

The folklore and mythology of the Agaria is fascinating though "confused and contradictory" and the people live "every moment of their lives for an ancient craft and by a living myth." Every technique that the Agaria follows is associated with a traditional myth. "This marriage of myth and craft," the author tells us,

"which is the central theme of the book, gives the Agaria great significance."

In the chapter on craft we get a picture of the Agaria at work in the iron-smelting furnace and at the forge, and get acquainted with the various products of Agaria skill. The author has dealt in some details with the merits and demerits of the Agaria industry. The chapter is enriched by the inclusion of extracts and illustrations from earlier records of the various methods of extracting iron practised in different parts of India.

The decay of the industry has very adversely affected the Agaria. The annual income is very meagre and Mr. Elwin puts it at between Rs. 60 and Rs. 80 which "represents the earnings of a whole family." But the more disastrous has been its effect on matters of spirit, resulting in a "tribal neurosis." The author ascribes the decay of the industry to "poor technique, heavy work and miserable returns" on the one hand and social reproach, foreign competition and over-taxation on the other. But he says that the industry could be revitalized, "easily and at a ridiculously small cost," and the "Agaria saved" and their "religion and culture preserved."

He suggests the following remedy: (1) Appointment of a couple of propagandists "who would study the primitive furnace, devise means for its improvements, and then educate the Agaria in better methods; (2) reduction of the tax on the furnace to a purely nominal one"; and (3) "by the strictest watch on *begar*, on any form of forced unpaid repairs or free supplies of iron taken by subordinate officials and landlords." But he laments, "No Mahatma has risen to revive" the industry.

The style of the book is captivating, and the extensive references from earlier and contemporary records are very interesting and informative.

Like all his other works *The Agaria* also reveals his great sympathy and love for the poor. But in it we miss that detailed analysis and convincing tone which characterised *The Baiga*, his masterpiece. Here we get a rapid survey of not a homogeneous tribe but of what may be called a collection of tribes,—the primitive iron-smelters and iron-workers of Central India.

The printing and get-up of the book are excellent. The publishers should be congratulated for the publication of such an interesting volume in the midst of a devastating war

SAILENDRA BEJOY DAS GUPTA

WHOSE FREEDOM ? : *Published by the International Book House Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 61. Price annas eight.*

So long 13,000,000 coloured Americans, 400,000,000 Indians are not treated as free men and so long coloured Asiatics are considered as inferiors by white races, there is no meaning in the Allied slogan that the United Nations are fighting for the freedom of the world. The coloured races who are now fighting for the Anglo-Americans to defeat the Axis Powers shall have to fight again the British and the Americans for their own independence after the defeat of the Axis. For a permanent peace and justice in the world, it must be proved to demonstration that in war aims and post-war reconstruction under the New Order of Freedom and Justice, the Allied Nations are consistent in words and deeds. This is the subject-matter of this booklet which contains reprints and quotations from Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Pearl Buck, Bertrand Russel, Lin Yutung, Madame Chiang Kai-shek and many others. The selections are thought-provoking and deserve to be widely read.

INFLATION IN INDIA : *By Mr. Ajaz S. Peerbhoy. Padma Publications, Bombay. Pp. 44. Price annas eight.*

This is a small book of eight chapters in which the author discusses the problem of inflation through which India is passing at present. He has examined the official view and the effects of inflation on various classes in society with its reaction on trade, industry and finances of the country. The subject is so very important that every educated man should know something about this which affects all classes—high and low, rich and poor. The evil effects of inflation are too well-known and timely measures can save the country from financial dislocation. The writer has not given any constructive suggestion as to how the inflation is to be checked in view of the peculiar circumstances and public temperament that prevail in India in relation to the Government of the country which is alien and irresponsible. However, the book is well-written and even a layman will profit by its perusal.

A. B. DUTTA

LIGHTS ON YOGA : *By Sri Aurobindo. Published by Arya Publishing House, 63, College Street, Calcutta.*

This book is composed of extracts from Sri Aurobindo's letters, written to his disciples, in answer to questions relating to the doubts and difficulties experienced by them in the path of Yoga; hence the book is of universal appeal. Persons who follow the older paths of Yoga will find this book to be of great practical help; whereas persons, whose interest in Yoga is more theoretical than practical, will receive from it new light on the subject. Without purity Yoga is impossible; according to older authorities this purity is to observe certain physical and mental rules, to follow certain time-honoured customs; but in Sri Aurobindo's Yoga "purity is to accept no other influence but the influence of the divine." In Yoga, meditation is generally preferred to work as the means of the highest realisation; but according to Sri Aurobindo, "Those who work for the Mother in all sincerity, are prepared by the work itself for the right consciousness even if they do not sit down for meditation or follow any particular practice of Yoga."

This book is indispensable for all who are interested in Yoga.

ISANCHANDRA RAY

THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF JESUS CHRIST : *By S. K. George. Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price annas twelve only.*

This is a welcome addition to the well-known series of Natesan's *World Teachers*.

The author's interpretation of the life and teachings of Jesus, viewed from an independent but reverential standpoint, is important from the fact that it gives a Gospel or good news to man in the hope of a Kingdom of God or of a new World Order, to use a modern phraseology. Today in the midst of a world at war, it is the one hope that sustains humanity to overcome evil by love and truth. Viewed in this light, it would mean a complete identification of the Christian movement in India with the life and struggles of the Indian leaders and people for the sake of their Motherland.

A Christian community that follows Jesus in that sense will be the salt of the earth. The author hopes that such attempt will be made with real knowledge

and insight. According to the author, the message of Jesus for our modern world would be to build up the Kingdom of God on earth by a reign of love and the goal would be the brotherhood of all mankind.

The author has made a praiseworthy attempt to interpret the life and teachings of Jesus in his own unique way which is bound to interest not only Christian readers but men and women of other faiths as well.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

AXIS vs. ALLIES: *By K. C. Banerji (World-tourist). Published by the Author, P. O. Garia, District 24-Parganas. Price annas ten.*

The book contains four political articles, the first three of which appeared in the *Searchlight* of Patna. Encouraged by some of his presages coming out true, the writer might have found his articles worth being published in the form of a book just to keep a permanent record of his political study and calculations. Though the articles reflect ideas from several of the contemporary journals, they are interesting as they take a personal colour from the author's extensive tours. Still, the last line of the book prophesying the end of the present unrest throughout the world to come about sometime in 1944 has been much of an astrological nature or even much more than what is within his power of vision.

LAST CORNER: *By 'Little Man' (of Bombay Sentinel). United India Publication No. 1. Price annas twelve.*

WE 'COVER' LIFE: *By Lata K. Panjabi, G. S. Kalyanpur (Bombay Chronicle), and Khooshie L. Panjabi (Bombay Sentinel). United India Publication No. 2. Price annas eight.*

Both are published by United India Publications, Lamington Road, Bombay, 7.

The above two books possess topical interest with journalistic flavour. 'Last Corner' in its red *flap-gown* and with an introduction from Mr. B. G. Horniman editor, *Bombay Sentinel*, will not escape attention of a 'sincere' book-moth with some sense of humour. They, over whom the *Sentinel* keeps an everyday guard, know who this 'Little Man' is—surely bigger than a thumb (!)—and where the 'Last Corner' is roomed or what's its capacity. But an 'irregular,' I fear, will not take much interest in all that the humanitarian, hard-hitting, and humorous socio-nationalist scribbles to fill in his *Last Corner* (may he be not at the mercy of the 'make-up' man !).

I consider that the self-made Lilliputian would do well to cut short his diary for the sake of the book, and to maintain a chronological order under selective and particular subject-headings.

We 'Cover' Life is an indenture tripartite. All these authors tell stories from life no doubt, but there is a little difference between 'Covering the Mahatma' and a cinema short-story. The several pieces like 'Covering the Mahatma,' 'My Fortnight with Subhas,' 'Indian National Bloodshed Un-Ltd.', are sweet little things for freshness of style and contagion of humour. But, they are, however, obsessed by the typical limitations of a journalist.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT

VIDYAKARASAHASRAKAM: *By Vidyakara Mishra. Edited by Umesha Mishra Kavyatirtha, M.A., D.Litt., Sanskrit Department, Allahabad University. Allahabad University Publications. Sanskrit Series—Vol. II.*

This is one of the latest anthologies of Sanskrit verses, one thousand in number, some of which are of poets belonging to the 19th century, one, Bhanunatha, to the end of it. The name of the compiler is nowhere given in the published portion of the work. It is given as Vidyakara by the editor and it seems to have occurred in one of the two or three concluding verses which have not been printed due, it is stated, to their hopelessly corrupt condition. It may also be found in the colophon which too is not included in the edition. But the total omission of these cannot be justified in a scholarly edition. We have here the names of 132 poets of which 39 are of Mithila and are mostly unknown elsewhere. Short accounts of the poets are given in the Introduction. The authorship of many verses has been left unmentioned. Some of them, however, are known from other sources (*e.g.*, *Vidagdhamukhamandana*, *Sahityadarpana* and other works on rhetoric). It is a matter of regret that these have not generally been indicated in the edition, though occasional references have been made to variants found in one or two other anthological works. It is rather strange that the distinction between ब (*b*) and व (*v*) has not been strictly observed and the absurd form म्ब (*mv*) has been allowed to stand. A number of apparently corrupt readings found in the single manuscript on which the edition is based have been distinguished by query marks and it is suspected that a few others have escaped the learned editor (*e.g.*, v. 445 l. 3, v. 842 l. 4).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BIRATWER RAJTIKA: *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by Messrs. S. K. Mitra & Bros., 12, Narkelbagan Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 209. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a book in which lives of ten great women have been depicted bringing out different aspects of greatness in each character. These are Rabeya, Joan of Arc, Rani Durgabati, Chand Sultana, Rani Ahalyabai, Rani Bhabani, Rani Lakshmi Bai, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Kasturbai Gandhi and Sarojini Naidu—the first is an Arab, 2nd, a French and the rest are Indians except Madame Kai-shek, the most modern Chinese woman of world-wide celebrity.

Rabeya is an example of human endurance, Joan hope of the hopeless, Durgabati, Chand, Lakshmibai represent courage, statemanship and national spirit, Ahalya and Bhabani ideal of sacrifice and services for fellow human beings and Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu spirit of struggle for national emancipation.

The book is ably written in a forceful language which will interest young and aged alike.

A. B. DUTTA

JANAMA-ABADHI: *By Bimalesh De. Published by Bharati Bhavan, 11, College Square, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4.*

A love-romance in poetic prose. The story-element is almost imperceptible, but the emotions of love have been nicely depicted.

MATIR MAYA: *By Haragopal Biswas, M.Sc. (Second Edition), 164, Maniktala Main Road, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

A small book of poems, describing in a homely style the charms of village-life.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

DIARY KE KUCHH PANNE: *By Ghanshyam Das Birla. Published by Susta Sahitya Mandal, Connaught Circus, New Delhi. Pp. 160. Price annas twelve.*

The fact that the book, which consists of pages from the private journal kept by the writer when he attended the Second Round Table Conference and which was reviewed when the first edition appeared, has gone into the second edition proves that it has 'hit' the taste of the public; maybe, because of the sidelights it throws on Gandhiji, the darling of a million hearts.

SAHITYA KALA: *By Shri Vinayamohan Sharma, M.A. Published by Nawalkishore Press, Book Depot, Hazrat Ganj, Lucknow. Pp. 124. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is a very good primer on the Art of Literature. It introduces the reader, in a simple and interesting manner, to the creator and craftsman *litterateur* and shows him how the literary artist works with his experiences, ideas, images and expressions. It has also something to say about the writing of prose-poems, short stories and dramas, and about the ideal and art of criticism. The latter have been illustrated by an analysis-*cum*-appreciation of Rabindranath's "Shodashi" (Galpaguchchha 1) and Prasad's "Andhi" and "Chandragupta."

Sahitya Kala could be safely prescribed as a text-book for Hindi students in the first two classes in the college. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired.

G. M.

TAMIL

THE LIBERTY OF MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD: *By Ingersoll. Translated by V. Saminatha Sarma. Published by Sakti Karyalayam, Karaikudi and Madura. 1942. Pp. viii+107. Price Re. 1.*

A very nice translation of an interesting work that ought to be read by every man, woman and child.

MY TRAVEL REMINISCENCES: *By A. K. Chettiar. Published by Sakti Karayalayam, Karaikudi and Madura. 1942. Pp. 78. Price annas twelve.*

The author wields a facile pen and his style is charming. His reminiscences of Paris, Berlin, Cape Comorin, Goa, Bombay, Rangoon and other places given herein are all very interesting.

MADHAVAN

GUJARATI

SUDAMA CHARITA: *Edited by Maganbhai P. Kothari. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 120. Price annas ten.*

The trials and tribulations of Sudama, the indigent Brahmin fellow student of Shri Krishna at the Ashram of Shandipan, have been versified both by Narsingh Mehta and Premanand, well-known poets of medieval Gujarat. Mr. Desai has collected every possible manuscript and edited them. A very critical and informative preface sets out—good and bad—both sides of the subject.

DESHADROHI: *By "Pra." Printed at the Prajabandhu Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover, Pp. 292. Price Rs. 2.*

This story book has been presented by the well-known weekly, *Prajabandhu* to its subscribers as its annual present for the year 1942. As its name implies it is a story describing the ideals and achievements of a revolutionary, who passes under various names and disguises. It is a good picture of the life of the present youth.

JAGAT NA ARANYAMAN: *By J. K. Mehta, M.A. Printed at the Gandiv Printing Press, Surat. 1942. Pp. 209. Cloth bound. Price Re. 1-4.*

Mr. Mehta always writes his books in a mood of contemplation. His previous work *Jagat ni Dharmshalaman,* contemplated the world from the view-point of its being a halting place for wayfarers. That mood is now switched on to its contemplation as an Aranya or a Desert where you see miles and miles of sand, nothing else, and still can hear the voice of God there. Thus, he observes the world both as a *Dharamshala* and a Desert and in the Desert, in spite of its dryness and unproductiveness, the voice of God does not fail one. He has treated twenty-four subjects, some of them autobiographical, with intelligence, and a vein of godliness runs through the whole book inspired by a deep study of the Bible, *i.e.*, Christianity and cognate subjects. A perusal of the book and the way in which the subjects are handled result in giving peace of mind and sense of quiet to the reader.

CHANDRANE: *By Bhagirath Mehta. Printed at the Swadhesi Printing Press, Ranpur. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 7. Price annas three.*

Bhagirath Mehta is not new to composition of verses. The present small volume was preceded by another equally small volume, called *Khanderno Zarukho* where the writer gave promise of good work. It consisted of a few stanzas on various subjects, which showed powers of observation and good expression. The present composition is a whole one, not divided into sections and is devoted to feelings inspired in the composer's mind by observing the moon shining in the compartment of a railway carriage. Taking that incident as a peg on which to hang his verses, he is prompted to ask of the moon certain questions and set her certain problems. The promise held out in the previous work is being fulfilled.

LILAN SUKAN PAN (GREEN AND DRY LEAVES): *By Prof V. K. Vaidya, B.A., Surat. Printed at the Anand Press, Bhavnagar. 1942. Cloth bound. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 2.*

In Autumn leaves become yellow and dry, still it is possible to see them green when Spring comes. This is an effort on the part of Prof. Vaidya, the well-known critical writer and research scholar of Gujarat, to revive some of the dry leaves of Gujarat as it existed about three or four generations ago, and by supplying the proper sap, make them green or living. In short, he has attempted by means of twenty essays, reviewing the social and literary work of one of the foremost Gujaratis, Kavi Narmadashankar, (1833-1886) to perpetuate the sterling contributions made by him to the reforms inaugurated in that *Nava Yuga* (New Era) in the life of Gujarat in both those directions. The result of the author's observations is valuable, because it has been reasoned out in detail. His style, as usual, is both heavy and light, and on the whole, the effort deserves a warm welcome, as it points out the path along which the future researcher should travel.

K. M. J.

FEMALE EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

Origin of the Bethune School

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

The Bethune School which was suspended early last year, is the oldest lay public institution for girls and perhaps the pioneer of its kind in this part of India. Almost a century has passed since the Hon'ble John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune, fourth Ordinary Member of the Supreme Council of India, founded this institution in Calcutta on the 7th May, 1849. Its establishment marked a definitely forward step in the history of women's education in India.

I

The Missionary schools for girls had not been popular with the Hindus. Along with the three R's., they made it a point to inculcate Christian doctrines into their pliable minds. Raja Radha Kanta Deb, Raja Baidyanath Roy and several others belonging to the Indian gentry who had zealously worked for the cause of women's education and helped the missions and societies in their preliminary efforts, gradually withdrew their co-operation as the latter's extra-academic intentions became more and more evident. These schools did not flourish. A correspondent from Chinsurah wrote in the *Samachar Darpan* of March 3, 1838 thus about the missionary schools for girls :

> "A few benevolent European gentlemen and ladies, indeed, made some attempt to introduce female schools, but they have failed, excepting in one or two places, where a small number of the very lowest classes attend the schools for the sake of clothing and other rewards."

Respectable persons belonging to the upper classes of society would not send their girls to public institutions. The wealthy among them would appoint teachers at home for the education of their female wards. For instance, Raja Sibchandra Roy, Asutosh Deb and Prasanna Kumar Tagore appointed private tutors for their daughters who derived great benefit from domestic instruction. They became well versed in some of the classical and modern languages. The acquirements of Prasanna Kumar's daughter who died young, elicited much praise from the pen of the Rev. K. M. Banerjea. He in his prize-essay on 'Native Female Education,'[1] marked the utility of this sort of domestic teaching and urged that this course should be adopted by the respectable classes at once. But it would surely entail much expense for an individual. Dr. Thomas Smyth, himself a missionary and a warm advocate of religious teaching in girl schools, dwelt at length on the feasibility of this system and suggested means to avoid unnecessary expenses in *The Calcutta Christian Observer* for March 1840. He wrote, amongst other things, that

> "In the absence of prospects of worldly advantages, we must endeavour to make female education a respectable thing; and this can only be done by vigorous efforts to introduce it among what are commonly styled the respectable classes. But this again can only be effected by sending European ladies to teach the females in their own apartments."

The same issue of the *Observer* published the considered views of the Rev. K. M. Banerjea regarding female education in India. Here, he asked the European 'birds of passage' also to do something tangible in this behalf. He said :

> "No experiment of the kind having ever been tried in this country, it is undoubtedly the duty of European Christians not to leave it untried, and to offer knowledge and instruction in the very houses of their heathen sisters, since they will not be persuaded to come out of doors. The only difficulty appears to be on the score of expense; but considering how much the Eurpean community is indebted to this country, whence they are drawing so much of gold and silver, and where they exercise as it were a lordly supremacy, I have no hesitation in saying that they owe it to the natives, even upon moral considerations, to instruct and enlighten their sons and daughters; and as in other efforts, so in this, of educating Hindu females, every civil and military officer, every merchant and tradesman, in short, every individual that has found his residence in India a source of temporal profit and earthly aggrandizement, ought to give from a sense of duty whatever aid and encouragement he can."

II

Previous to the establishment of the Bethune School, Indians had not been behindhand in their efforts at female education. Matilal Seal, the 'Rothschild' of Calcutta, and Haladhar Mallik proposed to form early in 1837 an association with two objects in view, *viz.*, (1) to introduce widow-remarriage in the Hindu Society and (2) to extend the blessings of liberal education to the Indian females.[2] Matilål Seal.

1. Though submitted to the Committee of Examiners early in 1840, the essay was published under this caption in 1841.

2. *Samachar Darpan*, April 29, 1837. Cf. *Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha*, Vol. II, p. 98.

later offered ten thousand rupees as an inducement to the person who would be the first to marry a widow.

Even the students began to discuss the subject with great ardour. At the annual examination of Gour Mohan Addy's Oriental Seminary held in March 1840, two essays were read—one on 'Marriage' and the other on 'Female Education,' which reflected credit on their authors. These were published in the *Advocate*.[3] Ram Gopal Ghose of 'Young Bengal' fame and a prominent figure in Indian public life, offered in 1842, medals for the best English essays on 'Female Education' to the students of the first two classes of the Hindu College. Among the students of the second class who only participated in the competition, Madhusudan Dutt and Bhudeb Mukherjee came out successful and won a gold and a silver medal respectively.[3](a).

The 'Young Bengal' headed by Ram Gopal tried to give these efforts a practical shape through the Bengal British India Society of Calcutta. This Society, instituted early in 1843, was mainly a political body. But its members dealt with social questions with no less fervour. W. Theobald, Vakeel of the Supreme Court of Calcutta and President of the Society, referred to these aspects of their activities in his presidental address at its second anniversary held on the 5th May, 1845:

"Native polygamy was one of them. Some Hindoo members had gone so far as to wish for an Act to make it illegal. . . . With equal propriety, the re-marriage of Hindoo widows had engaged the attention of the Society. . . . *With still greater satisfaction he referred to what the Society had done on the subject of Hindoo Female Education*.[4] . . . The subject was cordially taken up by the Hindoo members, who confessed the unfortunate ignorance of their females, and with so much earnestness had the object been pursued that, probably, at its next meeting, the Society will be prepared to establish a scheme for Hindoo Female Education."[5]

It was in this year that Jaykrishna Mukherjee and Rajkrishna Mukherjee, the public-spirited zemindars of Uttarpara, approached the Council of Education for assistance in starting a female school there. Later on, the Mukherjees prepared a scheme and submitted it to the Council in August 1849. They proposed not only to bear half the cost of the school-building to the amount of Rs. 2,000, but also to set apart some landed property accruing a monthly income of Rs. 60/-. This was half the required sum, the other half to be met by the Government. The Council of Education turned down the proposal on the plea of paucity of Government funds. They, however, intimated that

"A similar experiment was then being conducted elsewhere independent of the Government, and that they preferred awaiting the result of that experiment, to taking any steps in the matter of female education themselves at that time."[6]

Before dwelling on this experiment, I would mention the activities of the Hare Memorial Meetings and the Hare Prize Fund Committee. In the former the speakers dilated, time and again, on the importance of women's education. The Hare Prize was awarded by the Committee in 1849 to Tarasankar Sarma, a student of the Sanskrit College, for his Bengali essay on "Hindu Female Education." While discontinuing the bestowal of prizes in October 1864, the Committee resolved to apply the fund 'to the preparation of standard works in the Bengalee language calculated to elevate the female mind.' Many useful works for women were published from this fund. The trustees of the Hare Prize Fund included such ardent advocates of female education as Ram Gopal Ghose, Pearychand Mitra, the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, Sibchandra Deb and Debendra Nath Tagore.[7] Even in August 1854 Pearychand Mitra and Radhanath Sikdar started a popular Bengali monthly called *Masik Patrika*, especially fitted for the study of our women folk.

III

The experiment referred to by the Council of Education was none other than the school founded by the Hon'ble J. E. D. Bethune. In this he was chiefly assisted by Ram Gopal Ghose. Mr. Bethune reached Calcutta in April 1848 and by virtue of his position as Member of

3. *The Calcutta Christian Observer*, April, 1840, p. 223.

3(a). About this prize I find the following in the Report of Council of Education for 1842-43:
"It is right here also to mention, that a Native Gentleman having offered a Gold Medal for the best, and Silver Medal for the second best essay on Native Female Education, considered especially with reference to its effect on children of the next generation, Mr. Cameron, the Examiner, awarded the prizes thus—the 1st to Modoosoodun Dutt, and No. 2 to Bhoodeb Mookerjee of the 2nd class. The first class were unwilling to compete for the prize." (Hindoo College Annual Report for 1842. Appendix K., p. lxxiii).

4. Italics mine.

5. *The Friend of India*, May 15, 1845.

6. Report of the Council of Education, 1st May, 1848 to 1st October, 1849, p. xxx.

7. *Life of David Hare* by Peary Chand Mitra, pp. 107-9.

Government became President of the Council of Education. Here he sat with Ram Gopal and must have conferred with him on the subject of female education. We can very well surmise that in maturing the plan of a free lay female school, Ram Gopal Ghose had just a hand. In his famous letter,[8] dated 29th March 1850, to Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General of India, Mr. Bethune mentioned Ram Gopal as his 'principal adviser in the first instance.' He found in Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee, also of 'Young Bengal' fame and Pandit Madan Mohan Tarkālankar of the Sanskrit College two warm and active supporters of the cause.[9]

The school was opened in the house of Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee in Bahir Simulia, later Sukea Street. He permitted the use of his house, free of rent, which, according to the rates of that time, would amount to no less than one hundred rupees a month. He offered his personal library to the school, containing books worth five thousand rupees, as also one thousand rupees for building a house for it. A plot of land (five bighas and a half) was in his possession in Mirzapur which he had purchased at nine thousand rupees and was worth about twelve thousand at the time. Dakshinaranjan made a free gift of this land to Mr. Bethune's school. Mr. Bethune, too, purchased another adjoining plot at the cost of ten thousand rupees for this institution. But Mirzapur was then considered outskirts of the city and far from the centre. There was a piece of Government land to the west of the Cornwallis Square. Mr. Bethune proposed to the Government that this piece of land might be exchanged for that in Mirzapur for his school. To this the Government agreed.[10] Here, on the 6th November 1850, the foundation-stone of the school-building was laid by Sir John Littler, then Deputy Governor of Bengal. To commemorate the occasion Lady Littler planted a tree with some ceremony which reminded one of certain ancient Hindu customs.[11]

Public institutions for girls had long been an anathema with the conservative Hindus. A section of them raised a hue and cry when the school was first opened. But there were many others who gave their weighty support to the cause. Raja Radhakanta Deb, that doughty champion of women's education, in a letter to Mr. Bethune, strongly condemned the 'vituperators' and denounced their action as 'the vituperation of a malignant mind.' In a long letter to Mr. Bethune dated 20th March 1851, Radhakanta gave an account of his activities in this direction during the previous thirty years and offered him a few suggestions for the successful operation of the subject.[12] Besides the names of the three gentlemen referred to by Mr. Bethune in his letter to Lord Dalhousie, there were many others who helped him actively in the first few years. These were, Pearychand Mitra, Pandit Tarasankar Tarkabachaspati, Rasiklal Sen, Sambhunath Pandit, Isanchandra Basu, Ramchandra Ghosal, Gurucharan Yash, to name only a few.[13] Mr. Bethune appointed Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, secretary to this school in December, 1850.

On the opening day only twenty-one girls attended. Though, due to the vehement opposition of some influential persons, the number had once dwindled to seven, it rose to thirty-four at the end of the first year. Mr. Bethune's was a free school and open to the girls of respectable classes of Hindus only. Education imparted was of an elementary nature, and Bengali was its medium. The curriculum included, besides the three R's., needle-work and sewing. English was taught to those only whose parents wished it. Religious teaching was rigidly excluded. The school kept a carriage to bring girls from distant places. On the outer side of the carriage was inscribed this motto in Sanskrit :

8. Reproduced in full in Selections from Educational Records. Part II.

9. Mr. Bethune wrote in his letter to Lord Dalhousie :

"The three natives to whom I desire especially to record my gratitude for their assistance are Baboo Ram Gopal Ghose, the well-known member who was my principal adviser in the first instance and who procured me my first pupils, Baboo Dukhina Runjan Mookerjea, a Zemindar, who was previously unknown to me, but who as soon as my design was published, introduced himself to me for the purpose of offering me the free gift of a site for the school, or five beegahs of land valued at 10,000 Rupees in the Native quarter of the town and Pundit Madun Mohun Turkalunkar, one of the Pundits of the Sanskrit College, who not only sent two daughters to the school, but has continued to attend it daily, to give gratuitious instruction to the children in Bengali, and has employed his leisure time in the compilation of a series of elementary Bengali Books expressly for their use."—*Selections of Educational Records.* Part II, pp. 52-3.

10. *Sambad Bhaskar*, 10 and 12 May, 1849. Also, *Sambad Sudhangsu*, 23 Bhadra, 1257 B.S.

11. *Sambad Purnachandrodaya*, November 8, 1850.

12. *The Modern Review* for June, 1942, pp. 567-8.

13. *Vide* Madan Mohun Tarkalankar's article on female education in *Sarbasubhakari Patrika* for Aswin 1772 Sakabda. Reproduced in full in Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerjee's *Jaygopal Tarkalankar, Madan Mohan Tarkalankar.*

Girls are to be brought up and taught with great care."*

Books were supplied to the scholars free of charge.

IV

Besides Mr. Bethune's, there were established some other schools at this time in Calcutta and elsewhere on the similar line. Mention should be made of one founded by Raja Radhakanta Deb in his Sobhabazar house, about a fortnight after the opening of Mr. Bethune's school. Girls of the neighbourhood attended this school. An ex-student of the Sanskrit College was appointed teacher. He taught the girls both Bengali and English.[14]

Even before the establishment of Mr. Bethune's school, a free girl school is said to have been set up as early as 1847 at Baraset.[15] Dr. Kalikrishna Mitra, Nabinkrishna Mitra and some other gentlemen of the town founded this school with the assistance of Pearycharan Sarkar, the celebrated educationist, then Headmaster of the Baraset Government School. High officials like Sir James Colville and the Hon'ble Drinkwater Bethune paid occasional visits to this school and were satisfied with its work. It is said that Mr. Bethune took the cue of opening an institution in the Metropolis from this school.[16] The promoters of the Baraset girl school also conducted a boys' free school. But to maintain both proved a heavy burden to them financially. They made some arrangements with the Council of Education in 1849 and relinquished the charge of the boys' school. The girl school was reorganised on the model of Mr. Bethune's under a strong managing committee in January 1850.[17] Similar attempts were being made in 1850 at Uttarpara, Neebodhia, Sooksagar and some place near Jessore.[18]

V

All these attempts were, strictly speaking, non-official and private. Barring a few of their officials the Government had no connection with them. Hitherto, they had not spent even a single *cowrie* from their exchequer for the education of Indian women. Nor had they given any public indications of their sympathy. All this was construed by the designing people as their hostility towards this cause. The opponents of the public female schools created troubles everywhere. They put the organisers of the Baraset school to severe indignities. The Hon'ble Mr. Bethune earnestly solicited the Governor-General in the letter referred to above to issue instructions to the Magistrates indicative of Government's approval of these efforts. The Governor-General accepted the suggestion and caused a letter[19] written to the following effect to the Government of Bengal on April 11, 1850 :

"The Governor-General in Council requests that the Council of Education may be informed that it is henceforward to consider its function as comprising the superintendence of native female education and that wherever any disposition is shown by the natives to establish female schools it will be its duty to give them all possible encouragement and further their plans in every way that is not inconsistent with the efficiency of the institutions already under their management. It is the wish also of the Governor-General in Council that intimation to the same effect should be given to the Chief Civil Officers of the Mofussil calling their attention to the growing disposition among the natives to establish female schools, and directing them to use all means at their disposal for encouraging those institutions and for making it generally known that the Government views them with very great approbation."

The letter was mere approbatory. The Government were not prepared even at this time to involve themselves into any financial responsibilities. The importance of women's education in India was, however, emphasised in the famous education despatch of 1854.[19(a)] But it

* कन्याप्येवं पालनीया शिक्षणीयातियत्नतः ।

14. *Sambad Bhaskar*, May 29, 1849.

15. *Peary Charan Sarkar* by Nabakrishna Ghose, 147.

16. *Banga Mahila*, Kartik 1282 B.S. "The late Babu Peary Charan Sarkar."

17. Report of the Council of Education, p. 5.

18. Bethune's letter to Lord Dalhousie. Cf. *Selections from Educational Records*. Part II.

19. Report of the Council of Education, 1849-50, pp. 2-3. Also *Selections from Educational Records*, Part II, p. 59.

19(a). The paragraph in the despatch in connection with women's education in India runs as follows :

"83. The importance of female education in India cannot be over-estimated; and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants-in-aid may be given; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor-General in Council has declared, in a communication to the Government of Bengal, that the Government ought to give the native female education in India its frank and cordial support; in this we heartily concur, and we especially approve of the bestowal of marks of honor upon such native gentlemen as Rao Bahadur Maganbhai Karramchand, who devoted 20,000 rupees to the foundation of two native female schools in Ahmedabad, as by such means our desire for the extension of female educa-

remained a pious wish with the Government for a few years more.

VI

In the meantime Mr. Bethune's life was cut short by death on August 12, 1851. Lord and Lady Dalhousie were sympathetic to the cause propounded by Mr. Bethune and took personal interest in his school. After Mr. Bethune's death Lord Dalhousie took upon himself the charge of the school. *The Hindu Intelligencer* of February 6, 1854 wrote with regard to his connection with the school thus :

> ".We believe it is generally known that since Mr. Bethune's death the Governor-General has supported entirely at his own cost the Native Female School which that gentleman established. The outlay we are informed, has been about Rs. 700/- per mensem. . .
>
> " His Lordship has signified his desire that the school may be kept open at his sole charge so long as he remains in India, his anxiety being that he might be assured it would not fall to the ground whenever he retires from his present office."—*Hurkaru*, Feb. 3.

Lord Dalhousie was soon relieved of his anxiety. On his recommendation the Court of Directors agreed that, on his retirement, they would take the charge of the school upon themselves.[20]

Lord Dalhousie left India on March 6, 1856. According to previous arrangements, the Government undertook the charge of the school.[21] His successor Lord Canning, too, took much interest in its affairs. In July 1856 following, Lady Canning personally implored the leading men of the town to send their daughters to the school in larger numbers. Even then a proposal was afoot to appoint a managing committee for the school.[22] The Government had already placed the school under the sole charge of Mr. Cecil Beadon, one of their Secretaries. In a letter to them on August 12, Mr. Beadon made some suggestions for the improvement of the school, one being the constitution of a strong managing committee with the leading and influential Hindus of the Metropolis. The Government acted on his advice and notified in *The Calcutta Gazette* of the 20th September 1856 the constitution of the following committee for the late Mr. Bethune's school :

> President : Sir Cecil Beadon; Members : Raja Kalikrishna Bahadur, Raja Pratabchandra Sinha, Rai Harchanda Ghose Bahadur, Amritalal Mitra, Ray Prannath Chaudhury, Ramratna Ray, Rajendra Datta, Bhawani Prasad Datta, Ramaprasad Roy, Kasiprasad Ghose; Hony. Secretary : Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.[23]

The first thing that the newly constituted committee did, was to issue an appeal on December 2, 1856 to their countrymen explaining the aims and objects of the institution as contemplated by Mr. Bethune.[24] Since then, the institution and, along with it, women's education in Bengal entered into a new phase. Under the management of the committee and with the special care and supervision of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Mr. Bethune's school[25] became an ideal institution on this side of India. It was through the nucleus of this school and the Banga Mahila Vidyalaya founded by some young Brahmo leaders, that the Bethune College sprang up in 1878. It is still the premier women's institution in Bengal.

tion becomes generally known."—*The Report of the Council of Education for 1857-58*. Appendix D. Miscellaneous Papers : Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated July 19th, 1854.

20. " Native Female Education " in *The Calcutta Review* for July-September, 1855, p. 80.

21. *Selections from Educational Records*. Part II, p. 435.

22. *Sambad Prabhakar*, July 26, 1856.

23. *Sambad Prabhakar*, September 23, 1856.

24. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1857.

25. For further information on the subject, the reader is referred to " Iswarchandra Vidysagar as a Promoter of Female Education in Bengal," by Brajendra Nath Banerjee. Cf. *The Journal and Proceedings*, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. XXIII, 1927, No. 3.



THE LATE Y. M. KALE

An Eminent Historian of C. P. and Berar

BY ANANDRAO JOSHI, *Nagpur*

THE Maharashtra in general, and C. P. and Berar in particular, sustained a heavy loss in the death of Shri Yadao Madhao Kale, B.A., LL.B., M.L.A. who passed away on the night of Thursday, the 11th of March after a prolonged illness at his residence in Buldana (Berar). The C. P. and Berar is a backward and much neglected province where eminent scholars of history and archæology are found few and far between. Only about nine years ago (1934)



Y. M. Kale
Courtesy : V. G. Kavimandan.

this province lost in the late Dr. Hiralal a great historian and an Orientalist of All-India fame. The death of Shri Y. M. Kale, at the age of 62, has removed from this province another historian of repute whose labours were chiefly confined to the histories of Berar and the Bhonsalas of Nagpur.

A SUCCESSFUL LAWYER AND M.L.A.

Shri Kale was born in the year 1881 at Lonar in the Buldana district. In his student-life he had to fight his way through poverty and difficulties. After passing the Matriculation examination in 1898 from the Government High School at Akola he entered the Educational Department and served as a teacher at several places in the province. During this service he passed the B.A. examination of the Allahabad University in 1907. After taking his LL.B. degree in 1910 he practised for about a decade in Mehkar. He then joined the bar at Buldana, the headquarters of the district, and soon made his mark as a successful lawyer. Fortune and fame favoured him to become eventually the leading advocate of the place and the district.

In 1923 he was, for the first time, elected a member of the C. P. Legislative Council, and since then he enjoyed the confidence of the electorate so well that he was repeatedly elected by his constituency. He was also the President of the Legislative Council for some time (1926) In the Council, where he remained up to 1937, he always represented the case of Berar and endeavoured to guard its interests. His work in connection with the 'Sim-Formula' will ever be remembered by the people of Berar.

THE HISTORIES OF BERAR AND NAGPUR

He was a keen student of Marathi literature and history. He developed a passion for them in his student days. As far back as 1905 he had published the first part of the *History of Berar* which dealt chiefly with the ancient history of the province. Though a small book, it was highly appreciated by the prominent Marathi scholars of that time. It took nearly 20 years to publish his revised and enlarged edition of this history. It is a big volume of about 450 pages (price Rs. 3) and was published in the year 1924. The volume is illustrated mainly with the photographs of ancient architecture and other historical places in Berar.

Ten years later (in 1934) he published the *History of the Nagpur Province*, containing about 600 pages printed in small type (price Rs. 5). It deals chiefly with the history of the Bhonsala Rajas of Nagpur and includes photographs of their portraits, facsimiles of handwritings of some of them as also a few maps.

These two volumes give a comprehensive history of the respective provinces from the ancient times almost to their years of publication. Even in English there are no volumes of this type The former was dedicated to the late Raja Laxmanrao Bhonsala of Nagpur, while the latter to the late Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar of

Baroda. These volumes, which may rightly be said to be his life-work, exhibit his deep study, scholarship and patient industry. He also wrote a life-sketch of the first Raghoji Bhonsala for the Sayaji-Baljnan-Mala of Baroda, a book-series meant for the juveniles.

Some Works He Edited

Among the works he edited, special mention must be made here of the *Bhonsala's Bakhar* (chronicle) published by the C. P. Research Society of Nagpur in 1936 (price Rs. 2/8/-). This chronicle (in the Modi Script) was originally written in 1822 at the behest of Sir Richard Jenkins, the British Resident at the court of the Bhonsala Rajas of Nagpur. The late Waman Daji Oke first edited and published it serially in 1885 in the *Kavyetihas-Sangraha*, a reseach-journal edited by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Sane and defunct since long. It was mainly through the efforts of Shri Kale that this chronicle was made available to Marathi readers after a lapse of about 50 years.

Another important work edited by him is Volume V (1781-1820 A.D.) of the *Poona Residency Records* published under the auspices of the Government of Bombay. This volume, published in 1939, contains documents and correspondence on the Nagpur affairs. He also collaborated with Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai and others in editing some historical documents and correspondence pertaining to the history of the Marathas.

His Manifold Activities

Shri Kale was a corresponding member of the Historical Records Commission, a member of the Bharat-Itihas-Samshodhak-Mandal of Poona, and an honorary member of the Sharadashrama of Yeotmal as well as of the C. P. Research Society of Nagpur. He was a Vice-President of the Vidarbha-Sahitya-Sangha, and presided over the second session of the Vidarbha Literary Conference held at Amraoti in 1924 under its auspices. He was President of the C. P. and Berar Vernacular Literary Academy (Nagpur) since its inception. (This body has ceased to function since the last few years). He had also the honour of being appointed an examiner by the Deccan Vernacular Translation Society of Poona as also by the Bhojraj Prize Committee.

He was elected President of the Hyderabad States People's Conference which held its session at Bombay in 1926. He also presided over the anniversary celebration of Bajirao I at Raverkhedi on the river Narbada where this illustrious Peshwa breathed his last on April 28, 1740.

He was connected with the Nagpur University in various capacities. He was for some time a member of its Academic and Executive Councils, and was also the Head of the Board of Studies for vernacular languages. For several years he was an examiner in Marathi for the B.A. (Hons.) and the M.A. examinations. Under the auspices of the University he delivered in 1938 a series of lectures on the history of the Bhonsalas which were later on published in book-form.

A Staunch Hindu-Sabhaite

He was a staunch Hindu-Sabhaite and was President of the local Hindu Sabha for several years. He took a leading part in conducting the "Dhar-Puja" case of Lonar and the "Padma-Teertha" case of Basim in order to protect the interests and assert the rights of the Hindus of those places. He was kind-hearted and generous, and helped many students in a variety of ways.

The C. P. and Berar, particularly the latter, loses in him an influential public worker and a renowned scholar of history. He leaves behind a big family and a large circle of friends and admirers to mourn his loss.

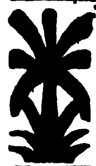
V. G. Kavimandan, B.A., LL.B., also writes from Mehkar, Berar :

Born in a poor Brahmin family at Lonar, Mr. Kale rose from poverty and attained a place of honour in C. P. and Berar. He was a self-made man in every respect. . . . . He was a great lover of the Sanskrit language as is amply borne out by his chapter on literature in the *History of Berar*.

He joined the Bar at Mehkar in 1910 and soon came into prominence as an eminent lawyer. . . . He had to learn Urdu at the age of 60 for becoming an advocate of the Hyderabad High Court.

He was a member of the C. P. Legislative Council for many years. He was a member of the Berar Legislative Committee which framed the present Berar Land Revenue Code of 1928. He was General Secretary of Provincial Branch of Swaraj Party started by the late Deshabandhu Das. He was elected President of the C. P. Legislative Council in 1925. As a President he was always impartial and fair.

He edited and republished original historical correspondence along with Rao Bahadur Sardesai and Mr. Wakaskar. He toured in Berar with Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur Sardesai and visited almost all places of historical importance. He was appointed a corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission and he attended Nagpur and Calcutta sessions. He had collected material for writing history of Wakataks but he could not finish his work. In 1933, he had an attack of paralysis but he recovered from the same and finished his *History of the Nagpur Province*. He has edited one volume about *Bhonsalas of Nagpur* in the Poona Residency Daftar series published by the Bombay Government.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



King Vikram, The Glory of Ujjaini

Tradition paid its ultimate homage to one of India's greatest Emperors by building round him a web of romance, a cycle of legend, and ascribing to him an era that had begun long before. Dr. Bhavani Bhattacharya writes in *The Aryan Path*:

The riddle of the Vikram *samvat* that has just started (by other calculations, completed) its two thousandth year will never be solved unless there comes to light some startling new record embodied in stone. All we know is that it had its origin in 57 or 58 B.C. in Malava land of which Ujjaini was the capital. However, tradition—the temple of race memory that is less perishable than stone—strangely ascribes the *samvat* to a monarch who lived four centuries later, Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya.

The scene was set for King Vikram, symbol of a great renascence comparable to the age of Pericles in Greece, the T'ang regime in China, the Elizabethan age in England. Religion and literature—two aspects of one spiritual impulse—had prepared the mind of the people for an Awakening. Leadership alone was needed. And leadership came. The Gupta kings, the greatest of whom passed into legend as Vikramaditya (though he was not much more responsible for the renascence of his age than were Queen Elizabeth and even King Li Shih-min for theirs), flung the foreigners, the Western Satraps, out of their wedge in Malava, won the country back its long-lost peace, unity and benevolent administration, and Vikramaditya performed the *Asvamedha* ceremony to establish his status as King of Kings.

The Noble Eightfold Path had served its historic purpose as an instrument of the Crown. A new orientation was needed to preserve the face of Aryavarta from the ruthless assault of barbarian hordes.

And the inspiration came from the *Gita* from the utterance of Krishna: "When unrighteousness prevails I am born among men." Sword in one hand and the *Gita* in the other (even if the *Gita's* endorsement of the violence of war is more apparent, more symbolistic, than real) Chandragupta II made war on the greed-ridden aliens who imperilled his country's freedom, concluding the task so valiantly started by his father Samudragupta.

The nerve-centre of the new life shifted from Pataliputra to Ujjaini, "painted ornament of India, earth's fair cheek," with its history of a thousand years. Here Asoka had ruled as viceroy before he assumed the crown of Magadha. Here three great trade-routes met, and all the streams of art, religion, culture. Here, under Vikram's enlightened statesmanship the "Nine Gems" cast their radiance, among them the poet Kalidas, the astronomer Varahamihira, the lexicographer Amarasinaka, the architect Amaravisha.

Kalidas in his *Cloud Messenger* has made vivid the fulfilments of a people who had kn[illegible] centuries of storm. His ecstatic account, with its emphasis on beauty and material splendour, is well supplemented by the calm narration of a strange traveller from China, Fa-Hian, who made a pilgrimage to the land of his Master.

Sanchi

In the course of an article on Sanchi in *The Mahabodhi* Justice Edgley observes:

Sanchi is a place of unique importance in the history of Indian religion, art and culture. Here we find written in stone the story of the growth, decline and fall in India of a great religion. The monuments of Sanchi illustrate the process by which an obscure religious order founded in Magadha in the sixth century B.C. by one of India's early seekers after truth was suddenly elevated two hundred years later to the dignity of the state church of a vast empire. They show us the stages by which the great Teacher himself became vested with divine attributes in the eyes of his followers. They testify to the enthusiasm and devotion of the early Buddhists and they present to us with great vividness the canonical traditions of the Buddha's career. They have much to teach us regarding the development of Mahayana theology. They bear witness to the struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism and partially explain how Hinduism gradually acquired during the early mediaeval period the position of the dominating national religion of India.

There is little doubt that Sanchi was one of the places selected by Asoka (272-232 B.C.) to participate in the honour of accommodating a portion of the Buddha's relics and that it was for this purpose that the Emperor erected the main Stupa on a hill in close proximity to the great city of Vidisa. This city occupied a position of strategic importance on the royal route from Pataliputra to Ujain and, according to tradition, one of Asoka's wives, the mother of Mahendra and Sanghamitra, was born at Vidisa. Further, it must have been during Asoka's reign that the great Sanchi monastery was founded.

The remains of one of Asoka's pillars still testify to the regard which the Emperor had for this particular site. The pillar is of polished Chunar sandstone. According to Sir John Marshall it was probably erected about 256 B.C. and the edict which it bears may have been inscribed on it about ten years later.

After the disruption of the Mauryan Empire Buddhism suffered a temporary period of persecution under Pushyamitra Sunga (184-148 B.C.). It was probably during his reign that the Buddha's relics were removed from the main Stupa and that the Stupa itself and the apsidal hall (No. 40) were partially destroyed.

The monastery was rebuilt on a more imposing scale by Pushyamitra's successors who seem to have transferred the capital of their dominions from Pataliputra to Vidisa. It was during their regime that the main Stupa was rebuilt (probably during the reign of Pushyamitra's son, Agnimitra) and adorned with its

processional paths and balustrades, that Stupas 2 and 3 were similarly constructed and that a pillared mandapam was erected on the ruins of the apsidal hall (No. 40).

"Memories of Tagore"

The Indian P. E. N. observes :

If Tagore's enrichment of English literature had been at the expense of Bengali and if Sir William Rothenstein were a Bengalee, his recent criticism would have seemed more comprehensible. In "Memories of Tagore" (*The Manchster Guardian,--The Hindu* 21th April) he admits that Tagore brought a new conception of the Indian genius to Western nations. But he adds that the appearance of volume after volume of poems, essays and novels in English dress "did Tagore's reputation harm and the high praise won for him by *Gitanjali* diminished later." Yeats, Sir William remarks, came to feel that Tagore was wrong in publishing so many of his books in English, when as a poet and a patriot he should have used only Bengali. The complaint might be just, however ungracious But ask any Bengalee if his literature has suffered by the overflow of Tagore's exuberant genius into another language! His English writings are but the crumbs that have fallen from the Bengalees' loaded table. As well charge Tagore with disloyalty to letters because his upwelling powers sought also the channels of art and of music!

Giordano Bruno : A Study in Martyrdom

The typical product of that age of intense intellectual ferment created by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Rise of the Natural Science was Giordano Bruno—unquestionably the greatest philosopher and free-thinker of the sixteenth century. Dr. Saroj Kumar Das writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

Born in 1548 at Nola, near Naples, during a stormy period in the history of Italy. Bruno had the baptismal name Filippo, probably in deference to the name of the King of Spain, Naples being at the time under Spanish rule. His father, Giovanni, was a soldier, descended of a good family while his mother, it has been conjectured, from her peculiar, un-Italian name, Fraulissa, was of German descent. After some training in grammar and dialectics the boy entered, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, the Dominican order, and assumed, in conformity with monastic usage, the ecclesiastical name "Giordano." Possibly this name was given to him because of the spiritual promise he displayed; for the name was borne by the second general of the order. For any one to be christened after Jordon, the baptismal river, in the sixteenth century was a rare phenomenon. It is an irony of fate that the invocation of the baptismal river could not revoke the sentence of being burnt alive at the stake, which finally ended the earthly career of the much-persecuted Bruno, the lifelong votary of Truth!

On entering the monastery of St. Dominic at Naples, which was still fragrant with memories of the great Dominical, Thomas Aquinas, who lived and taught there, Bruno proceeded through the usual stages to priesthood in 1572.

Imbibing, as he did, the Southern vivacity of Nature, Bruno was by disposition quick, ardent, impetuous and passionate. If he had but little reticence and prudence, he could have enjoyed, unto the last, peaceful liberty even within the confines of the sacred cloister. But that was not to be. As he combined in himself a genuine love of humanity along with a profound contempt for the *Plebs* in general, he was led to believe that his own simplicity of nature and honesty of conviction would evoke a sympahtetic response in every heart. His first literary enterprise, a little work entitled the "Ark of Noah," affords apt illustration of the point as also a foretaste of what he was destined to suffer hereafter for want of a small measure of prudence. It was an allegory, based on the idea of a contest among animals in the 'Ark' for pre-eminence. It was the 'Ass' that felt perturbed in mind at not securing the first place, the coveted seat in the poop of the Ark. Now, "the poop of the Ark' symbolised in that age the seat of Reason in the soul, and the 'Ass,' as we know from his later works, was to him the symbol of human stupidity, credulity and pedantry. For example, the *Cabala*, published in 1585, is a biting, merciless satire on "divine Asinity," which is, in the sphere of practice, what submission to authority is in that of speculation, or pedantry in that of teaching. It is no wonder, therefore, that Bruno should begin to feel, during his noviciate, the cramping authority of the Council of Trent.

Threatened with the charge of heresy, Bruno left Naples for Rome, and, finally, on abandoning his monkly habit, escaped from Rome. Thenceforth began the life of restless wandering throughout Europe which ended only after sixteen years, when "the Knight-Errant of Philosophy" fell a victim to the power of the Inquisition at Venice.

Having left Rome, Bruno came to Nola to which the exiled Dante had repaired, thence to Savona, to Turin, to Padua, and to Milan, where he first heard of his future patron and friend Sir Philip Sydney. Then he arrived about May of 1579 at Geneva, the home of exiled reformers of all nationalities. For his unbearable free-thinking, Bruno was hounded out of Geneva, and after a short stay at Lyons came to Toulouse where for nearly two years he lectured on Aristotle's Physics. As the city was not hospitable to heretics—which fact was clearly evidenced by the burning in 1616 of Lucilio Vanini for his heresies—Bruno had to leave Toulouse and reached Paris towards the close of the year 1581, where he at once started to lecture at the Sorbonne. Here it is that he published the "Shadows of Ideas" along with a few other less known works. But here too Bruno's evil genius would not allow him rest, and on account of active resistance of Parisian youth to his teachings, Bruno went over to England in the spring of 1583.

The two years spent in England were among the happiest—certainly the most fruitful—in Bruno's career.

To this period belong the most mature productions of his genius : First, the "Ash Wednesday Suppers"; second, "The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast," which, according to Gaspar Schopp, one of Bruno's most virulent accusers, was an attack on the Pope or the Church, the supposed "Triumphant Beast"; third, "On the Cause, the Principle, and the One," which is the most

brilliant of Bruno's philosophical writings; fourth, "On the Infinite, the Universe and the Worlds"; fifth, "The Cabala, that is, the intricate allegory of the horse Pegasus and his appendage the Cyllenian Ass"; sixth, the "Heroic Enthusiasts," which consists of sonnets and dialogues after the model of Dante's *Vita Nuova*, and, in discussing the rise of spiritual beauty out of the sensible, is somewhat reminiscent of Plato, particularly of the *Phædrus*, the *Symposium* and the *Banquet*. At Oxford he was received rather coldly, and his philosoprical heresies met with nothing but opposition from 'the home of lost causes'—which Bruno, in his disappointment, called the "widow of true science." At the "Ash Wednesday Supper" he indulged in sallies of criticism at the expense of Oxonian pedants, which gained for him a complete victory and an absolute proscription of his lectures at that ancient seat of learning. Returning thence to Paris and staying there for about a year, Bruno went over to Germany- first to Wittenberg in Saxony where he lectured for some time. Thereafter he also visited Marburg, Prague, Frankfort and Zurich, his excommunication having meanwhile taken place at Helmstadt. On the fateful invitation of one Giovanni Mocenigo, scion of a distinguished family in Venice, Bruno went up there in autumn of 1591, and on 23rd May, 1593, Mocenigo denounced Bruno and delivered him to the Holy office of the Inquisition.

Science and War

Sir C. V. Raman writes in the *Holkar State Sentinal* :

One often hears science and scientists blamed for contributing to the horrors of war by the invention of new weapons and engines of destruction. In reply to this charge it may be remarked that when a man of science is called upon to help defend his country against wanton aggression, he can scarcely be considered as doing a sinful act if he brings his superior knowledge to bear upon the problem of defeating the enemy. The classic story of how Archimedes held Syracuse against the Romans by inventing new engines of defence and offence may be recalled in this connection. Indeed, Syracuse fell to the Romans by treachery and not by any failure on the part of Archimedes. It is also worthy of remark that the inventions and discoveries which are made for promoting the arts of peace often prove deadly weapons in warfare. Alfred Nobel invented dynamite for use in road-making and mining and not for blasting human lives into eternity.

Indeed, it also often happens that scientific inventions of the most abstruse character made without any thought of practical application make a vital contribution to defensive and offensive warfare. A few instances of this kind may be quoted from recent experience.

A few years ago, a research student working in my laboratory developed and published a method by which thin metallic films bounded by a very sharp straight edge may be deposited on plates of glass. The technique was developed for using such films in an optical investigation of purely theoretical interest. Quite recently, a request was received from the United States for full details of the process for use in connection with the manufacture of sighting devices for artillery. Another and better-known example is the use of quartz-plates in war on land and sea. One of the most remarkable developments in modern physics is the discovery of the fact that a thin plate of a crystal of quartz cut in a suitable manner can be set and maintained in mechanical vibration at a very high and constant rate of many millions per second of time depending on the thickness of the plate. Such vibrations are excited and maintained by coating the two surfaces of the quartz plate with a film of gold and connecting the faces with the terminals of an electrical oscillating or wireless circuit of very high frequency tuned to the mechanical vibrations of the quartz plate. This invention has had many useful applications in the science and art of radio-communication and in the production and study of the inaudible sound-waves of very high frequency known as ultra-sonics. *Per contra,* such quartz-plates have also been used in submarine signalling and in the war against the U-boats at sea.

It is also known that the technique of the blitz-warfare developed by the Nazis and used by them in the present war on land was to a very large extent based on the use of portable quartz-plate controlled wireless sets for maintaining continuous communication between the headquarters of the invading army and the various mobile units of which it was composed. Thus, the piezo-electric property of quartz which at one time was known only to a few physicists interested in abstruse branches of crystal physics became a deadly weapon, which at least temporarily decided the fate of many nations.

Independence for Ceylon

The following is an extract from the presidential address (as published in *Young Ceylon*) by P. De S. Kularatne delivered at the twenty-third session of the Ceylon National Congress :

The Ceylon National Congress came into being for one purpose. Whatever resolutions it may have passed from time to time on various matters of interest and dealing with the many activities of the social and economic life of the island, from whatever points of view its distinguished presidents may have explained its policy and its creed, whether it be that of an England-loving product of a residential English university or that of a lover of humanity, peace and freedom or whether they vied with each other in their expressions of loyalty to the British Crown and their determination to live under the British Flag, underlying all activities of the Congress and the utterances of Congressmen was the aim of the Congress—call it what you will,—responsible government, self-government, swaraj, dominion status or independence. The choice of the word depended on two points : when the word was used and who the speaker was.

The first President, Sir P. Arunachalam, the father of the Congress, a son of Ceylon whose memory is revered by us all, in his presidential speech delivered twenty-three years ago said, "Many of us are firmly convinced that Ceylon is ripe for responsible government."

A few years later we see the Congress at its annual sessions demanding and reaffirming its demand for full responsible government. Some years later, tired of asking for responsible government, the Congress changes the demand to dominion status under the Statute of Westminster.

Today we meet in the midst of the greatest war the world has ever seen. This terrible spectacle is nothing more nor less than the utter and absolute failure of modern civilisation. It is the story of the failure of those who have had the power in their hands to control

and shape the destinies of nations both great and small. We in this island are really mere spectators, but by force of circumstances, we, a subject people, find ourselves naturally on the side of our masters.

We are, however, more than willing to accept the point of view, that they, our rulers, with their allies calling themselves the United Nations, are fighting this war, risking the lives of millions, for democracy and freedom, for the protection of the peoples of the world from the rule of 'Herren Volk,' of the master races, who wish to destroy "the fundamental freedom and decencies of ordinary men and women and the historic rights of nations."

Hope springs eternal in the human breast. We have girded up our loins and taken courage, and we ask you today to shake off the last traces of servility, to be in keeping with the new and enlightened spirit of our rulers and ask them for what they and their allies are fighting to grant to the subject races of Europe, namely, independence.

Air Offensive

The New Review observes :

Mr. Churchill's speech to the Washington Congress, and Mr. Eden's declaration in London foreshadow air raids 'round the clock and round the map' on the continent. Even if this falls short of a perfect test as to the decisive supremacy of a sole air offensive, it may facilitate a land invasion to an immeasurable extent. Already the loads of explosives discharged on Italy and Germany have reached staggering figures : key factories and power plants are singled out for continual attention, and the wrecking of the Mohne and Eder dams with mines shows a gratifying elasticity of method. The transport system is also tackled with relentless vigour; transport and man power are the two fundamental factors of Nazi economy in which bottlenecks have become embarrassing. Historians recall that a transportation crisis was a prime reason for the failure of Germany's military operations in 1918, and observers note that for some time past Hitler's Reich has suffered from a gradual decline in transport capacity and speed; recent urgent orders to produce 6,000 locomotives and 112,000 freight cars in 1943 betray a disastrous wear and tear in the railway system.

This explains the bold tenacity of the Allied fighter planes in concentrating on Nazi locomotives in western Europe.

Ruining tunnels, destroying the track, bombing freight yards are little effective and the damage can usually be repaired in a few hours. Knocking out bridges is difficult. Locomotives are preferable targets.

They are necessarily brought within the range of our fighters to keep in good order and strength the Nazi defences along the Channel. Now boilers can be blown up with armour-piercing bullets and repairing a boiler takes at least half as long as constructing a new locomotive. Our planes report that in spite of armour-plates and anti-aircraft guns they destroy as many as twenty locomotives each week; their accumulated destructions must tell, however immense their task.

Hitler had over 20,000 locomotives and 600,000 freight cars at the start and he appropriated nearly 25,000 locomotives and 600,000 waggons from the countries he conquered. At the same time his needs increased : 60 trainloads of coal daily to feed Italian industries, long hauls (1,500 miles) of wheat and oil from Rumania; then he lost much railway stock with the bombings of the Ruhr and the Rhine valleys, and thousands of locomotives and waggons in the Russian morass. On the other hand, railway congestion is hard-

ly relieved by the use of the German waterways which normally can absorb one-fifth of the country's total traffic; especially the Danube traffic stops with the winter frost and the Balkans have insufficient rail and river facilities. The highway transport is heavily handicapped owing to a lack of tyres, fuel, and lubricating oil.

Finally, transport suffers as much as other industries from a shortage which, in spite of the deportations of workmen from occupied countries, remains Germany's most desperate problem and the most acute point in her multiple crisis of scarcity. In spite of our ever growing air offensive and the remarkably poor Nazi retaliation, it would take a long time before air bombing alone could so devastate Nazi and Fascist economy as to force the dictators to sue for peace; but it might in a rather short time produce a simultaneous dislocation of traffic and stoppage of war industries on so large a scale that it would be impossible for the Axis to resist an invasion at several points.

Death in War Time

With the bombs falling on our cities, the problem of death and injury due to enemy action has become important for everybody. The *Journal of the Indian Medical Association* observes :

The problem is interesting to a medical man for two reasons, as he shall have to face the problem both as a citizen and as a physician. As a physician he must know how much help he can render at the time of an accident.

In such cases, the first problem obviously is diagnosis of death. One must know that sufficient provision has been made to diagnose death by a man who is well qualified to do so Cases are not rare, where death has been diagnosed when there was suspended animation only. At least a medical man is required to do justice to these borderline cases.

Furthermore, if a medical man is on attendance to every site of air raid mild or intense he will at least be able to sort out dead bodies from those who require further observation (for example head injury cases), cases which require immediate attention on the spot, hysterical cases and so on. This procedure ensures two things—firstly, that those who could be saved will be saved, secondly, *unscrupulous* persons will not be able to do away with borderline cases.

The plan that "the police will arrange for collecting as soon as possible from streets and buildings all dead bodies for whose disposal no arrangement is being made by private parties" is fraught with many difficulties.

Certain persons are entitled to have pension and compensation, in case they are injured by enemy action A physician must know in what form he shall have to issue a certificate. We are quite in the dark what we are expected to do even when the enemy is knocking at our very door. Proper co-operation between the Government machinery and the medical bodies like Indian Medical Association to settle the details is urgently indicated.

This, however, is not the whole story. Unless the dead person is properly identified death cannot be finally fixed on that person nor can his properties, insurances, etc, administered. The Government notice that "the public will also be warned that it is in their interest that they should carry identity discs or labels showing (*i*) name and sex, (*ii*) father's/husband's name, (*iii*) address and (*iv*) name and address of the next of kin. Government will accept no responsibility for arranging to establish identity of air raid victims found without such discs or labels on their persons" is not ideal one because an identification disc may be damaged, lost or misused.

Insurance difficulties shall have to be faced also. Insurance companies do not for obvious reasons pay their dues unless all the documents are in order. We are not told whether the death certificates issued by the Municipal Corporation will be binding to the insurance companies also.

Rabindranath Through Cambridge Eyes

K. R. Kripalani writes in the *Bisva-Bharati News* :

Turning over the pages of *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature* by George Sampson (Cambridge University Press, 1941), I came across a chapter on "Anglo-Indian Literature." I was curious to see what the learned author had to say of it.

"Anglo-Indian Literature begins with the unimportant letters of Father Thomas Stephens who went to Goa in 1579 and was the first Englishman to settle in India."

It is gratifying to learn that this Anglo-Indian Pilgrim Father laid the foundation of Anglo-Indian Literature long before Shakespeare conceived his first drama or Bacon his first essay. He was succeeded by a host of other luminaries. But "of special interest is John Zephaniah Holwell, a survivor of the Black Hole, who wrote a 'Narrative of the Deplorable Deaths of the English Gentlemen who were suffocated in the Black Hole.'"

It is a pity that the learned Cambridge scholar has not considered the claim of this remarkable predecessor of Sir Walter Scot as the first writer of fiction in Anglo-Indian Literature. It is even a greater pity that the learned author of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Literature*, published in 1939, has not included the name of either Holwell or Stephens in his encyclopædia of literary names. Nor has he mentioned the name of William Browne Hockley whose "Tales of the Zenana or a Nawab's Leisure Hours" the Cambridge scholar has compared to the *Arabian Nights*.

Cambridge scholarship apparently goes deeper than the Oxford.

"The adoption of English as the language of the Universities had the unexpected and desirable result of revivifying the vernaculars." And "Stimulated by English literature and English knowledge, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the first graduate of Calcutta University, created Bengali fiction" This reminds us of what Rabindranath Tagore said on this point in his answer to Miss Rathbone's letter.

Rabindranath wrote :

"She is scandalised at our ingratitude,—that having 'drunk deeply at the wells of English thought,' we should still have some thought left for our poor country's interests. English thought, in so far as it is representative of the best traditions of western enlightenment, has indeed taught us much, but, let me add, that those of our countrymen who have profited by it have done so despite the official British attempts to ill-educate us. We might have achieved introduction to western learn-

ing through any other European language. Have all the other peoples in the world waited for the British to bring them enlightenment? It is sheer insolent self-complacence on the part of our so-called English friends to assume that had they not 'taught' us we would still have remained in the dark ages. Through the official British channels of education in India have flowed to our children in schools, not the best of English thought, but its refuse, which has only deprived them of a wholesome repast at the table of their own culture. Assuming, however, that English language is the only channel left to us for 'enlightenment,' all that drinking deeply at its wells has come to is that in 1931 only about 1 per cent. of the population was found to be literate in English,—while in the U. S. S. R. in 1932, after only fifteen years of Soviet administration, 98 per cent. of the children were educated."

Though we Indians may take the words of Rabindranath seriously and even attach weight to his opinions, the Cambridge scholars have no such illusion as to Rabindranath's merit.

For, according to them, this Anglo-Indian poet (a creation of Father Thomas Stephens, John Zephaniah Holwell and Thomas Babington Macaulay, rather than of any Indian ancestry) is neither deep nor original. Here is the full estimate:

"More generally famous than either (Monmohan Ghose and Aravindo Ghose) is Rabindranath Tagore (1861); but his position in English literature is less secure, for he is a Bengali poet who has translated his verses into English prose. With the value of his native compositions we are not concerned; but of his English prose-poems we are compelled to say that their absolute worth can easily be exaggerated. Indeed, it is difficult to find in his numerous volumes—*Gitanjali* (1912), *The Crescent Moon* (1913), *Fruit Gathering* (1916), *The Gardener* and others—anything richer in thought and expression than the pages of the English Bible afford to the receptive reader. The great popularity of Tagore as a prose-poet can be explained by the general appetite for moral reflections not too deep, with an Eastern setting, not too remote."

We have no quarrel with this Cambridge savant over his estimate of Rabindranath Tagore's worth.

We are unperturbed by it and even amused by it, even as we have often been when other English pontiffs have referred to Gandhiji as a crank, or to Buddha as a moral escapist, to Sankaracharya as a muddle-headed confusionist, or to Sri Krishna as an over-sexed debauchee. They have a right to their judgments, even as we have a right to judge them by their judgments, though we hardly ever exercise that right. Whether Rabindranath's position in English literature is secure or not does not concern us in the least.

What does concern and amuse us is the effrontery of ignorant English scholarship that quietly and without any argument or apology appropriates him as an Anglo-Indian poet.

Not a single poem in the four books mentioned in the passage quoted above was written directly in English: nor did any Fitzgerald render it in the language of English gentlemen. If the mere misfortune of translating his works into English renders an Indian poet liable to be judged as an Anglo-Indian poet, then must we congratulate the shades of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky for having been spared the honour of being listed as Anglo-Russian novelists and Goethe and Heine as Anglo-German poets. The author's warning to his English readers not to look in Tagore's pages for "anything richer in thought and expression than the pages of the English Bible afford to the receptive readers," is very surprising; since we were not aware of this new standard of judging literary merit. Nor were we aware of there being any danger of Tagore's works ever being regarded as an alternative to the English Bible. Or is the statement intended as an insinuation that Tagore took his thoughts from the English Bible? Those who had voted for the award of the Nobel Prize to him had apparently not read their Bible well. But this reminds us that, though the erudite Cambridge author has shown much originality in measuring the depth of Tagore's moral reflections and the remoteness or otherwise of his Eastern setting, he has forgotten to refer to the award of the Nobel Prize. It was, we presume, too insignificant a matter to interest his attention.

The reader might imagine that since the Cambridge scholar is so liberal in his outlook as to include in his list Indain authors whose works have been translated into English, he must also have considered American authors whose works were originally written in the language of English gentlemen. But he will hunt the volume in vain for a reference to Emerson, or Thoreau or Whitman or Lewis or Sinclair—all of whom find due place in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Literature*. But there are interesting chapters on "Anglo-Irish Literature," "English-Canadian Literature," "The Literature of Australia," and "South African Literature." Had some silly, hot-headed patriots not misbehaved in Boston in 1773, American poets and novelists would have been honoured with a separate chapter in this volume from Cambridge, under the title of "Anglo-American" or "English-American" Literature or simply as "The Literature of America," according, presumably, to the standing of their country in the code of imperial values. For it seems that only the Indian and the Irish may be *Anglo-ed*, but not the Canadian, or the Australian or the South African.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Soul of India Speaks

Let England know, and all mankind,
Whoever rules the waves,
That we will fight as freemen,
But nevermore as slaves:
We will not wait for wars to end,
To talk of freedom then;
Who deals with India today
Deals not with slaves,—but men.

Too long have we been asked to live
By alien lords' consent;
Too long Democracy has been
What someone else has meant:
Too long, too long we pay the debts
Our foreign masters owe;
Too long the white man asks a friend
While he remains a foe.

Think you that we shall serve the less
To set the whole world free,
When we have space to stand erect
And our own masters be?
How shall a bondsman give his best
To meet a master's dole?
Who holds his fellow man in chains
Shall never have his soul.

Robert Whitaker in *Unity*

Lars Olsen Skrefsrud, 1840-1910

W. J. Culshaw writes in *The International Review of Missions*:

During the year 1940 supporters of missions in Norway celebrated the centenary of the birth of one who is considered to be the greatest missionary produced by that country. For over forty years, he lived among the Santals, and it is perhaps due to his single-minded devotion to the one people, who dwell far from the main currents of India's life, that his name is not as well-known among a wider circle as it deserves to be. His many-sided ability and his achievements alike entitle him to rank with the select company of great missionary pioneers, while the romance of his life can have few parallels in the missionary annals of any land.

The Santals to whom Skrefsrud and Boerreson were led are one of the largest aboriginal tribes in India, inhabiting a vast tract of country in the eastern portions of Bihar and Orissa, and the western districts of Bengal. They possessed no written language, and at that time little was known about them. Only twelve years before the party settled in their midst they had broken out into rebellion against the intolerable exactions of money-lenders and the corruption of the police. For a short time, before troops were able to restore law and order, confusion and terror had reigned in the bazaars of the neighbouring towns, and some Englishmen and a number of Bengalis had been murdered. But the loss of life among the Santals had been very heavy, and this normally docile people were in a sorry plight. Many had lost their possessions and although the government had become aware of the need for special protection for the Santals, the machinery of government moves slowly. It was in September, 1867, that the missionaries established themselves in Benagaria, where Skrefsrud was to live for over forty years. They laboured with their own hands at the building of their houses, taught and preached, and the first baptismal service was held on March 28th, 1869. The Santals have been served by a number of able missionaries from different lands, and they were fortunate in Skrefsrud.

Skrefsrud was not only a first-rate linguist and musician, but was thoroughly convinced of the need for a knowledge of the culture and institutions of the people.

His 'curiosity' bore fruit in a wonderful way. Although he was not quite the first person to reduce the Santali language to writing, he was the first to do so on sound phonetic principles with the aid of the Roman alphabet. He produced the pioneer work on Santali grammar; he also did a considerable amount of work towards compiling a comparative grammar of Santali and other 'Kol' languages. He produced books for his schools, and with infinite pains took down from dictation an account of the traditions and institutions of the Santals from the lips of an old Santal 'guru.' This work is of priceless value to the ethnologist and linguist, and indispensable to all who seek to know the Santals. He had a great enthusiasm for the music of the Santals, and he has preserved many of their old tunes.

The growth of a Christian community brought many problems, one of which was the problem of food. Good land is none too common in the Santal country, and scarcity due to lack of rain is a recurring phenomenon. One of the solutions adopted by Skrefsrud was to acquire extensive estates for the mission, around Benagaria. The results of this experiment, as of similar experiments elsewhere, have not been wholly good. At that period the Santals were being drawn away from their homes to find work (as indeed happens still) and earn the money wherewith to pay their rents. Skrefsrud conceived the idea of establishing a colony in virgin country. After the Bhutan war the part of Assam known as the Eastern Duars was opened up, and Skrefsrud obtained permission to colonize a tract of country in the Goalpara district. Skrefsrud arranged with the authorities that they should respect the social organization of the Santals, by recognizing their head men and other officials. Each tribal official received special lands in recognition of his position, in accordance with Santal custom. Skrefsrud was evidently aware of the dangers inherent in the disintegration of tribal society. To-day there are over fifty thousand Santals in that area. The story recalls some of the tribal treks in South Africa in which missionaries played a part.

U. S. Physicians Send Condolences on Death of Sir Nilratan Sircar

WASHINGTON, May 22 (By Cable).

Surgeon-General Thomas Parran of the United States Public Health Service declared in a statement today: "Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar, one of India's foremost physicians, is dead in India at the age of 82. His has been a lifetime of service for his fellow men.

"He made important contributions to medical know-

ledge and influenced the careers of younger physicians in his homeland and abroad, and he gave unstintingly of his time and strength to advance the welfare of his countrymen.

"I am sure that the physicians of the United States join me in conveying sincere sympathy to the people of India in their sorrow at the death of their distinguished compatriot."

Esmond R. Long, Chief of the Tuberculosis Section of the Medical Practice Division of the Office of the Surgeon-General of the U. S. Army, stated : "Sir Nilratan Sircar's fame as a physician was worldwide, his skill was recognised by his medical colleagues on every continent, and his tireless ministry to his fellowmen brought him the respect and admiration of unnumbered thousands in his homeland.

"Sir Nilratan was among the most active in the development of modern medical science in India. More particularly, he was a leader in anti-tuberculosis research. The efficient hospital at Jadavpur is only one of the monuments to his successful career which will live to serve the people of India long after his death.

"The medical profession of the United States extends its sympathy to its brothers in India; we share with them their sorrow at the passing of a great physician and a great man."

Dr. Eugene Opie of New York, Professor Emeritus at the Cornell Medical School and an outstanding authority on tuberculosis, said : "Sir Nilratan Sircar did much to promote medical education and science in India. His achievements were recognised by the high honours conferred upon him by his own people and by British Universities. I deeply sympathise with the Indian people for this loss of one of their outstanding sons."—USOWI.

U. S. Promotes Wider Interest in Far Eastern Affairs

WASHINGTON, June 10 (By Cable).

Increased cultural interchange between the United States and the Far East, both during and after the war, was indicated by two important announcements this week. The United States Office of Education announced a programme for the encouragement of the study of Far Eastern affairs in American schools to a degree consonant with their long-term importance in American life. Meanwhile, it was revealed that five distinguished Chinese professors had left Chungking on the fifth to come to the United States for a year at the invitation of the State Department in connection with its programme of cultural relations with China.

A spokesman of the United States Office of Education said that studies of the Asiatic peoples must continue after the war if our common purposes are to be realised.

Dr. Christian O. Arndt, Far Eastern specialist in the Office of Education, explained that his division functions as a clearing-house of ideas and study material on China, India, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Australia, New Zealand and the Far East in general. The office distributes much study material in loan packets, answers questions put by schools throughout the United States, and, upon the invitation of schools, sends aides to plan study programmes.

Last term the Office placed three Chinese teachers in American schools, while another worked in the Washington Office of Education. The purpose of these placements is to have the visitors help American teachers and pupils understand China. The teachers also learn about the United States in this way.

This manifestation of increased attention to Far East studies in American schools is given sharper meaning in the field of international cultural relations by the visit of five famous Chinese educators.

The five professors are Yueh Lin Chin, philosopher of the National Southwest Associated University; Professor Hsiao Tung Fei, sociologist of National Yunnan University; Professor Nai Chen Liu, political scientist of National Wuhan University; Professor Chiao Tsai, physiologist of National Central University; and Professor Chi Yuen Chang, geographer of National University at Chekiang.

Professor Chin studied in the United States and England and speaks and writes English with great facility. He has published articles on logic in American and British journals. Professor Fei has published in English the well-known book, "Peasant Life in China." Professor Liu has written many books in Chinese on his specialty, local government. Professor Tsai is a leading Chinese research physiologist. He held a Rockefeller fellowship for study in England in 1930 and 1931. Professor Chang is the leading specialist on Chinese geography.

During their stay in the United States these men will study recent work in their fields of learning, will travel and occasionally lecture and will endeavour to build up closer relationships between American and Chinese Universities.—USOWI.

Chinese Women Train for Part in Post-War World

WASHINGTON, June 10 (By Cable).

Although a Japanese garrison is now quartered on "beautiful Nanking campus," Gin Ling College, which is at present located at Chengtu, has more students than ever before, according to Dr. Wu Yi-fang, who is president of the college and a member of the Chinese People's Political Council. Dr. Wu recently arrived in the United States as the only woman member of the Chinese delegation of educators and scholars which is visiting here for the purpose of studying the international situation and problems relating to post-war reconstruction.

Like all Chinese schools and colleges, Gin Ling's faculty and students are suffering from lack of books and other equipment and from the enormous rise in living costs, but the determination of Chinese women to participate in raising Chinese living standards is overcoming all obstacles to higher learning, Dr. Wu declares. Lack of materials has not dulled the enthusiasm of China's young women, who are eager to follow the example of Madame Chiang Kai-shek in establishing social welfare clinics which will help the Chinese to help themselves.

Dr. Wu reports that the percentage of women in Chinese institutions of higher learning has jumped from 10 to 20 per cent. since the outbreak of the war. This is partly due to war demands on the men's time, but there are also definite increases in women's enrolment as at Gin Ling.

Dr. Wu will study recent thought trends in higher education, in the United States, with special reference to the education of women for post-war planning.—USOWI.

Self-Realization Church of All Religions Opened in Hollywood

The beautiful new Self-Realization Church of All Religions in Hollywood held its Dedication Services on Sunday, August 30, 1942. Three services were held on that day, to accommodate the many hundreds of people who were attracted to the opening of the non-sectarian church, which is very centrally located on Sunset Boulevard near Vermont Avenue.

Paramhansa Yogananda, who founded and designed the attractive new structure, presided at the three services. A number of eminent guest speakers spoke eloquently on the value to the community and to the world of a Church of All Religions.

The building, designed by and built under the direction of Paramhansaji, is Gothic in type, finished in blue, white and gold. The spacious grounds in front of the Church contain a gold gate with the name of the Church, a gold and stained-glass pergola, a wishing well, a set of quaint stone seats under an elm tree, many beautiful shrubs and flowers, and a large pool, surrounded by plants and stone deer, which reflects the gleaming gold-leafed stained-glass windows of the Church. These windows, and the golden spires of the Church, designed by Paramhansaji, were gold-leafed by Miss Florina Darling, whose labors in gold decorations would have cost thousands of dollars if the Church had had to pay for it elsewhere.

There are niches in the walls, for statues of the world's great religious teachers, including Christ, Buddha, Krishna, St Francis of Assisi, Virgin Mary, and of Paramhansaji's guru-preceptors, Sri Yukteswarji and Lahiri Mahasaya.—*Inner Culture.*

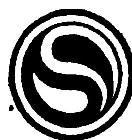
Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



A BENGAL VILLAGE
By Paritosh Sen

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST  *1943*

VOL. LXXIV, No. 2 WHOLE No. 440

NOTES

Wavell Declines to Discuss Policy

In reply to some very pertinent questions put by the London Correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard*, Viscount Wavell, the Viceroy-designate of India, frankly stated, "I cannot discuss policy." The following questions were put to him :

(1) Does the Atlantic Charter apply to India? There is a confusion in the minds of many Indians concerning this question.

(2) What are the possibilities of an Asiatic Charter to win over Asiatic peoples?

(3) The majority of our soldiers come from villages and how can they achieve the four freedoms : (*a*) freedom from disease and suffering; (*b*) freedom from tyranny of petty officials and (*c*) freedom from ignorance, (*d*) freedom from debt, hunger and insecurity of crops and food?

(4) What are the prospects of post-war reconstruction in India? Can we have a five-year plan? Will India be able to manufacture cars, lorries, radio sets, aircraft and engines?

(5) When can aircraft factories and ship-building yards be developed to fullest extent?

(6) How do you hope to make Indian art better known throughout the world?

(7) What are your views concerning the personalities of Mahatma Gandhi, Pundit Nehru, Maulana Azad and Mr. Jinnah?

(8) What are the chances of political progress before the end of the war?

(9) Is there any possibility of complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council and release of Congress leaders?

(10) How can the present deadlock be ended?

(11) There is still acute food shortage in some parts of the country. What can be done to bring food to the starving people?

Field-Marshal Wavell glanced at these questions put on a paper and promised to read them carefully.

The Soldier-Viceroy has lost little time to realise that the real right to make statements on Indian policy lies with the Cabinet. A Viceroy can no doubt outline a policy, but it does not lie with him to implement it. The latest example is Lord Linlithgow. On his arrival in India, he promised a paradise but the gift that he made to the helpless people of this unfortunate land, may, not unreasonably be compared to a hell. Matters have, of late, been more complicated by the stimulus that has come to dictate Britain's actions, *viz.*, her egoism and self-interest. Britain is now ready to sacrifice everything to satisfy her egoism with a blind disregard for ethics unparalleled in history. The barren India policy of Great Britain brooks no other interpretation. It remains to be seen how London egoism runs smoothly and without friction on the planes of India when a military man has been installed in charge of the Indian Administration.

Bevan Dissects British Cabinet

Mr. Aneurin Bevan, Editor of the ***Tribune*** of London, published a biting but unsigned "Guide to the Government" in which a short paragraph was devoted to each of its 40 members. The following are some of the examples :

CLEMENT R. ATTLEE, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister.—"One of the most interesting examples in modern times of the political value of negative qualities."

ROBERT ANTHONY EDEN, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—"Attractive in the narrow, conven-

tional sense. Always a possibility as a stop-gap Prime Minister."

SIR JOHN ANDERSON, Lord President of the Council. —"Said to be an excellent administrator and first-class committee-man. These must be true, because there is no other explanation that he is able to survive his own speeches. . . ."

OLIVER LYTTELTON, Minister of Production —"Came into politics with a reputation for efficiency which he has done his best to live down."

ALBERT VICTOR ALEXANDER, First Lord of the Admiralty.—"Bluff, hearty, reasonably able, and never likely to be dangerous to his political enemies."

LEOPOLD CHARLES MAURICE STENNETT AMERY, Secretary of State for India.—"Able, fearless and reactionary. He is short, husky-voiced, prosy, and has a most irritating habit of insisting that the commonplace should receive the same attention as the important. One of the voices of big business in the Government."

Of these, Attlee, Anderson and Amery are well-known in India. The criticisms in these cases will not in this country be ascribed to "indigestion, political frustration or just downright conceit" as the political opponents of Left Labourite Bevan in his own land might seem to think.

Will the British Commonwealth Endure?

The Sydney Morning Herald of Australia writes:

We are confident that the Empire will survive its most terrible ordeal. Survival, however, is not enough: we want to be sure that the British Commonwealth will endure as well. *It can endure as a civilising and peace preserving entity only if the nations which it comprises take thought betimes concerning its structure and its missions in the post-war world.* (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

That is just the thing India desired. The Indian National Congress wanted to know the war aims so that, with a clean conscience, that great organisation might call upon the people to associate wholeheartedly with the prosecution of war efforts. The reply came only in the form of a deadlock in the prison cell.

Famine in China

The News Review of London, in its issue of May 20, 1943, publishes the following news:

China is suffering perhaps the worst famine in its recorded history. It is raging in the Honan Province, bordering China's North-Eastern front line. The blighted area is approximately 20,000 square miles, with the worst affected districts along the Yellow River in the vicinity of Cheng Chow, only 12 miles from the Japanese lines.

According to Provincial Governor Li Pei-Chi, millions are absolutely indigent and will die before the next harvest, unless adequate aid arrives. The people in this area are already weakened by seven months of starvation, during which time they have been eating the bark of trees, millet husks, straw, cotton seeds and slimy weeds.

Together with the news, three heartrending pictures have been published with the comment: "These pictures show the terrible results of long starvation. They could be multiplied many times over."

No report of attempts made in England to alleviate this great national calamity of her Chinese ally who is bearing the main brunt of the war in the East, however, appears in the *Review*. Perhaps it was not worth recording! The International Food Conference recently concluded at the Hot Springs of America has confirmed the views of the Eastern peoples that the torch bearers of Christian civilisation are more eager to alleviate post-war suffering in Europe than to feed starving people who *are* fighting their war. India is interested to know what contributions the Christian world has made for the alleviation of the suffering of tre famine-stricken Chinese people of Honan who have fought the Japs under the leadership of their Christian Generalissimo.

The Viceroy Can Veto Anything

The New Review, in its issue of May, 13, 1943 writes:

Few weeks ago India's Federal High Court noticed, to the Viceroy's dismay, that Rule 26 of the Defence of India Regulations was invalid. This meant that 9,000 Nationalists, including old Mahatma Gandhi, were illegally held in gaol. Legal functionaries began a frantic attempt to put the matter straight.

About this time, too, Muslim League leader Mohammed Ali Jinnah took up again his old chant for a separate Muslim State. Next, cultured diplomat William B. Phillips, President Roosevelt's personal envoy in India, was refused admittance to the Mahatma's prison-cell before leaving for the U. S. A.

In the turbulence caused by these events three new members were quietly appointed last week to the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Last week's changes left the Viceroy's Council with 14 members, 10 of them Indian. Of the Indians four are Muslims, giving that community equality with Hindus in that sphere at least. But Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League certainly did not stir themselves to rejoicing on that account. They remained united with the National Congress on one point—complete contempt for the whole Viceregal set-up.

Until 1909 the Viceroys kept their Council entirely British, saw no reason why it should be otherwise. But in that year the first Indian member crashed its gates, in the person of the late Lord Sinha. Suitably, he took the relatively non-controversial post of Law Member. In 1919, came a second Indian, and in 1920 a third.

In July, 1941, the Council was expanded, and five Indians added, making an Indian majority. Last August, the number was pushed up to 15, of whom 11 were Indians, and for the first time the Sikhs and the Depressed Classes were represented.

For the Imperial Government, whatever its other shortcomings, this is a fair record, but India's Nationalists are hard to please. Their point: the Viceroy can veto anything his Council decides if he chooses.

Not only that the Viceroy possesses an absolute power of veto, but he takes precautions in making such safe selections to his Council that the need for exercising his veto power may not arise.

Hindustan Times Contempt Case

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council consisting of Lord Atkin, Lord Thankerton, Lord Porter, Sir George Rankin and Sir Madhavan Nair has allowed the appeal in the case of the *Hindustan Times* in which the Managing Editor Mr. Devidas Gandhi, the Printer and Publisher of the paper and its Meerut Correspondent were convicted of contempt of court by the High Court of Allahabad. In giving reasons for granting the appeal, Lord Atkin said that in allowing it the Judicial Committee set aside the conviction and ordered costs and fines to be repaid. He said :

The statements made in the *Hindustan Times* did not amount to contempt of court. The news report stated that the Chief Justice had asked judicial officers in the province to assist in raising funds for the war effort and the editorial comment upon that was to the effect that if the statement was rue, such a course of conduct would reflect upon the prestige of the High Court. With Mr. Devadas Gandhi were associated as defendants in the proceedings for contempt, the printer of the paper and the local correspondent at Meerut.

Lord Atkin said that cases of contempt which consisted of "scandalising the Court itself" were fortunately rare and required to be treated with much discretion. *There was here no criticism of any judicial act of the Chief Justice or any imputation in respect of the administration of justice.* The Chief Justice was alleged untruly as was now admitted, to have committed an ill-advised act in writing to subordinate judges asking them to collect for the War Fund. If the facts were as alleged, they admitted of criticism. "No doubt it is galling," said Lord Atkin, "for any judicial personage to be criticised publicly as having done something outside his judicial proceedings which was ill-advised or indiscreet. But *judicial personages can afford not to be too sensitive.*

A simple denial in public of the alleged request would at once have allayed trouble. *If a judge is defamed in such a way as not to affect the administration of justice, he has ordinary remedies for defamation* if he should feel impelled to use them. Their Lordships cannot accept the view taken by Court of the meaning of the comment : the words do not support the innuendo. In the opinion of their Lordships, the proceedings in contempt were misconceived and the appellants were not guilty of the contempt alleged."

Commenting on the Privy Council judgment the *Indian Social Reformer* observed that the general belief hitherto was that no appeal lay from committals for contempt of court. None has so far been made or entertained. The Privy Council has now dispelled that belief. The credit of moving the Privy Council—an expensive procedure beyond the means of many Indian journals—belongs to the *Hindustan Times*, of Delhi. The case was an extraordinary one. The "Contempt" now declared to be no "Contempt," did not refer to any judicial proceeding but to an extra-judicial action alleged to have been taken by the Chief Justice.

Exaggerated notions of self-importance are one of the principal reasons for corrupting the steel frame, it will be a pity if the same notion eats into the vitals of the Judiciary as well. Fortunately such cases of contempt are few and far between.

Education in India

A *Reuter* message states that education in India was discussed at question time in the Commons when Mr. Sorensen (Labour) suggested providing education facilities for all Indian children within ten years of the cessation of hostilities. He also wanted drastic reduction in adult illiteracy. Mr. Amery said that the desire for educational progress in India was fully shared by the Indian Government and the legislatures in whom the responsibility in this field was invested. When Mr. Sorensen agreed that this was no doubt true and asked for some evidence of a constructive plan to deal with this urgent question in the next few years Mr. Amery replied, "I believe all the Governments concerned are actively interested in promoting education as far as circumstances permit."

After nearly two centuries of British trusteeship, barely ten per cent of Indian children have succeeded to scribble. Even this achievement, if it might be called so, had been attained not under Government leadership but mostly through public effort unsupported by the Government. By associating Indians with the Central and Provincial Governments and by transferring the Education portfolio to Indian hands without, at the same time, transferring power, the British Government has reaped an advantage of shifting the responsibility of calculated inaction to Indian shoulders. Had there been a will to widen the avenue of education, there were thousand and one ways for its accomplishment.

India Cannot be Held for Ever

Sir Richard Auckland, M.P., Leader of the Commonwealth Party, outlined his idea about the Indian deadlock and India's claim for independence, to the London Correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard*, in the following words:

The situation in India has deteriorated more than people in this country realise. Mediation by the United

Nations seemed to be the best way to break the deadlock :. Today that hope is gone.

The present policy of accepting the deadlock must inevitably be disastrous. It is a confession of bankruptcy of Tory statesmanship. The present deadlock can only be broken if a National Government representative of the Indian people is established and empowered to treat with the British Government on equal terms. The first steps must be to release political prisoners.

In the course of a manifesto issued by the Party earlier, it was stated :

If, as British Government insists, there is no practical difference between Dominion Status and national independence, we are allowing sentiment to conquer sense in refusing to allow independence to Indians. To withhold it until all differences of minorities have been resolved, is equivalent to direct refusal.

The Commonwealth Party believes, firstly, that all political prisoners are to be released and elected Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces should be re-established. Secondly, power should be transferred to Government either composed of 11 elected provincial Prime Ministers or formed by Indian leaders, such as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Thirdly, Britain should make treaty with this Government making necessary arrangements for control of armed forces in India.

People in England with a genuine sympathy for human rights and liberties have begun to realise that the British Government's policy to withhold Indian Independence until all differences of the minorities created by them have been resolved, is a mere plea and is equivalent to a direct refusal.

The question of parting power to India is nothing new. Exactly a century ago, in 1844, fourteen years before the responsibility of governing India was formally taken over by the British Parliament, an article was published in the *Calcutta Review* entitled "Military Defence of our Indian Empire" in which Sir H. M. Lawrence, Chief Commissioner in Oudh and Provisional Governor-General of India, said,

"*We cannot expect to hold India for ever. Let us so conduct ourselves in our civil and military relations as when the connection ceases, it may do so, not with convulsions, but with mutual esteem and affection; and that England may then have in India a noble ally.*"

The essay with this comment was published together with his other writings in the year following the suppression of the Indian Mutiny.

China's Call to India and the World

On the occasion of China's six years of resistance against the aggressor, Dr. Amiya Chakravarty writes :

The resurgence of Chinese humanity is a challenge to India's heroic self-will, and we offer our tribute to a great neighbour because in fighting Fascism she has not turned Fascist but remained Chinese and human. Our peoples have realised through experience and example that India can best serve herself and others by remaining herself. A broad, sustaining knowledge of India's inseparateness and continuity, along with regional knowledge and acts of such local service as we might be called upon to perform, will make it possible for us to answer China's challenge. The wave of patriotism which now fills our hearts, from the southern tip to India's snowy ridges, will be turned to great events and the most glorious acts of national self-expression, if we can keep our basic ideals pure, whatever catastrophes might impend.

Our Chinese neighbours have proved their inherent humanity which should form the basis of internationalism that is to come after this disastrous world war. This is China's call to India and the world. India has responded, let the world reciprocate and pave the way for the lasting peace.

Hindu Women's Rights

The *Indian Social Reformer* has made the following significant comment on the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill which has met with some opposition in the Indian Legislature :

The opposition to the Hindu Intestate Succession Bill now before a Joint Select Committee of the Indian Legislature, seems to be chiefly influenced by what we can only characterise as factious sentiments. The opposition is confined to one or two places. Some of the promoters seem to be inspired by jealousy of anything useful being done in the Legislature when the Congress members abstain from attending. The fault here is not with the supporters of the Bill but with the abstainers. Others like Bhai Paramanand profess to see terrible consequences to Hindu society as a result of passing the measure. As a matter of fact, the Bill mainly follows the practice in an increasing number of cases in which property is disposed of by wills. The points in which Hindu law as administered in Bombay is in advance of the proposals of the Bill are few. They can be incorporated in the Bill. The great benefit of the Bill, is that it provides a uniform code for all India. We trust that the Viceroy and the Law Member will not be intimidated by the representations addressed to them. Orthodox opposition is intelligible but there is not much of it. *The opposition of people who profess advanced views in politics and even in social matters, can only be treated as proceeding from interested motives or from mere factiousness.* (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

In a public meeting held in Calcutta on July 10, to voice support for the Bill, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

"This public meeting of women in Calcutta strongly supports the principles of the Rau Committee's Bill relating to Hindu Intestate Succession, which is now before the Select Committee of the Central Legislature with regard to the establishment of one Hindu law all over India, the removal of sex disqualification and the abolition of the Hindu Women's limited estate, and recommends that at least two more women should be taken as members of the Assembly to represent the Hindu women's viewpoint and demands that the Bill be referred back to the Assembly for immediate passing into law and not shelved pending the codification of the entire Hindu law."

Sj. Atul Chandra Gupta, a lawyer of repute, after explaining the difference aspects of the Bill

pointed out that the Bill contemplated to bring into force one and the same law of inheritance throughout India. The consequences of the Bill had a far-reaching effect on the whole Hindu community, in that every one who professed to be a Hindu in India would be guided by the same principles of inheritance. He added that Hindu rights and privileges relating to the law of succession had undergone radical changes as and when necessitated by time-spirit. The speaker emphasised that to all intents and purposes *the law of succession had nothing to do with religion as such. He failed to understand why one's religion would receive a setback if a daughter was to inherit as in the case of the mother and the brother.* (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*)

Every individual professing progressive views will agree with the very reasonable opinion expressed by the speaker and, in and outside the Legislature, will give his wholehearted support to the Bill.

British Conception of Liberty

An Argentine journal, *La Prensa*, as reported in the *News Review* of London dated 15th April, writes :

Good government, or decent and clean government, as the English call it, is the result of considerable and careful preparation. It is the fruit of culture and what is learnt through the valuable experience of trial and error. Such a state of political civilisation is not attained lightly with improvisations on the surface and with men who take high office without showing of what they are capable or incapable. The idea of decent government goes hand in hand with liberty. This and no other is a government of fair play, clean play, loyal, dignified, which honours those who lose equally with those who win.

When a country has the good fortune to be governed by such a government it will never fear in peace or war that the legislative chambers and freedom of the Press will disappear. The British know that liberty can mean everything.

During the present world conflagration, however, Britain has given the Eastern people to understand that they have two distinctly separate conceptions of liberty—one for the white people and the other for the coloured.

The comment of *St. Galler Tagblatt*, a Switzerland journal, shows that this tiny cultured republic of Europe has also realised the inner meaning of Britain's professions of democratic liberty *vis-a-vis* coloured people. It writes :

Not force but a free union has held the British Commonwealth together in this war. England's armed power would scarcely have sufficed to enforce the "allegiance" of her Dominions—it would scarcely have managed to protect them against foreign enemies. *But the development of the British Empire to a federative democracy has upto now stopped short at the "Colour bar."* (Italics our.—Ed., *M. R.*).

Conditions of the Indian Press

After relinquishing his duties as the Law Member for the Government of India, Sir Sultan Ahmed, the New Member for Information and Broadcasting, attended the meeting of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference held in Bombay on July 15. The meeting was presided over by Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor of the *Hindu*. Sir Sultan Ahmed, a new entrant in the field, opened his speech, with a general discourse on the subject of propaganda in the presence of veteran journalists assembled from all over India, and then said :

Your great concern is to preserve the freedom of the press. I believe you have it now; at least my own observation of what is written in the newspapers does not make me believe that whatever temporary handicaps the hard necessity of war may have imposed on your liberty, weigh very heavily on you. I am one with you in wishing to see this country maintain a free press : even in war time. But if I am to help you, you must help me. Liberty for the press, like liberty for anyone else, carries its duties as well as its privileges. I undertake to be a watchful advocate of your privileges. Do you be equally watchful in discharging your duties ? If this is understood, you and I will get on famously.

If I have reminded you of the duties of the press, believe me I have done so in the friendliest spirit and it is mainly because I dread any slackening in the will to win. There are hard times ahead of us before our country is finally freed from the threat of attack, before China is liberated, before the Japanese are driven back to their own island. In this task the soldiers of India will play a prominent part. We civilians can play our part also by strengthening the determination of the country, so that the spirit of the soldiers may remain indomitable and the courage of the people at home undiminished. Here is a great task awaiting you, when you could influence public opinion in a moment of grave crisis. Confidence and steadfastness are with difficulty sustained on an empty stomach, and there are many people in India today who cannot get enough of the necessities of life and have to pay a wicked price for what little they can get. I can assure you that my colleagues in the Government of India fully realise the seriousness of the situation. We have not yet succeeded in solving the problem of mal-distribution here, of real shortage there, of inflated prices everywhere. Mistakes have been made, as you, gentlemen, have not been slow to point out. It is your duty to criticise, but have you no other duty ? I think you have. The most perfect arrangements by the most perfect of Governments will not succeed in bringing sufficient food to everyone at a fair price as long as hoarding, profiteering, and black markets are rampant. These practices are anti-social; they amount to war by a section of the community on the community as a whole. In other countries they have been killed by public opinion, by co-operation of the citizens and the press with the Government. Here is your chance, as I have said, to show your patriotism and to demonstrate the influence of the press.—*A. P.*

The Press in India will not be inclined to be guided by the policy, enumerated by Sir Sultan, which he calls duties of the Press. Sir Sultan had admitted that Government's mistakes have promptly been pointed out by the Press, but he had nothing to say about the suggestions and criticisms offered by the Press being accepted by the Government. It would have been graceful for him if he had refrained from coming to the meeting to ask the Indian Press to support the constant bunglings of the Central and Provincial Governments in their food price control and transport policies which seriously affected the everyday life of the Indian people.

Mr. Srinivasan, however, gave a fitting reply to the Government spokesman. He said:

"On behalf of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, let me extend a cordial welcome to you to this meeting of the Standing Committee of editors and express our appreciation of your desire to speak to us on the work connected with the Department of Information and Broadcasting. This department, much to the regret of everybody, has been functioning ever since the lamented death of Sir Akbar Hydari, without a head; of course leaving out of account the few days Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was in charge.

"I am recalling this fact just to remind ourselves that this portfolio which is always looked upon as of vital importance in all well-ordered countries in times of war, came into being quite a long time after the war had begun, and further had the misfortune to be left to drift without the steering gear. The supervision and the working of the department, as we all know, came to be placed under the all-pervading Home Department, the natural legatee of all residuary responsibility—with what result we are all familiar. The functions of the Department of Information and Broadcasting were rapidly converted into a propaganda machine for launching a campaign of misrepresentation and vilification of India's leaders in Allied countries and stringent censorship was imposed on all news of a political nature.

"The latest Act in the series is the blanket censorship imposed on the writings of Mr. Louis Fischer. May I ask Sir Sultan Ahmed what assurance he will give us so that we may pursue our work as editors undisturbed by such irritating orders and instructions. We hope Sir Sultan will not tell us that is somebody else's responsibility and he should not be expected to stand surety for another department. Different spheres of responsibilities were created for efficiency; but it appears as though they are now intended to be put forward as excuses for a policy of do-nothing! A blatant instance, of recent occurrence, is the manner in which the Deparmtent of Information and Broadcasting dealt with the question of celebrating the Tunisian victory. Editors of newspapers were asked to issue a special supplement featuring the success of the Allies in Tunisia and when we inquired of the Chief Press Adviser whether he would get the necessary permission from the Allied Department of Civil Supplies for the issue of necessary permits to use newsprint for that purpose, the request was turned down; but, what is more, we were asked to take a day off by declaring a holiday and thus utilise that day's paper supply for the supplement. You cannot expect co-operation from us on these terms.

Sir Sultan has given us today a picture, a faint one though it be, of what his plans are. I must be frank enough to say that the Publicity Advisory Board which is to be set up shortly does not appear to be attractive to us and I would request Sir Sultan to leave editors out of it altogether. The Standing Committee of the editors meets at least four times a year and I shall invite Sir Sultan to attend its sittings and exchange views with us whenever he considers it necessary. As he knows, it is a responsible and representative body and I am sure he will find it of greater advantage to contact editors here rather than in the mixed gathering of all talents which is to meet once in six months.

You have made a passing reference to what you have described as an independent Cinema Industry and a Free Press in India. You have claimed that the Indian press is as free from restrictions as the press of any country can be in times of war. I am sure you do not expect us here to endorse that view.

This picture of the existence of a free press in India has been a long standing plank in the propaganda campaign of the officials in India and reached its climax when a party of Turkish journalists, after a conducted tour in India, have begun to write a series of articles telling the world what a paradise we live in. It is necessary to remind these friends that the model we have set before us is not the Turkish press but the British and American press who know of no restrictions except those imposed for security reasons

Sir Sultan has put in a strong plea for the dissemination of truth as the supreme aim for which the Allies are fighting the war and condemned with unmistakable emphasis the practice of pursuing contradictory lines for different audiences I would suggest to him to study the records of his own department particularly during the last twelve months and see for himself the protests which have been made by special correspondents in Delhi and the Editors' Standing Committee against the increasing rigours of censorship of both in-coming and out-going messages With Sir Sultan's dictum that propaganda should never have recourse to distortions of the truth, we in the Standing Committee have no hesitation in associating ourselves.

In conclusion, let me say this: It has been recognised in all quarters that the press in India has shown remarkable restraint during these difficult years of war and internal strife. So long as the department of which Sir Sultan has recently assumed charge will strive to put into practice the high principles to which he has given expression, he may be sure of our unstinted and helpful co-operation and support, and thereby fulfil our responsibilities to the public.

A few days after Sir Sultan expressed his eagerness to ensure co-operation with a "free press" in India, the keeper of the *Hindustan Times* press was asked to deposit a fresh deposit of Rs. 2500, in addition to the security of Rs. 2000 already demanded from him as the publisher of the Hindi daily *Hindustan*. The security deposit of Rs. 500 had been forfeited for publishing an article entitled "Britain and British Empire" in the *Hindustan*. This is the Government of India's "free press" and only a Turkish delegation could be secured to bless this "free press" in India brought into being under the guidance and fostering care of the Linlithgow Government.

It is further to be noted that this Turkish delegation was composed of French-speaking Journalists only who must have been specially selected for their inability either to read or to speak in English or any Indian language.

People Wanted Food, But They Get Committees

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Bengal's Food Minister, in course of a statement in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, pleaded for his "great food drive" and said, "Frankly, I am greatly satisfied with the result." But what was that result? He went out into the villages in search of food, and returned only with an announcement of having set up one lakh food committees.

In that statement, Mr. Suhrawardy revealed that the Government had established a purchasing organisation to buy food grains from the Eastern Zone. He also dwelt on dealing with Calcutta's problem through the 400 Government shops already announced in his Rotary Club speech and said, "Until the question of free trade is settled it is not possible for me to give a promise for wholesale rationing of Calcutta unless I see supplies ahead of me." But this plan has also fizzled out. Within a few days of this announcement, free trade in the Eastern Zone has been closed. Mr. Suhrawardy should now tell the public what alternative arrangements of supply he has made.

The Food Minister explained, "We had to deal with two major factors: one, panic brought about by insistence on shortages, and the other greed brought about by speculative rise in prices. Both of them led to maldistribution and hoarding. These two complexes had first to be counteracted if we were to secure movement of food grains and make rice accessible to the people." Mr. Suhrawardy has failed to implement his "no shortage" slogan by supplies and for this defect this slogan however well-intentioned lost all its force and significance. He also failed to look the hoarder and the speculator squarely in the face. Irredeemable weakness had been betrayed by leaving out Calcutta and Howrah from his original "food drive." No subsequent action would compensate it.

Mr. Suhrawardy has expressed his sincere desire of bringing rice within easy reach of the people. Bengal, in the middle of a famine, wants him to act. Let him take courage in both hands and fix the maximum price of rice and paddy at least for the coming season without losing a single day. Let him approach the Government of India and the military authorities to conform to that fixed price. Let him complete arrangements for compelling adherence to it. The effect will be salutary on hoarders and speculators. The famished people will find a ray of hope to lead them through the terrible five months that lie ahead. Mr. Suhrawardy must act with courage and conviction.

Bengal Government Without a Budget

A point of order of constitutional and legal importance was raised by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee on behalf of the Opposition in the Bengal Legislative Assembly in respect of the procedure adopted by the Government to place before the Legislature the portion of the Budget for 1943-44 which was not disposed of during the last session.

Before the consideration of the demands for grants was taken up, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, rising on a point of order, maintained that the demands for grants, as proposed to be presented before the House by Government, were not in order inasmuch as they were not in accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act and the Bengal Assembly Procedure Rules.

Dr. Mookerjee further pointed out that there had been a serious encroachment upon the constitutional rights of the Assembly inasmuch as the Governor suspended the legislature and took away its valued rights under Section 93, although the legal and constitutional position was that the ultimate sanction of the legislature was essential if the constitution was to function again.

The Premier, Sir Nazimuddin, could not advance any convincing argument in support of the procedure adopted by his Government. The Advocate-General, who had given his opinion that the procedure was legal, did not face the Legislature although he was a member of the House.

The Speaker, Syed Nausher Ali, gave his ruling on the day following. He upheld the Opposition point of order and declared that the demands for grants, as proposed to be moved by the Government, were out of order. The text of the ruling is given below:

> The question for my decision is whether or not the motions for demands for grants as proposed to be made by the Government are in order. They have been attacked as out of order on the following grounds:
>
> (i) That the budget is one unitary document and cannot be dealt with piecemeal as proposed by the Government.
>
> (ii) That on the prorogation of the Assembly all previous proceedings relating to the budget lapsed automatically.

(*iii*) That the Governor's proclamation under Section 93 together with his authorisation of expenditure under para 3 of the said proclamation have the effect of wiping out all previous proceedings of the Assembly relating to the budget held in February-April session.

(*iv*) That the motions themselves being for indefinite sums contravene the provisions of the law.

It appears to me that the law contemplates the annual financial statement to be one single complete document to be prepared by the Government, laid before the Assembly, discussed and voted opon by it and authenticated by the Governor. I further think that the law also contemplates that the whole procedure should be completed in one session of the Assembly within the time limit to be fixed by the Governor in accordance with the rules framed by him under the proviso to Section 84 of the Government of India Act 1935. It is clear to me that the law is defective inasmuch as it has not provided for contingencies which could have been foreseen in view of the provision of Section 93 of the Government of India Act. It may be that the framers of the Act contemplated that even in cases where the Governor would assume responsibility for the administration in case of a breakdown of the constitution, the expenditure incurred by him would have to be placed before the Assembly.

This view however takes no notice of the fact that there may be cases where the operation of Section 93 would last for a very long time covering a period of one financial year or over. It appears to have been accepted in other provinces in India that the authorisation by the Governor for expenditure for the period during which Section 93 would be in operation is not subject to discussion or vote by the Assembly.

It may be noted in this connection, as admitted by the Hon'ble Finance Minister, Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami, that it is the inherent right of this House to vote supplies. And the absence of any provision in the Act making the expenditure incurred by the Governor during the Section 93 administration even charged on the Revenue is very significant. It is also noteworthy that even charged expenditure is subject to discussion, though not to vote, of this House.

Thus where Section 93 has been in operation from before the beginning of a financial year and for a part of the financial year the procedure followed in Orissa and Assam has been that only that part of the budget which was covered by the period after the revocation of the proclamation under Section 93 was discussed and voted upon by the House.

The rules regarding the time for presentation of the budget, etc., could not for obvious reasons be complied with. Section 78 of the Act does not prescribe any time when the annual financial statement is to be presented, though rule 12 of the Governor's Rules does. It is only reasonable to hold that in extraordinary circumstances not covered by the law it should be permissible to place the annual financial statement even after the year has commenced or proceeded further.

I do not think there can be any serious objection to such a procedure. But the main question that arises for consideration by me on the present point of order is not about the time when the budget should be presented but the propriety or legality of dealing with the budget piecemeal in more than one session. There is no precedent for a case like this. It is contended by the Opposition that such a procedure is not permissible under the law. It is further contended that on the prorogation of the House all pending business of the session lapses except those which are specifically provided for.

It is said in the present case that on the prorogation of the Assembly by His Excellency the Governor on the 24th of April, 1943, all proceedings in that session relating to the budget lapsed so that a fresh budget for the whole year should have been presented and all formalities complied with afresh.

There is a good deal of force in this argument. Section 73 of the Government of India Act makes express provision for saving of Bills pending at the time of prorogation. There is no such provision with regard to matters relating to the budget. It has been stated that Rule 19 of the Bengal Legislative Assembly Procedure Rules speaks of all pending notices and that in this case Government have given notice of demands which according to them lapsed.

In other words, Government's contention is that the budget having been presented and discussed as provided for by the Act or the rules it has remained there unaffected in any way by the prorogation, completed partly and unfinished partly and all that was necessary for the Government to do was to put in fresh notice for the demands which were not voted upon for the consideration of the House and nothing more was needed. Whereas it has been contended by the Opposition that all proceedings relating to the budget in the previous session were dead and gone immediately on the prorogation of the session.

The Saving Clauses

The presence of saving clauses in the Government of India Act relating to Bills and the absence of similar provisions relating to the budget in the Act or in the rules coupled with the provision in the proviso (*b*) to Section 84(1) of the Government of India Act and the rules framed thereunder indicate, to my mind, that far from contemplating that the budget could be dealt with piecemeal in different sessions the law contemplates that the whole thing should be done in one session within the time limit prescribed by the rules.

That is why there appears to be provision for what is called 'guillotining.' I doubt very much if the budget can be considered piecemeal in more than one session. The provisions of Section 78 to Section 84 of the Government of India Act and Rules 12 to 15 of the Governor's Rules framed under the proviso to Sub-section (1) of Section 84 of the Government of India Act seems to indicate this. But it is not necessary for me to give any definite opinion about it in view of my opinion relating to the other grounds.

Assuming for the sake of argument that such a piecemeal treatment of the budget is permissible under the law there appears, in my opinion, another difficulty in the way of the Government. On the 31st of March, 1943, the Governor issued the proclamation under Section 93 of the Government of India Act suspending the constitution. In exercise of the powers taken under para 3 of the said proclamation the Governor on the same date authorised a budget which is exactly the same as the budget which was originally presented including that part which was actually voted upon and passed by the legislature.

It is clear, therefore, that even before the prorogation of the Assembly by the Governor the budget demands already assented to by the Assembly had been treated by him as not completed to be acted upon and in my opinion this was rightly done.

The Government's contention now is that on the revocation of the proclamation on the 24th of April, 1943, the Assembly was restored, in spite of the said authorisation for expenditure and the subsequent prorogation by the Governor, to the position in which it stood on the 29th of March, 1943.

They, at the same time, maintain that the Assembly must not consider the expenditure incurred by the Governor between the 1st of April, 1943, and the 24th April, 1943 even in respect of the demands for grant which were still pending for consideration of the Assembly on the 29th of March, 1943.

This, to my mind, appears to be an untenable position. You cannot blow hot and cold at the same time. In one breath you say that in respect of the budget the Assembly has been restored to the position in which it stood on the 29th March, 1943 and in the same breath you say that the Assembly stands in the position where the Governor left it on the 24th April, 1943. Either of the positions may be tenable but not both. If piecemeal treatment of the budget is permissible under the law, about which I have grave doubts, the Government must either place a new budget for the demands which they now propose to make for the period from 1st April, 1943 to the 31st March, 1943 or they must totally ignore the authorisation of expenditure by the Governor under these heads during period from the 1st April, 1943 to 24th April, 1943, and place the entire unfinished portion of the budget for the consideration and vote of the House. It is not for me now to advise the Government as to what they should do. But there appears to be no escape from this position.

In my opinion there is a good deal of force in the contention of the Opposition that the motions as intended to be moved are too indefinite and vague for consideration of the House. Government have not given any indication whatsoever as to the amount of expenditure between the 1st April, 1943 and the 24th April, 1943. They maintain that it is not possible. I am sure it is not practicable to give the exact figures but I have grave doubts whether or not an approximate amount can be given. In fact budget means estimates of probable receipts and expenditure. I think there are ways out of the difficulty, but when Government maintain that it is impossible, it is not for me to give them advice. In this connection it may be mentioned that approximate figures were supplied by the Assam and Orissa Governments when they presented the budget in the middle of the year on the revocation of the proclamation by the Governor.

The motions as they stand without the slightest indication as to the amount of expenditure incurred during the period between the 1st April, 1943 and the 24th April, 1943 are, I am afraid, inadmissible and not in order.

I think, therefore, that I have got no other alternative but to uphold the point of order raised and I rule that the motions for demands for grants are out of order.

The Assembly has been prorogued after the Speaker's ruling, but the Administration is carrying on without a Budget sanctioned by the Legislature. Large numbers of students of constitutional law from Britain and America, who are now in Calcutta as members of the Allied forces, have had an opportunity to witness the kind of democracy practised in India under the bulkiest of constitutions ever produced in the world.

India Government's Evasion of Food Problem

Government of India's Food Member, Sir Muhammad Azizul Huq, has announced the Government's dicisions on measures to meet the food situation. The decisions were:

Rationing in urban areas to be taken up in a progressively increasing measure and almost immediately:

No statutory fixation of maximum prices at the present stage but every possible step to be taken to bring down the general level and to stabilise the prices of all commodities.

Provinces and States to be left free to take administrative measures to bring prices under control within their regions.

A merciless attack on the hoarder and the profiteer to be launched immediately throughout India by all provinces and States.

Free trade not to be considered except as an objective for the return of normal conditions.

Procurement operations in execution of the basic plan to be carried out either directly by Government or by agencies under the full control of the provincial or State Governments.

Deficit provinces and States to be free within the limits of their basic quota to make a direct approach to surplus areas and wherever possible make direct transport arrangements with the railway or shipping authorities.

Government of India to do their best to see that the present shortage of consumers goods is corrected as soon as possible.

Problems of long range planning to be discussed by representatives of States and Provinces in a conference to be convened early in September.

A glance at the decisions would convince anybody that the problem has been evaded behind carefully coined phrases. Even Mr. Amery, the greatest champion of the Central and Provincial Governments in London, failed to congratulate the Linlithgow Administration for their handling of the food situation. The Central Government has, of late, announced their decision to stop any further export of rice; but is it out of sympathy for the famished and starving masses, or because the prices have soared too high even for them?

Burma and Rice

Mr. S. Natarajan, writing in the *Indian Social Reformer*, has sounded a serious note of warning which the Government of India would do well to pay heed to. He writes:

It is reported that the Collector of a district told the people who had not enough rice to eat, that they should all join the Army and reconquer Burma and then and only then would they get enough rice. The idea underlies the Government of Bombay's *communique* announcing a further reduction in the rice ration in Bombay city and suburbs. It begins with the preamble that, owing to the rice from Burma having ceased to come, Government is obliged to cut down the ration from three-quarters to one-half. Burma was not conquered in order to provide rice for India. Scrutiny of the State papers relating to that adventure, does not reveal that the rice of Burma was the main cause of the conquest of that country. In any case, the people of India were not responsible for the conquest and they are not responsible for its loss either. We are not sure

that its reconquest would improve the rice situation in this country. Anyhow the introduction of Burma in the *communique* was irrelevant to the point of absurdity. The other reason in the *communique* is that the supplies expected from other provinces have not come in the quantities expected. Why is this? Is the Government of India which has now the control of food supplies, favouring some provinces at the expense of others? It has been urged by official spokesmen that the foodstuffs exported to other countries, is only a small fraction of the total Indian production. But it is that last small quantity which determines the prices and determines their distribution. The first duty of a Government is to see that the people have enough food. This comes even before the duty "to govern." *Already there are signs to show that the Indian masses are giving up their traditional fatalism and becoming restive after the manner of western mobs. It is not easy to preserve law and order among a starving people. The worst of it is that the man in the street begins to ask what is the return which he can hope to get from the sacrifices to which he is subject in consequences of the war.* That is a line of enquiry which a prudent Government of India must seek at all costs to prevent from extending. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

The Government will take a grave risk if they suffer this warning from a sober journalist like Mr. Natarajan go unattended.

Is Conscription Possible in a Subject Country in Unrest ?

Sir Roger Lumley, speaking in public for the first time in London since his retirement from the Governorship of Bombay, said :

So much has been heard in the past few years about political difficulties in India, about Congress rebellion and matters of that kind, that the impression appears to have gained some ground that India is so much absorbed in political discussion and turmoil that there is little time or desire to join in the prosecution of the war.

I certainly would not minimize the great importance of these political events, nor underestimate either the depressing influence they have had on the war effort or the gravity of issues which they have at times presented the Government in India. But it would be completely inaccurate to suppose that there are not large masses of the people entirely loyal to the cause for which the British Commonwealth and Empire and our Allies are fighting. Much devotion and enthusiasm are given to the war effort and with truly remarkable results.

Side by side with, and in marked contrast to, the Congress Party's attitude a great contribution was being made in India to the war power of the United Nations. More than 2,000,000 men have enlisted in the armed forces. No national service scheme, no conscription has called them up. They have come as volunteers, every one of them. Often the flow of recruits has been greater than the equipment available.

There would be little gratification to find only 2 million men recruited in a country inhabited by 400 million souls. The number of recruits would have been multiplied several times, had the National Government of Great Britain had foresight enough to make up with the Congress. The question of conscription in a subject country like India in unrest does not arise.

Sir Norman Angell on India

Sir Norman Angell, discussing the problem of India in the July issue of the series of publications entitled "United Nations in the Future," says :

"India has been offered Dominion Status and Dominion Status carries the right of secession but we may hope there will be enough wisdom in London and Delhi to utilize the habits of co-operation which the 200 years of association of Britain with India may have produced to use that experience in post-war reconstruction."

Speaking generally of the British Empire he says,—"In the world threatened with disintegration such integration as history has left us should not be lightly torn apart and should instead be made the nucleus of larger integrations—associations wherein none can dominate but all would be partners."

The British people have come and stayed in India but never lived here. In their association with the Indians, every Briton unmistakably demonstrated that he was a ruler and not an equal. The Colonisation Scheme of the early nineteenth century was vehemently opposed but Britishers would acquire an equal status with the people in this country, and in course of time through elimination of superiority complex, become their equals. The Imperialist die-hards could not, and in fact did not, permit it. If Sir Norman sincerely desires that an association between the two nations should develop wherein none can dominate but all would be partners, he should first address his own politicians.

Release of Political Prisoners

The release of political prisoners was demanded by the Congress Party in a non-official resolution moved by Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. The release of all persons detained or restrained under the Defence of India Rules and Regulation III of 1818 and convicted of offences connected with the movement following the August resolution of the Congress was demanded.

Mr. A. R. Siddiqi of the Muslim League remarked that to demand release of persons involved in the movement following the August resolution was to demand something impracticable. He, however, recommended in a typical bureaucratic language, release on review of individual cases.

The leader of the European Group also opposed the motion and warned the Government

"not to indulge in the luxury of general release" although such warning was premature and unnecessary. The Nazimuddin Ministry had already been overcautious in their policy of release.

Mrs. Sen Gupta's resolution ran as follows:

"This Assembly is of opinion that the Government of Bengal should take immediate steps to—

(a) set at liberty all persons detained in prison or restrained under Rule 129 or Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules or under Regulation III of 1818 for their political views or activities;

(b) release all persons convicted for offences connected with the movement following the arrests of Congress leaders in August, 1942;

(c) appoint a tribunal consisting of at least two persons of the position of High Court Judges to review all cases of political security prisoners and convicts after giving full opportunity to the persons concerned to meet the charges against them, if any, in case Government fails to release the persons immediately; and

(d) appoint a non-official committee composed of all parties in both the Houses of Legislature to advise Government on the amenities and treatment provided for in the jails and detention camps for different classes of political prisoners and detenus."

In moving the resolution, Mrs. Sen Gupta said:

"I am not going to plead or urge or appeal for the release of these persons," she went on to say. "I know it is useless. But I am going to say that you must release these people. How long you can go on keeping them locked in jails? The High Court has given its judgment that the detention of these boys under Rule 126 is illegal, but does it make any difference? The judgment gave them freedom, but what has happened? Before they could even breathe the fresh air of freedom, they were rearrested and taken back to the jail."

9325 persons had been in detention under D. I. R. 26 and 129 upto January last, as revealed in a statement of the Government in the Upper House of Bengal Legislature in reply to a question put by Mr. Lalit Chandra Das.

Ten days after the discussion on the resolution, Sir Nazimuddin outlined, in a statement to the Press, his Government's policy regarding political prisoners in the following words:

"We undertook to adopt a sympathetic policy and to make a national approach to the whole question of persons detained in the interests of security or convicted of so-called political offences. Upwards of 130 security prisoners have already been released and in contradiction of insinuations and allegations made by Opposition leaders. I can state that in not one of these individual cases had specific orders for release been passed by the previous Ministry. Moreover, I am informed that no such order, passed by the previous Government, remained unexecuted at the time when I took office. As regards amenities to security prisoners and the maintenance of their dependents, we have doubled the diet allowance, increased family allowances by 50 to 100 per cent. as well as granting allowances on a generous scale in some cases where they had not previously been given and are permitting prisoners on release to take away with them clothing bought for them at Government expense during the past twelve months. I should add that the cases of security prisoners are under continuous review and that our policy of releasing all persons who can be set at liberty without serious risk is being vigorously pursued with almost daily releases of additional prisoners."

He takes pride in having released 130 prisoners out of a total of 9325. The names of these prisoners, so far as have been published, have confirmed the public belief that only those fortunate persons who have the means of instituting *habeas corpus* proceedings have been released. It is apparent that no uniform policy has been followed in ordering for release. Some of the M.L.A.'s have been released while others were not. The Managing Director of one daily newspaper has been released while the Managing Director of another daily still remains in prison. The release has been far more general in some other provinces, notably Bihar. 511 convicted prisoners and 59 from Patna camp jail have been released.

The diet allowance of the prisoners has only been doubled when the cost of living has gone up four times. Besides, it is difficult to believe that Sir Nazimuddin has no idea of how much of this doubled allowance really goes inside the jail.

Sir Nazimuddin has made only vague references about the grant of family allowances. He has avoided giving any definite information about the number of detenus enjoying maintenance allowance for the family and the amount of any such grant. He speaks of having doubled the amount, but doubling of what? Five rupees to ten rupees, or ten to twenty? Serious allegations about the amounts of family allowances granted and the inordinate delay in granting it have been made in the Press. Sir Nazimuddin has not replied to them.

The Problem of Fertiliser

Addressing a meeting of the Indian Chemical Society at the University College of Science, Calcutta, Dr. H. K. Sen, Director of the Indian Lac Research Institute, threw a flood of light on the problem of fertilisers in India. According to the report published by *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Dr. Sen developed the subject of his address starting with statistical informations available on the acreage under cultivation and the crops produced in British India. The chief crops using synthetic manure, he said, are at present sugarcane, cotton, coffee and tea, and occasional manuring is used for wheat and other crops. The 82 million acres of land under paddy cultivation, however, do not use any manures as

curiously paddy fields manure themselves if adequate water is supplied. This particular crop, which is the largest in this country, wheat coming next, has lately been found to be better for manuring as substantiated by the lowest yield of rice per acre in this country as compared with that in other countries.

Whilst the outturn of rice per acre in India is taken at 1357 pounds, continued the speaker, that in Italy is of the order of 4601 pounds, in Japan 2,767 pounds, in Egypt 2,356 pounds and in the U. S. A. 2,112 pounds. The figures for wheat similarly are 652, 1,241, 1,508, 1,688 and 937 pounds in the respective countries. In the United Kingdom the figure for wheat is 1,812 and in Germany 1,740 pounds. He calculated from known quantities of synthetic nitrogenous dressings required for different crops, barring rice fields, that India requires at least 17 lakh tons of ammonium sulphate per year for this purpose. If the paddy fields are also taken into consideration, this figure would be multiplied several times.

Examining whether this fertiliser could be produced at a rate substantially below the import cost, which is in the region of Rs. 90 to Rs. 100 per ton in peace time, the speaker said that 18,000 tons only are at present manufactured in the country from the coke ovens and 76,000 tons are imported annually from abroad. He adduced reliable figures of manufacture and held that ammonium sulphate, whether from the fixation of nitrogen or from by-product recovery, could be produced in this country at half the imported price and in special cases with calcium sulphate and carbon dioxide as the fixing agents for ammonia, the cost of production would range between Rs. 22 and Rs. 39 per ton of ammonium sulphate according to conditions prevailing. This low cost would undoubtedly place in the hands of the cultivators cheap concentrated fertiliser for use in addition to the farmyard and compost manure available in relatively smaller quantities. This combination would not affect the characteristics of the soil for superior production year after year.

The question of providing fertilisers for Indian argiculture raised in the midst of a terrible food crisis all over the country must not be allowed to go unheeded. This important commodity has remained a monopoly of foreign traders to the detriment of Indian agriculture. The manufacture of fertilisers as a national industry must begin *during the war*, it should not wait till the end of hostilities. Not only Dr. Sen but Sir Phiroze Kharegat has also told the country in unmistakable terms that this industry *can* be established *immediately*. Returning from the United Nations' Food Conference at Hotsprings, Sir Phiroze told the *Associated Press* at New Delhi that a matter of interest to India which was decided at the Conference was that the countries generally should help producing countries to obtain the seed, fertilizers and machinery they needed. The decision was of great advantage to India because under rice, for instance, if India could get fertilizers and teach her cultivators to use them, she could within two years wipe out the deficit of 1,500,000 tons a year. Nor was there any reason why fertilizers should not be manufactured in India, if she had the machinery for the purpose.

Dr. Sen has emphatically said that quite a considerable portion of the machinery required could be improvised in the country and lease-lend scheme could procure those which cannot be manufactured here.

The Government of Bengal has recently observed a "manure week" with a view to popularise the use of manure, but has it been able to bring the commodity within easy reach of the cultivator ? Would it not be better for them to take the lead in establishing fertiliser factories in Bengal, the worst sufferer in respect of food today ?

Attempt to Review Congress Policy

Mr. Gopinath Srivastava and Mr. K. M. Munshi, two of the important Section of Congressmen more inclined to parliamentary polities, have recently expressed a desire to move for the withdrawal of the August Resolution of the Congress in a meeting of the A.-I.. C. C. convened by its members now at large. The proposed move however has met with general disapproval from Congressmen all over the country, more particularly from Bombay, Punjab and Bengal,

The August Resolution was passed by the Congress but was not acted upon. The mere passing of a resolution led to the wholesale arrest of all leaders of the Congress. If a question of rescinding the resolution comes up, fair play in public life demands that the leaders who were party to the resolution should have an opportunity to express their views on it. To attempt its withdrawal in the name of the A.-I. C. C. without hearing the leaders who have made the highest sacrifices for the cause of the Congress and the country, will be betraying the cause of the nation. Besides, the two astute Parliamentarians should also have taken into consideration the fact that an A.-I. C. C. meeting is normally

summoned by the Working Committee of the Congress, and no serious situation has arisen to make any departure from this practice.

Burdwan Floods

The news of Burdwan floods, although meagre, is sufficiently disquieting. A semi-official report states that as a result of breaches in the Damodar embankment, 70 villages, spreading over 7 unions, have been submerged. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* gives the estimate of a local relief worker who has visited the flooded area and says from his personal knowledge that about 100 villages spreading over 11 unions under two police stations have been flooded. In comparing these two accounts the *Patrika* has rightly concluded that "this difference in estimate, may, however, be accounted for by the difficulty that, is being met by the local officials to contact all the affected areas." Another serious breach has occurred in the Ajoy embankment flooding, according to official estimates, about 50 villages. Though the loss of human life has been few, the loss in property, crop and cattle has been high; and the magnitude of the calamity is certainly awful. The District Magistrate has estimated that the monthly expenditure on relief work will be about Rs. 150,000 a month. The people have promptly responded. It is now for the Government to act.

Paucity of boats constitutes a great obstacle to relief work. With the tide of the war turning in favour of the Allies, the Government will not be taking a great risk in ordering the release of all boats detained for fear of Jap invasion. This should immediately be done.

Corpses on the Calcutta Streets

Corpses on the Calcutta Streets have become a daily feature. People from the villages are flocking to Calcutta and other district towns in quest of food. Half-naked starving men, women and children, mothers with suckling babies are floating about in the streets in utter helplessness. No wonder that these people will die on the streets.

The Bengal Government have miserably failed to render help at this hour of unparalleled national crisis. The Central Government, which did not hesitate to export rice from the country in the midst of this terrible calamity, have stopped it only a couple of days ago.

They did nothing to alleviate the suffering of a people who have made tremendous sacrifices for the war effort even to the extent of vacating their ancestral homesteads without any attempt to revolt. A large portion of the accumulated sterling in London to the tune of about 600 crores of rupees, which directly helped British war finance, have in reality and in the last resort been contributed by these impoverished masses in the form of taxation and increased prices. The return in their case has been starvation due to a man-made famine, the terrible hardship and humiliation to stand in front of a ridiculously small number of controlled shops in never-ending queues for one seer of rice and to die on the city streets.

These heartrending scenes certainly do not inspire respect for the self-appointed trustees unable to feed a people of whom they had taken charge in the name of God. The Calcutta street scenes are serious blots on any Government claiming to be civilised.

Food Crisis in Hospitals

Dr. B. C. Roy told the Calcutta Corporation that patients in Calcutta hospitals might have to go without food. Government grant of permit to hospitals to purchase rice at controlled rates would expire on July 31st. No such permits would be granted since 1st of August except in the case of Government hospitals.

This is startling. The Government have done nothing to supply rice to the masses. They have asked the employers of industrial labour to make their own arrangements to feed their wage-earners. Now they come forward to stop rice to the helpless hospital patients. Is it not a case for intervention by the International Red Cross?

Lowering the Income Tax Limit

A proposal is in the air to further lower the Income tax limit bringing it down to Rs. 1200. The recent tendency in the Central Government's Finance Department to collect taxes through easy channels, regardless of the welfare of the people, have made the people nervous. They believe that today's proposal may become tomorrow's law. This action of the Government, if taken, will be a gross injustice to the middle-class people particularly those with small income in Bengal. It is impossible to believe that the authorities are unaware of the real economic conditions in the country, specially in Bengal. Computation of any cost of living index for middleclass people who depend on retail purchases has so far been avoided. Had it been done, it would certainly have shown at least a fourfold increase in today's cost of living.

It is difficult to expect sympathy for the

people from an alien government. If they had the best sympathy for the suffering middleclass, the income tax limit would by this time have been raised by at least a thousand rupees.

Burial of the Atlantic Charter

Mr. Churchill gave the Atlantic Charter a decent burial when he replied "No Sir" to a suggestion in the House of Commons that negotiations should be started for the ratification of the Charter by the American Congress. Important American Senators had earlier pointed out that the Charter remained a mere statement of Presidential policy and had no binding force unless ratified by the Congress. Mr. Churchill, in reply to the suggestion mentioned above, described the Charter as a statement of certain broad views and principles "which are our common guide in our march forward." He made the significant declaration that the Charter did not require ratification or formal endorsement of a constitutional character on either side of the Atlantic.

Power-Crazy, Money-mad Imperialist To Go

Reuter reports that the United States Vice-President Mr. Henry A. Wallace launched a strong attack on "power-crazed, money-mad imperialists" in a speech here to-day. He raised the banner of social reform in the United States and condemned isolationists seeking to bring about America's second retreat from her responsibility in world co-operation.

Mr. Wallace made no reference to the dispute between himself and the United States' Secretary of Commerce Mr. Jesse Jones, which recently led to a severe rebuke from President Roosevelt.

"*We shall not be satisfied,*" Mr. Wallace declared, "*with a peace which will merely lead us from concentration camps and mass murder of Fascism into an international jungle of gangster Governments operated behind scenes by power-crazed money-mad imperialists. We seek a peace that is more than a mere breathing space between the death of the old tyranny and the birth of a new one.*

"There are powerful groups who hope to take advantage of the President's concentration on the war effort to destroy everything he has accomplished on the domestic front over the last ten years." Mr. Wallace said: "Sooner or later the machinations of these groups would inevitably be exposed to the public eye. Our choice is between Democracy for everybody or for a few. Fuller democracy for all is a lasting preventive of war. We cannot fight fascism abroad and condone race riots at home."

"Three outstanding peace-time responsibilities as I find them to-day are firstly, the enlightenment of the people. Secondly, mobilising peace time production for full employment. Thirdly, planning world co-operation."

The Vice-President declared: "We know that we cannot close the doors on other nations and not expect them to close their doors on us. In that knowledge we can create co-operation or conflict. We must continue our splendid team work with the British Allies. We can live peacefully in the same world with the Russians if we demonstrate to ourselves and the world after the war that we have gone in for an all-out peace production to bring about the maximum of human welfare. The Atlantic Charter provides a broad base of general principles to safeguard our decisions. The American people intend that it shall work and that it shall endure."

This outspoken speech from the second citizen of the Arsenal of Democracy is expected to produce at least some reaction at the stronghold of Imperialism on the other side of the Atlantic where the Atlantic Charter has been buried. It will be watched with interest. A peace that is sought to be more than a mere breathing space between the death of the old tyranny and the birth of a new one cannot be achieved without the liberation of India and all other subject peoples of the world still lying under the heel of the old Imperialists.

Indians in Occupied Territories

The Government of India's Oversea Member Dr. Khare stated in the Central Legislature, in reply to a question regarding news about Indians in Japanese occupied territories and evacuees from Burma, that it was estimated that 7,45,000 Indian civil population were left behind in Malaya (including Singapore) and 5 lakhs in Burma.

Dr. Khare said, the responsibility for providing information rested on the Japanese Government. So far 7662 enquiries had been forwarded and information had been obtained in 1164 cases. He said, the establishment of a machinery to ascertain how many evacuees from Burma had been provided with an occupation in India was now in hand. *During the last financial years 143 lakhs was spent in connection with arrangements made for the reception, dispersal and maintenance of Indian evacuees and this year a sum of one crore has been pro-*

vided to meet expenditure on the maintenance of Indian evacuees and dependents of Indians stranded in enemy-occupied territories.

Will Dr. Khare give an account of how these crores of rupees on evacuees relief have been spent and how many Indians have received them ? It remains to be explained how 143 lakhs of rupees were spent for an unfortunate population practically left at the mercy of the Marwari Relief Society and the Navavidhan Relief Mission on their arrival at the Indian frontier. It is public knowledge that the Government's hands were full in arranging for the relief of the Europeans from Burma and looking after their comforts. Has that expenditure also been included in the Indian account ?

India Challenges British Finance

An important article by Mr. Herbert L. Mathews, has been published in the *New York Times* as a dispatch from Calcutta. Mr. Mathews writes :

"Finance is a battlefield between the British and Indians and Calcutta, where Clive began the long British tradition, is seeing what may be the last stand of the powerful forces that have played a great role in the domination of India. . . . Calcutta is Britain's industrial stronghold. . . . Managing agency is the channel through which the British dominate a large part of Indian industry. . . .

"There is plenty of Indian money invested through shares and theoretically the shareholders could get together and assert themselves, but the managing agents run the whole show and most of them are British.

"The coal, jute and tea industries are controlled upto 80 per cent. by British agents. Indians are strong in textiles and steel. Exchange banking is entirely British, but there are big Indian banks for internal financing.

"These managing agents are immensely profitable concerns and the British want to hang on to them. At the same time their Indian rivals want to get their business away from them, and in that struggle much is involved, political as well as financial. . . .

"Here in Calcutta the practical businessmen are greatly worried by the prospect of independence, although they do not expect it will come for some years after the end of the war. They point to the fact that big Indian firms like the Birla Brothers of Bombay finance the All-India Congress. Therefore, it is argued the Congress will have a debt to pay to them and that the payment will result in the elimination of British business interests.

[In a later dispatch from New Delhi to the *New York Times*, Mr. Mathews refers to *The Hindustan Times* as "an important Delhi newspaper edited by M. K. Gandhi's son and owned by Birla Brothers, powerful Indian industrialists."]

"Mr. Birla is out openly to oust the British and he subsidizes the Congress heavily. The Indians talked to (including Mr. B. M. Birla, Sir Badridas Goenka and Mr. J. C. Mahindra) are not afraid that Jawaharlal Nehru's socialistic ideal will gain the ascendency. Even if he runs the show, the Indians believe he will be "sensible."

"Another thing the British fear is that Mr. Birla and others talk of buying out their interests after the war. Mr. Birla wants to use India's sterling credits, which now are 6,000,000,000 rupees and within a few years will doubtless reach about 9,000,000,000 rupees, to acquire the British holdings. . . .

"Another objection the Indians have is that the British do not stay here and do not keep their money or profits here. They come to make their fortunes and then go home. As one Indian said, it would have been all right if, like the Parsees from Persia, they had become Indians, absorbed in the country's structure, instead of remaining foreigners who exploit the country for Britain's benefit.

I went into the Indian accusation that the British have prevented the proper Indian industrialisation of India. The British admit that this was true, but that since the fiscal reforms of the early 1920's it had been changed. . . .

"The Indians say their gravest charge is not that the British deliberately obstruct industrialisation but that they will not help the Indians industrialise the country. Any virgin field like this, they say, needs tariff protection, subsidies, preferences and priorities, all of which the British are withholding or granting in a most niggardly fashion.

"The textile and steel industries, according to them, were established against British desires and only by fighting at every step against British obstruction. Since the British run India, these Indians hold, it is up to them to foster industrialisation, which they are not doing.

"Indian businessmen say that cannot hope to industrialise this country until they and their fellow Indians run it. Patriotism and financial interests run parallel, leading them to the logical conclusion that the British must get out."

Mr. Mathews has successfully probed into the inner conflict of British and Indian politics in this country, with the characteristic American directness.

Exploitation of Bengalee Jute-growers

The Indian Jute Mills Association which represents British-managed jute mills in Bengal has fixed Rs. 19|-, Rs. 17|- and Rs. 14|- as maximum prices of jute, Top, Middle and Bottom respectively. The Association has secured from the U. S. A. orders for 70 crores of yards of hessian at Rs. 26|- for 100 yards. 35 seers of jute are required to produce 100 yards of hessian so that quantity for quantity jute is purchased at Rs. 12|4|-, Rs. 14|14|- and Rs. 16|10|- and manufactured jute is sold at Rs. 26|-. The wide margin of profit is in keeping with what the mills have been earning for decades. The cultivator will get the lowest price in the history of jute as at no time has he had to part with one maund of jute for the price of half a maund of rice. The average of the three prices of jute is Rs. 17|- while the price of rice is not below Rs. 34|-. The price of anything in Bengal has to be considered in terms of the price of the staple food of the people.

The present Ministry tries to absolve itself of responsibility for this unabashed exploitation of Bengal's jute-growing peasantry by issuing a statement that the above prices have no statutory authority. Some years ago when a few Indian-owned jute mills were working as many hours as the Factory Act allowed and not so many as the British-managed jute mills desired, the Indian Jute Mills Association twice appealed to the Government of Lord Willingdon but in vain. The Government definitely refused to intervene in private trade. A group of British-managed jute mills then decided to secede from the main body and the practical dissolution of the Association was but a question of days. At this time with the inauguration of the Government of India Act Huq-Nazimuddin Ministry was formed. What a foreign Government considered unfair to Indian interests the Ministry unblushingly did. An ordinance was issued compelling all jute mills to obey the mandate of the Association. The present Ministry is practically the same as the first and can not, therefore, shirk responsibility for exploiting Bengal's jute-growers, mostly Muhammadan, in a crisis unprecedented since 1770.

SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

Why the Britishers are Anxious to 'Protect' Native Princes

His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominion is the Premier State in India. What the conditions of the Nizam's Government were in 1908-1909 will appear from the following extract taken from Lt.-Col. Owen Barkley-Hill's unconventional autobiography *All Too Human* (London: Peter Davie 12s. 6d.), pp. 88 *et seq* !—

"In those days the Nizam's Government contained a great number of Europeans, many of whom were more or less adventurers. The Nizam (the father of the present Nizam) was very popular. He was kindly and shrewd and treated those whom he considered deserved well at his hands in a very generous spirit. He took to motoring very keenly and had a European named Dolphin in charge of all his cars. There was no speed limit in Hyderabad. Every policeman was instructed to blow his whistle whenever he saw a car coming as a warning to pedestrians to look out for themselves. In spite of this somewhat crude type of traffic regulation, there were very few accidents, but of course, there were very few motor cars. Dolphin, the Nizam's head chauffeur, told me that the Nizam was very fond of driving at night and at a high rate of speed. Dolphin always drove him, no matter at what time of the night he might select to go out for a drive. Like so many men of his type, Dolphin soon grew too big for his boots, not seeing how well off he was. One day, he was extremely impertinent to the Commander-in-Chief, Colonel Sir Afsur-ul-Mulk, with the result he was immediately dismissed.

Colonel Sir Afsur-ul-Mulk was an entirely "self-made" man. He had been an ordinary sowar in some Indian Cavalry regiment in his young days. His career began when he was deputed to teach the Nizam to ride. Being a very clever and shrewd man, he rose higher and higher in the Nizam's services, until he reached the post of Commander-in-Chief. He occupied a beautiful house and had a numerous family. He was reputed to be very rich. I can well believe it.

Another remarkable man was the Nizam's astronomer. He was an Englishman, but no one seemed to know what were his qualifications for the post. He had a very nice house on the outskirts of Hyderabad near the Observatory. Portions of what was reported to be a magnificent telescope, still in the cases in which they had arrived from Europe, lay around in the vicinity of the Observatory. They remained in this condition for months. Every one wondered when the packages would be opened and the telescope erected. Public opinion became rather hot on the topic, unpleasant things were said about the astronomer. At last under pressure from various sources the cases were unpacked and the pieces of the telescope assembled.

In the course of a few more weeks people learnt that the famous telescope was now complete and installed in the Observatory. The desire to look through it rose to be almost a frenzy. The astronomer published a notice in the Club at Secunderabad that he would be delighted to show the heavens to any person who would care to visit the Observatory between twelve midnight and one a.m. on a certain date.

At the time appointed quite a large crowd of people assembled at the Observatory and waited for the astronomer to come and exhibit the telescope. They waited and waited, but the astronomer was conspicuously absent. The crowd became fretful and some one suggested going over to his house and knocking him up. After waiting a little time longer a few exasperated individuals went across to the house and battered on the door. In a few moments who should appear at an upper window but the astronomer clad in his pyjamas and obviously just aroused from sleep.

"What's all this?" he shouted, surveying the expectant multitude gathered beneath. "What do you mean by knocking me up at this time of night? Go away—go right away, everyone of you!" With this pronouncement he shut his bed-room window and disappeared.

A roar of fury broke forth. Some wanted to break open the house and bring the astronomer by force to the Observatory. Others voted for even more drastic procedure, but nothing happened. By twos and threes the exasperated throng of would-be star-gazers dispersed to their respected beds.

Is it because the Native States provide a happy hunting ground for British adventurers that the British Imperialists are so keen about preserving the 'treaty rights' of the Princes?

J. M. DATTA



A Chinese anti-aircraft crew swinging its giant plane-detector towards the horizon to catch the deep whirr of the motors of Japanese bombers bent on the murderous destruction of Chungking



These grim-faced soldiers of China are determined to avenge unprovoked attacks on their country by the Japanese



Soviet artillery on firing position



Soviet infantry supported by tanks attacking enemy's fortifications

INDIA'S MILITARY DECLINE IN THE 18th CENTURY

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

The art of war in a country changes as a reaction from some foreign system introduced into it by invaders, or as the consequence of the deep reflections of its potent thinkers. The natives, after repeated defeats by the new system or new arms in the hands of foreigners, at last begin to think about it and try to adapt their method to that of their enemies, so as to meet it on more equal terms. A revolution in tactics is bound to follow from the invention of new kinds of arms or some new agent of transport. In this way, a revolution began in Indian warfare in 1526 when fire-arms were first employed on the Indian soil, and another in the 18th century when European-drilled foot-musketeers with mobile artillery became the dominant fighting arm.

The effect of these two changes was: (1) the disappearance of the elephant as a regular arm of the battle line, (2) the gradual failure and ultimate disppearance of the indigenous cavalry, both light and heavy, as an effective force in action, (3) the promotion of infantry to the first place in battle and (4) the general weakening of India's military strength through incapacity to adopt the new system properly.

In the old Hindu system of war, coming down to us from the epic age, a full army consisted of four arms or "limbs" as they were called (Sanskrit, *chaturanga*), namely chariots, elephants, horse and foot soldiers. Of these, the chariots were meant for the chiefs and other commanders, and the infantry were despised as of hardly any better value than camp-followers. The chariot disappeared from our wars long before the coming of the first Muslim invaders in the 8th century after Christ. In Alexander's battle with Poros on the Jhilam river, there were 150 chariots drawn up in front of 2,000 cavalry on each wing of the Indian army. That was 325 years before Christ. But we lose all mention of chariots as a regular arm in battle after the beginning of the Christian era. On a rough ground, horse and elephant were more effective and safer mounts than chariots, and also on soft or sandy soil. Hence, chariots came to be discarded when wars were not decided by pitched battles fought on level plains and preceded by the slow marshalling of the ranks and the long exchange of mutual challenge and taunts between the rival chiefs before they came to grips, such as we read of in classical literature, both Greek and Sanskrit; but warfare of more rapid movement and more variable fortune succeeded, and in this the cavalry became supreme. I venture a guess that it was the Scythian and Parthian invaders who caused the extinction of the chariot in the Indian armies in the first two centuries after Christ.

The elephant, however, remained as an effective arm in fighting as late as the middle of the 17th century, and it continued to stay with the Indian armies as the most convenient means of transport for two centuries afterwards, *i.e.*, till the end of the Sepoy Mutiny and the coming of the railway train. But the death of the elephant as a combatant was doomed by fire arms of increasing range and precision, such as the muskets which could shoot off their drivers before they came to close quarters and the mobile field artillery which found sure targets in the vast body of the animal.

The elephant was used in our warfare not from any Oriental love of pomp. During its domination of war, the elephant had five great advantages: It was a local product; the biggest and best elephants were born in India alone, and they were fully amenable to discipline and training in clever tricks, unlike their untameable African brothers. They were most useful in transporting officers and baggage, and even light guns, over broken country and muddy roads, and also in crossing all rivers except very large ones or strong currents. One January morning in 1760, the Jamuna was crossed at Barari *ghat*, ten miles north of Delhi by a Ruhela force which ferried light guns over the river by tying them to the two sides of their elephants and making the beasts swim the river which was then fordable in most parts. Thirdly, the seat on the back of a lofty elephant gave the supreme general a good view of the entire battle-field, like the high turret of a modern man-o'-war. Elephants with metal shields protecting their heads were the most successful battering rams used in India in crashing down the heavy gates of our forts. On a field no horse or man could stand in the direct line of their charge, and a line of tall Bengal elephants, rushing forward

close abreast and goaded by their drivers, could most easily resolve any deadlock between opposing ranks of cavalry or foot. In short, our elephants were highly mobile tanks, but owed their success solely to shock and not to any missile discharge from their back. Such elephant charges are often described in our mediæval Persian battle accounts. Tukaroi (1575), Haldighat (1576) and Samugarh (1658) are three good examples.

II

It will help us to understand the change in our art of war better if we bear in mind the essential difference between North India and Southern India (the Deccan). Generally speaking, North India consists of wide plains, good rivers flowing all the year round, a fertile soil, populous cities and thriving villages close together, and yet the soil is not soft or swampy except in lower Bengal and the Terai foothills. It presents an ideal terrain for the movement and effective handling of large bodies of armour-clad heavy cavalry; the men and their horses can often get their accustomed food and other necessaries for several weeks locally on the route, and have not to carry large transport trains. Not so Southern India, which is cut up by raging rivers and wild hills into dry plateaus and small isolated corners, with broken ground, covered with jungle, generally sterile and very thinly populated. Heavy cavalry and first-class horses can neither operate with success nor subsist long in most portions of the Deccan. Only the small hardy local ponies can forage for themselves on the wayside here, and also carry out ambushes and surprises favoured by the nature of the ground. Hence, the Deccan has been the home of the predatory light horse, expert only in guerrilla fighting and looting the villagers and traders, but unable to make a stand-up fight.

In the Deccan, an invading army of the civilised type would require very long lines of supply, which, from the nature of the country, would give the local light horse many fine opportunities of cutting off convoys and starving the invader out without a pitched battle. Our history gives many examples of this.

It is only in long campaigns and regular sieges that the grand army of the Indian Mughals—and later of the English Company—was hampered by huge trains of followers. As an English officer noted in 1792: "The followers of an army in India, on being reckoned at four times the number of fighting men, will appear to be a moderate estimate on considering the particular circumstances and customs of the country.....There are no towns to be depended upon for supplies; and an army in India not only carries with it most of the means of its subsistence for several months, but also a variety of necessaries, which are exposed daily in the bazars like merchandise in a fair: a scene altogether resembling more the emigration of a nation guarded by its troops, than the march of an army, fitted out merely with the intention to subdue an enemy." (Dirom's *Narrative of War with Tippoo Sultan*, 242-43)

III

India's greatest military weakness was in respect of cavalry. The indigenous breed of horses are poor in size, temper and teachableness. The horses of the Central Asian and Arab breeds are the best in the world, and they were imported by ships to the Deccan and by the Afghan land-route into Northern India. These sea-borne horses came in the ships of the Arab and Portuguese traders from the ports of the Persian Gulf. The Hindu kings of Vijaynagar (1350-1565) used to secure their best army remounts from these foreigners, and the loss of the port of Chaul on our west coast in the 16th century did great harm to the Hindu kingdom in this respect. But the number taken was small, as these Hindu kings put their faith in elephants. Far larger droves used to come to us through the Afghan passes; and in the best days of the Mughal empire, as many as ten thousand remounts from central Asia were purchased by the State every year.

India breeds ponies only. Many of these animals are very hardy and capable of foraging for themselves anywhere; but no heavy cavalry, no mail-clad fighter can be mounted on them. The Indian ponies, especially those bred in the sub-Himalayan tracts and called *gunt* or *tāngan*, are excellent beasts of burden and mounts for traders, civilians, women and children, but they cannot be expected to stand the shock of battle. Thus, the Maratha light horse served only to carry robber bands, each soldier taking one spare horse, sometimes two, with himself for carrying his loot. Thus they could make prodigiously long marches by shifting from a tired pony to a fresh one; but they used to vanish like smoke before artillery, or walled villages held by musketeers, or heavy cavalry advancing to combat.

It is this heavy cavalry in which the Muslim soldiers of Northern India excelled, and which

was the choice profession of their aristocratic and higher military classes.* Here they only followed the tradition of their Turkish predecessors. In South India Haidar Ali (and after him his son Tipu Sultan) alone maintained such costly well-mounted heavy cavalry, with whom they swept through the country over every obstacle except forts. The myriads of light horse on local ponies, called Pindaris and Lootis, who followed the protective shield of these mail-clad horsemen, completed the work by devastating the country far and wide, and always retired behind the regular army when a battle threatened. This was the nature of the terrible invasion of the Madras Carnatic by Haidar Ali (in 1780), the scene of which Burke has painted in words of fire in his speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.

This light horse, which was our only indigenous cavalry, was the weakest link in the chain of the Indian army, and has contributed to our defeat from the invasion of Alexander the Great in 325 B.C. down to the battle of Assaye in 1803 A.D. These troops were dangerous only to the helpless peasant and the unarmed trader, and their part was played out when, in the closing quarter of the 18th century, fire arms in the hands of trained infantry began to dominate our warfare. Thenceforth the light horse served only to harass lines of supply and cut off stragglers far from their army.

IV

Our only missile weapons, up to the second quarter of the 16th century were arrows and spears. In the case of spears, our men lacked the long previous training in camp and the power of *concerted* discharge for which the Roman legionaries, handling the *pilum* or short javelin were famous and who turned it into a most effective weapon. Nor could the Indian spearmen approach the marvellously well-disciplined Macedonian phalanx and the pikeman of Cromwell's infantry, who presented the sight of "a forest of spears," very long, thick and held in stout trained hands that pushed and recovered their weapons all at one time like clockwork, with deadly effect, though these were not missiles. With our men, on the other hand, the hurling of javelins was individual, sporadic and hence comparatively indecisive in effect, except in the rare cases when a chief on the enemy's side happened to be transfixed and borne down to the ground by a javelin.

Arrows continued in regular and effective use in Indian warfare as late as the end of the 16th century. And two hundred years afterwards, bowmen are found as a portion of the Maratha army that joined Lord Cornwallis as allies in the war against Tipu Sultan in 1792. Much later even, a Highlander wrote home to express his surprise at being assailed by arrows when he was advancing to storm a rebel village in Oudh after Sir Colin Campbell's capture of Lucknow! That was in 1858. Even now in the hilly tracts, wild tribes like the Santals, Gonds and Bhils make a good use of their bows against snakes and tigers.

Before the musket entered the arena, the bow was practically the only weapon when the fighting was not hand to hand; and it was used with deadly effect and often with decisive influence on the combat when plied by the mounted archers of Central Asia and Persia. These were the descendants of the Scythians and Parthians, whose system of warfare they brought into India and other countries with marked success. They were mounted on large superb horses, trained to break off contact in a moment, pretend flight, then rally, wheel back, and renew the fighting after re-forming themselves in small independent groups. No Indian cavalry or infantry of the old type could cope with such clever self-contained enemies possessed of marvellous mobility and rapid hitting power.

At a later age, when the musket replaced the bow, these Parthian tactics could not be so well practised from horseback, because the cumbrous old matchlocks took a long time to load and fire and missed all chances of accuracy from the excitement of the horse. Then, in the early 18th century, especially in Persia under Nadir Shah, the camel came in. Swivel-guns or long matchlocks, with the middle of the barrel resting on a prong fixed in the "gun-carriage" and therefore capable of being turned right or left, were mounted on a sort of wooden triangle or wheelless frame, strapped to the back of the camel, and fired by a soldier seated behind.

* How the Muslim cavalry in India had degenerated by the end of the 18th century was best illustrated by the Nizam's cavalry, popularly known as the "Mogul Horse," which was beneath contempt on account of its inefficiency in battle. Major Dirom shrewdly noticed this :—"Those fantastic figures in armour so common among the Mahomedans in the Nizam's army; adventurers collected from every quarter of the East, who, priding themselves on individual valour, think it beneath them to be useful but on the day of battle, and when that comes, prove only the inefficiency of numbers, unconnected by any general principle or discipline." (*Narrative*, p. 8)

These were known by the Persian names of *Zamburak* and *shutarnals*.

The camels were well trained, to amble in a line of 150 or 250 to the required point, halt while the fire was being delivered from their guns, and immediately afterwards trot back to the rear for reloading. When not in action they were made to kneel down beyond musket shot, and their front knees were tied together with strings to keep them stationary. These troops formed the most effective mobile artillery known in India in the 18th century. As these long swivel-guns carried a heavier bullet and had a longer range than the old type of infantry muskets and cavalry carbines, their fire was deadly, while the camels themselves and their riders were practically invulnerable, except by a chance shot from the enemy's line. This peculiar weapon and this modernisation of the old Parthian tactics, contributed most to the irresistible advance of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani in India in 1738 and 1761. Many Persian manuscripts written by eye-witnesses give graphic descriptions of the battles of these conquerors and the deadly effect of their fire into the crowded ranks of their Indian enemies, at Karnal and Panipat.

THE CONTROL OF ALIEN CAPITAL

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

INDIANS recognising the correctness of the opinion of Friedcrich List that "a nation which only carries on agriculture is like an individual who in his material production lacks one arm," demanded protection as a means of developing their industries and some kind of control over foreign capital for developing their commerce. They were aware that the protective policy of Cromwell and of Colbert had laid the foundations of the industrial advancement of Britain and France, that for a long time past Germany, France, the United States and the British colonies had definitely adopted such a policy and that, after a century of free trade, even Britain was definitely moving towards it.

The Indian demand for protection was entered in order that we might promote indigenous enterprises with Indian capital and under Indian control. It was never meant for the benefit of non-Indians by permitting them to establish industries with non-Indian capital and under non-Indian control behind our tariff wall raised at the cost of Indians. Indians also felt that they had little chance of developing commercial concerns so long as alien capital was permitted free entry. These two sets of facts explain the Indian demand for the control of non-Indian capital.

STAGES IN THE INDO-BRITISH CONTROVERSY

The controversy between India and Britain with regard to the unrestricted entry of alien capital in our economic life may be compared to an unfinished story in five chapters.

It begins with the appointment of the Fiscal Commission late in 1921, followed by that of the External Capital Committee early in 1925. The demands made by the Indian witnesses examined by these commissions were met in what most Indians consider a rather unsatisfactory manner and gave rise to feelings of irritation and discontent to which public utterance was given freely. These probably had some influence in making British business conclude that it would be wise to safeguard its position through legislation in view of what it was disposed to regard as racial animosity. These feelings found expression in the demand for safeguards embodied in the memorandum submitted by it to the Simon Commission which may be considered as its reaction to the Indian demands. This is the second chapter of the story.

Realising the necessity of allaying such suspicions as might have been aroused as also that of guaranteeing the continuance of legitimately acquired British interests in India, the All-Parties (Nehru) Conference made a statement of its views on the question, which is the third chapter.

But even then, the guarantees offered by this responsible body of Indian public men were not regarded by British business as sufficient and it, through its representatives at the three Round Table Conferences, reiterated its demands for statutory safeguards where we have the fourth chapter.

The proposals put forward were accepted by the British Government and later on incor-

porated in the Government of India Act, 1935. In addition, this piece of legislation made definite provisions for the future unrestricted entry of British capital into our commercial and industrial life. And here ends the fifth chapter of the story for the time being. But there can be little doubt that another and a final chapter will be added though no one can prophesy what form it will take and when it will be written.

The Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee

The demand for the protection of our industries led to the appointment of the Indian Fiscal Commission which, according to the terms of reference, was "to examine with reference to all the interests concerned the tariff policy of the Government of India, including the question of the desirability of adopting the principle of Imperial Preference, and to make recommendations." It laid down certain conditions under which only an industry could claim protection and recommended Imperial Preference, matters with which we are not concerned here. It was realised in the course of the investigations it conducted that in order to make its enquiry a complete and a satisfactory one, it was necessary to consider certain suggestions bearing on the free entry of foreign capital into our industries which India has persisted in regarding as reasonable. This was incumbent on it as the acceptance of protection and even of Imperial Preference was certain to encourage the starting of industries behind our tariff wall with alien capital and under alien control in order to reap the advantages contingent on the adoption of such a policy.

After considering the matter from all points of view, the Fiscal Commission made its recommendations on this matter in Chapter XV of its Report.

When the Steel Industry Protection Bill was under discussion in the Central Legislature in 1924, Pundit Motilal Nehru pressed Government to incorporate in it the somewhat slender safeguards recommended by the Fiscal Commission for the protection of Indian interests and his proposal was accepted. It has to be stated here that this was the first occasion when the policy with regard to the entry of alien capital into our industrial life was accepted and given effect to through legislation. It was in the course of the discussion thus raised that Sir Charles Innes, then Commerce Member and, later on, Governor of Burma, observed:

"I am aware that there are sections in the House which would like to incorporate in the Bill specific provisions regarding the proportion of foreign capital. I am prepared to take up separately the examination of questions of that kind and in that examination I am prepared to associate with the Government a Committee of the Legislature appointed *ad hoc* for the purpose."

The External Capital Committee came into existence as the fulfilment of this pledge and, according to the terms of reference, it was asked "to consider the question of the flow of capital into India from external sources." Among other things, it investigated the case for and against the encouragement of alien, and its replacement by indigenous, capital as also the restrictions which, under certain circumstances, might be imposed on the former.

Like the Fiscal Commission, the External Capital Committee considered the suggestions coming from Indian interests and made its recommendations giving reasons for them. For purposes of criticism, the suggestions as well as the recommendations are taken together and discussed in the following pages.

Incorporation of Alien Concerns in India with Rupee Capital

The first suggestion from the Indian side was that non-Indian concerns should be incorporated and registered in India with rupee capital. In this connection, attention is drawn to the opinion of the External Capital Committee that

"It is more advantageous to India that its requirements for new capital should be supplied from internal rather than from external sources, so far as internal capital is forthcoming. The real solution of the problem of external capital lies in the development of India's own capital resources."

If the view put forward above is correct, it follows that the adoption of the measure suggested by India is calculated to encourage Indian and, at least to some extent, to discourage foreign investors. If non-Indian concerns have sterling capital, some among the better off Indians might invest their savings in companies incorporated outside India, but it is doubtful whether the less well-to-do classes whose savings are limited could be expected to take the risks of exchange, with the mysteries of which they are not familiar, by investments in concerns incorporated in a foreign country and in a foreign currency. Even if this is done by middle class people living in large commercial centres like Bombay or Calcutta, it is debatable whether those living away from such places who constitute a majority among them would enjoy the necessary facilities for the purchase and sale

of their holdings and the conversion of their dividends in sterling into Indian currency. These factors alone would militate against anything like an extensive participation of the less prosperous classes in investments of this type.

It is not denied that the acceptance of the suggestion is likely to have a deterrent effect on some among foreign investors which is exactly what the Indian would like to see. The only argument against it is that the necessary amount of capital may not be forthcoming easily. That at least nowadays no difficulty is experienced in securing capital from Indian sources where the concerns in question inspire public confidence is so well-known that any reference to this fact appears superfluous.

Indianisation of the Directorate

With the same end in view, the "Indianisation" as far as possible of these non-Indian concerns, it was suggested that the Boards of Directors should be located in India with the implication that the head offices should be in India. The purpose of this and the previous suggestion as well as the demand that a certain percentage among the directors should be Indians is to do everything possible to identify non-Indian concerns as intimately as possible with India. This was the position accepted and recommended by both the Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee where non-Indian concerns enjoy concessions. Indians have yet to find what they consider a satisfactory explanation for making a distinction, so far at least as these suggestions are concerned, between the two categories of companies.

The Fiscal Commission disapproved of the suggestion that a certain proportion of the directors should be Indians on the plea that it would imply the introduction of communalism or rather racialism in business. This criticism would be fair only if the Indian directors were elected by Indian share-holders. The presence of Indian directors in the boards of non-Indian concerns was recommended by it and accepted by Government in the case of companies to which concessions are given by Government. The Indian demand merely sought to widen its scope. The communalism or rather racialism complained of would be practically eliminated if all the directors are elected by all the shareholders with the proviso that a certain number of directorships should be reserved for Indians. This would correspond to the joint electorate system advocated by Indian nationalists for election to the different legislatures. Force is lent to this demand by the fact that non-Indian concerns have of late come to realise the wisdom of this policy and are giving effect to it to a limited extent.

Another objection to the presence of Indian directors on the boards of non-Indian companies not in receipt of definite concessions from Government is based on different grounds. In paragraph 24 of its report the External Capital Committee says:

> "Our objection to a statutory minimum of directors is based on the right of share-holders under ordinary circumstances to have an unfettered control over their own directorate, and the principle that it would be unbusinesslike and uneconomic to compel companies to labour under a proportion of directors whose business qualifications were only a secondary consideration."

Continuing, the External Capital Committee quotes with approval the opinion of the (European) Burma Chamber of Commerce which in its reply to the questionnaire issued by it had observed that

> "Capital demands the choice of its own directorate, failing which its cost will be raised or its supply entirely withheld."

Here certain things are taken for granted, the first of which is that all directors in all non-Indian concerns are qualified to occupy the positions they do by reason of their experience as businessmen, that a majority of the Indian directors are not likely to possess this experience, that the supply of properly qualified Indian directors is limited and, lastly, that Indian directors are not likely to command the confidence of the shareholders.

The present writer while disclaiming any knowledge of business has heard of "guinea-pigs". He is aware that the services of members of the English aristocracy and of the Houses of Parliament and of prominent men, not all of whom have business eyperience, are sought and obtained by promoters of companies. He also knows that members of the Indian Civil and other All-India services who, so far as an Indian may judge from such information as is available to him, are quite innocent of first-hand business experience have, after retirement, blossomed out not only into directors but also into Presidents of the Boards of Directors of large and prosperous British companies operating in India. He has heard that here, as in committees etc., is general, the lion's share of the work is nearly always done by the few experts the Boards contain and that the rest are there to represent the views of the ordinary man who claims the possession of common sense only.

Today, we see Indian businessmen launching out by themselves in industrial and commercial

enterprises on fairly large scales. To suggest that such men would be a drag on their non-Indian colleagues in the boards of non-Indian concerns is hardly warranted by facts. Equally incapable of proof is the assumption that the supply of trained Indian businessmen is so inadequate that it will run short if any undue demand is made on it by the inclusion of Indian directors in such non-Indian concerns as may be started after this demand is conceded. That Indian directors of the right type do command the confidence of the shareholders is evident when we remember the eagerness with which shares are taken up by Indian and non-Indian investors resident in India whenever a sufficiently attractive proposition emanates from them.

Rightly or wrongly, Indians have come to believe that the reason, may be subconscious, for the unwillingness to accept this suggestion is due either to the desire of reserving all the advantages contingent on the possession of inside knowledge in business of a certain type or, in the alternative, to the honestly but wrongly held opinion of the Indian's incapacity for commerce and industry.

While the Fiscal Commission admitted that the adoption of the above suggestions would be advantageous it, at the same time, disapproved of them, because in its opinion,

"Such business concerns as did not wish to comply with these conditions would be encouraged to carry on as private companies instead of forming themselves into joint stock companies and this we would regard as an unfortunate result." (Paragraph 291).

As against this, Indians maintain that, ordinarily, it is not likely that all the capital required for starting large-scale industrial and commercial enterprises can be provided by individuals forming themselves into private companies. Such a contingency is likely to arise only where the profits are so very high that the people concerned do not relish sharing them with the people of the country where they are earned which, obviously, is unjustifiable. If non-Indians persist in exploiting our resources in this way, Indians would insist on special legislation to check this tendency. And in doing so, they would remind their critics of what Sir Frederic Nicholson, Member, Indian Famine Commission, Member, Board of Revenue, who framed elaborate proposals for the establishment of agricultural banks in India, said,

"I beg to record my strong opinion that in the matter of Indian industries, we are bound to consider Indian interests firstly, secondly, and thirdly. . . . . I mean by firstly, that the local raw products should be utilized, by secondly, that industries (and by implication, commerce) should be introduced, and by thirdly, that the profits of such industries (and also of commerce) should remain in the country."

Training of Indian Apprentices

While Indians admit that the desire to reduce the cost of production or of working expenses has induced foreign capital to train up Indians to fill up subordinate positions, they maintain that it has hitherto failed to give effect to this policy where the more remunerative and more responsible positions are concerned.

In Paragraph 290 of its report, the Fiscal Commission referred to this grievance of Indians when it stated that

"Foreign capitalists take no trouble to train up Indians and do not give them a reasonable chance of rising to positions of responsibility, with the result that enterprises under foreign control produce far less benefit in increased employment and training of Indians than theoretically they should produce."

The Fiscal Commission felt that compulsion exercised in this direction is not likely to yield the desired results. It therefore suggested that advantage should be taken of the keen competition for Indian orders and that

"whenever important Government orders are placed with firms outside India, one of the conditions of tender should be that the firms should, if required, agree to afford facilities for technical training to Indian apprentices sent by the Government of India."

It is obvious that the above suggestion does not recognise the fact that the placing of orders under such a condition implies compulsion though in an indirect way. Then again, this provides for the training of Indian apprentices in certain industries only and fails to take into account and suggest methods for ensuring the training of Indian youths in banking, commerce, etc.

The Fiscal Commission, however, pointed out that as circumstances are gradually compelling foreign capital to identify itself more and more intimately with Indian capital, "the training of Indians for posts of greater responsibility will proceed apace without recourse to the doubtful expedients (legislative enactments) that have been suggested to us."

The Indian position was made clear in the Minute of Dissent, the signatories to which suggested that legislation for compelling both Indian and non-Indian concerns to train Indian apprentices should be passed and that the powers granted under it should be used only when there was obvious failure to give effect to this policy. Indians believe that though, at the beginning, the firms concerned might not relish what they might be inclined to regard as Government interference with their internal management, they would, in

time, reconcile themselves to it till at last the training of Indian apprentices would become a normal feature of their day-to-day activities.

Reservation of Shares for Indians

Suggestions were made freely by a large number of witnesses examined by the Fiscal Commission that

"It should be provided by law that a certain percentage of the share capital should be held by Indians, or at least that Indians should be given a fair chance to subscribe to such companies (that is concerns floated by foreign capital) on their initiation."

The Fiscal Commission disapproved of these suggestions as they would "not only discourage the investment of foreign capital, but would also injure the interests of the Indian investors." It held that

"Such reservation could only be secured by practically preventing the transfer to Europeans of shares held by Indians, whilst permitting the free sale of shares held by Europeans."

It may be observed first of all that the reservation of a certain percentage of shares for Indians is not likely to discourage foreign capital which obviously seeks investment for profit provided it is convinced that this can be secured without its being compelled to face more than the normal risks involved in trading. Restrictions of this type should, ordinarily, be no bar to the entry of non-Indian capital so long as these two conditions are fulfilled. And there is nothing to show that the imposition of these conditions is likely to be regarded in this light.

Under statute, Indians would be entitled to hold a certain percentage only of the shares the rest being held by either them or non-Indians. It is of course admitted that the end and aim of this proposal is the association of Indians in ever-increasing numbers in industrial and commercial concerns as shareholders. Once its desirability is admitted, there should be no objection to the gradual transfer of the shares of these concerns to Indians. The non-Indian cannot complain of injustice so long as no compulsion is exercised on him to part with the shares held by him for their sale would be a voluntary one.

The Fiscal Commission drew attention to the difficulties to which it believed the Indian shareholders would be put and the injury inflicted on them by the adoption of the suggestion in the following terms :

"Two markets for the shares would thus be created, a limited one for Indians and an unlimited one for Europeans, the former consequently being unable to realise full market value for their holdings."

The External Capital Committee was, to all intents and purposes, repeating the same objection when, in paragraph 23 of its report, it stated that

"The interests of the Indian investor will best be served by giving him the widest freedom of choice as to the character of his investments and the most open market in which to sell them when he so desires. It should be emphasized that the real criterion of the value of a stock is not only its dividend but also its marketability. A capitalist will require a much higher rate of interest if he does not feel confident that he can realise his principal when he wishes, and any measure which limits the number or the resources of potential purchasers will reduce the value of his holding."

Granting, for the sake of argument the correctness of this view, we believe that today we have sufficiently large numbers of Indian investors willing to invest their capital in enterprises even though restrictions such as these may have the immediate effect of reducing the market value of their holdings by a statutory limitation in the number of prospective buyers.

Then again, an opinion such as this presupposes that European buyers will always be more and Indian buyers less numerous and that in a free market better prices are more likely than in a restricted one. The present writer is not in a position to say whether today the volume of business done in this direction by Indians is smaller or larger than that done by non-Indians. But there cannot be much doubt that, with the passage of time, Indians will gradually participate more largely than in the past in this type of business and that the smallness of the amount of money involved in such transactions would probably be more than counterbalanced by their numbers. At the worst, if the difficulty envisaged does arise, it is not likely to be permanent. Then again, competition among Indian buyers will automatically lead to the obtaining of fair prices for there is nothing to show that Indian buyers of shares held by Europeans or their own countrymen will offer a price below the market value which is ordinarily determined primarily by the yield. It is admitted that ease in disposal, when a share is used as a counter for speculation, undoubtedly adds to its attractions. This is bound to come with time.

It was also urged that restrictions on the distribution of shares as between Indians and non-Indians would be evaded. The opinion of the External Capital Committee on this matter which appears in paragraph 24 of its report is as follows :

"Restrictions on the transferability of shares could be evaded by the large capitalist and would only penalise the small investor, both Indian and non-Indian,

by increasing the difficulty of finding purchasers, for which brokers would naturally also charge an enhanced commission."

Indians do not deny that these difficulties may arise. They, however, do not believe that the evasions referred to will be on anything like such a large scale as to stultify the purpose aimed at specially if those guilty of illegal transactions are penalised. No complaint regarding the narrowness of the market available for the disposal of shares is justifiable if we remember that the people concerned will make their investments with full knowledge of the difficulties contingent on these restrictions. Then again, Indians believe that it will not be necessary to impose restrictions on the free transferability of shares permanently for, sooner or later, the people of this country will learn how to take care of their financial interests by investing their savings in flourishing commercial and industrial undertakings. They have to be led to it and this is one of the means, though not an ideal one, for doing so.

Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his note of dissent to the Report of the External Capital Committee suggested that in order to encourage Indians to invest their capital in concerns started by aliens, it was desirable that "at least half of the share capital should be reserved to Indian subscribers for a definite period of time."

The strongest argument which can be put forward in favour of a suggestion such as this is that we have to admit its necessity once we agree to the view that Indian capital should be afforded the largest possible facilities for investment in Indian industry and commerce and that non-Indian capital should, as a matter of principle, be allowed to supplement it only in order to quicken the pace of our economic advance,

The External Capital Committee in its criticism of this proposal of Malaviyaji said that some witnesses had held that this period should not be less than six months which, in its opinion, would unduly delay the starting of actual work, a view with which the present writer is in full agreement. He does not, however, believe that if the proposition is sufficiently attractive, there need be this unconscienable delay.

Later on, it was suggested that this 50 per cent of the shares reserved to Indians should be kept for them for a minimum period of 30 days only which seems a more reasonable proposition specially as the opinion of Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya as recorded in his note of dissent was that

"If after that period Indians have not subscribed their share, the company should be free to acquire the remaining capital where it could."

The External Capital Committee made a suggestion which it regarded as unobjectionable from every point of view and this was that

"In the event of a list being oversubscribed, Indians might receive on allotment the total amount of their applications up to 50 per cent. of the total issue."

But even this proposal, reasonable from every point of view, the External Capital Committee condemned because

"It would be a simple matter for non-Indian investors to arrange for their applications to go through an Indian. Such measures might deter the small external investor but it would be a very simple matter for the larger capitalist to get round them by employing an Indian agency."

It is suggested that if, under war conditions, it is feasible to ration a whole nation and to regulate the daily life of every individual member of it, the detection and punishment of the far from creditable trickery of this type should not be difficult always provided the will to help India is there.

In this connection it is worth remembering that though the Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee had disapproved of measures to secure the presence of a proportion of Indian shareholders, Lord Reading, ex-Viceroy, who participated, in the discussions of the Minorities Committee of the Second Round Table Conference said on the 19th November, 1931 :

"I quite follow the argument that where, for example, in future public utility undertakings of public concerns in which public money is to be invested or used, the Government of India may say : 'Well, we think that a company which is to get the benefit of the subsidy that we shall give or of the advantage that we shall give by some direct payment or use of money, must be a registered company in India with rupee capital, with a moderate reasonable proportion of Indian directors, and with a reasonable and moderate proportion of Indian share-holders.' It may be that I go further than some of my colleagues in thinking that that is not an entirely unreasonable proposition for the Government of India to put forward."

Indians have no desire to exclude alien capital from operating in India but if it wishes to do so under the favourable conditions rendered possible by protective tariffs which constitute a self-imposed indirect taxation of Indians, it must be prepared to carry on its activities under such terms and conditions as are acceptable to us. If it refuses to do so, it will secure the necessary permission but in that case it will be liable to penal taxation which would approximately amount to the pecuniary advantage derived from the adoption by us of the policy of protection.

It may not always be easy to assess this

amount but surely rough justice can always be shown to the offending concerns which are not likely to be very large in number. A systematic adherence to this policy is bound to discourage the incorporation of concerns of this type. If the profits which may be earned in India by alien capital are sufficiently attractive, as appears to have been the case hitherto, there cannot be much doubt that insistence on the observance of the conditions demanded by Commercial, Industrial and Political India would not deter it from seeking a field for its activities in India.

(To be continued)

RE-EDUCATION FOR WORLD CITIZENSHIP

By HORACE G. ALEXANDER, M.A.

It is difficult to picture the conditions in which the present world war, whether in the East or the West, may be brought to an end. Presumably sooner or later there will be some opportunity for peace-making; but it is doubtful whether this will take the form of such a peace conference as met in 1919. The peace-making process may possibly be divisible into stages: First, perhaps, immediate measures of economic assistance and relief to areas where famine conditions prevail; then some attempt to resettle the boundaries between States—whether in Central Europe or in Eastern or Southern Asia. Finally, and most important, will come the attempt to create some system of world order or federation, to end once for all the anarchic system of State Sovereignty and national armaments.

But these things can only be if there is in the world some great new moral incentive, together with a widespread conviction that political and economic power are not the chief ends of State activity, but that the State should be regarded primarily as an organ for promoting human welfare both within and beyond national limits. If States continue to compete for imperial power, if the so-called "Have-not" States are chiefly concerned to "Have" not merely equal economic opportunity with the rest, but imperial and economic power over their neighbours, all talk of world order or world federation must remain mere idle prattle.

World Order can only be achieved through radical social change; but it depends still more on a change of outlook. There is a lot of talk in England today about the "re-education" of the Germans: but it is not only the Germans who need re-educating. Every nation has fallen victim, in greater or less degree, to the poison of power politics. Every nation needs to be re-educated. And this re-education involves something far more radical than a re-writing of the history text books used in schools, or other minor reforms (however important) of educational syllabi. It means the substitution of a new scale of values. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that today most men in most countries grow to manhood assuming that their first duty is to get a good job for themselves, and to put the advantage of their own nation and very often their own class or caste above all other loyalties. It is taken for granted that personal success, personal power, are the natural pursuits of man: "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." Unless these fundamental assumptions can be changed, there is little hope of creating a world community. And they can only be changed if every great section of mankind—Chinese and Japanese, Russians and other Slavs, Indians and Malays, Latins, Teutons, Anglo-Saxons, Africans and others—all contribute what they can from their ancient or modern wisdom.

To turn from the general to the particular, I want to suggest the kind of way in which this re-education of the human spirit can be, or is being, undertaken.

Gerald Heard recently wrote a pamphlet under the title "A Quaker Mutation," in which he called attention to a small Quaker educational experiment at a place called Pendle Hill in the United States. I have not a copy of the pamphlet before me, and I have not read it for two or three years; but as far as I recall it the thesis is something of this kind. Communists and Nazis have realised that if you want to turn men and women into devotees of their particular faith, you must educate not only the conscious mind but the sub-conscious too. That is to say, you must not only teach them what you want them to learn, but you must place them in an environment where hour after hour and day after day they are exposed to influences which imperceptibly but almost irresistibly permeate their whole beings with the truth (or it may be with the falsehood) that you want to take possession of them. The songs they sing, the

pictures they see, the combined exercises they perform, the way they do their day's work, even the very food they eat, must all contribute to the moulding of the perfect Communist or the perfect Nazi. Both in Russia and in Germany this process of indoctrinating a whole generation in such a way that the young men and women joyfully yield themselves, body and soul, to serve a particular ideal, has been achieved with amazing success, in an amazingly short space of time. Is it possible for a similar process to be employed for the creation of a generation of men and women who will be, not the mere slaves of a limited philosophy, or of a single class or nation, but free, critically-minded and yet ready to give themselves with full abandon to the service of mankind ? Gerald Heard believes that it can be done, and he believes he has seen it in action on a small scale in Pendle Hill.

At Pendle Hill men and women live and work together. In a small community of thirty or forty students and teachers you will find white American and Negroes studying together; Germans and French, Chinese and Japanese, Indians and English, all are welcome and all are accepted into a single family. They work in the garden together, or in the kitchen; they meet together morning by morning for silent meditation; class-work has a minimum of lecturing, a maximum of common research. The directors take it for granted that mankind is all of one family, and that spiritual and intellectual values count for more than material values—not that the urgent needs of social and economic reform, of material betterment, are overlooked: but the emphasis is on the liberation of the human spirit, and on the paradox that man finds his fullest liberty in service of the community. These are not mere notions that are taught: they are convictions that are shared. And the result is that men and women who pass through Pendle Hill go out into the the world again with the assurance not only that these values are intellectually defensible, but that they will work, and that where they work life is immeasurably enriched.

But why go to America to find such a "mutation" ? The same thing is being achieved along parallel lines within a hundred miles of Calcutta. There can be very few students who pass through Santiniketan without undergoing a radical change in their view of the world. Even if a Santiniketan student still expresses with his lips words that conform to the ways of the world, something in the hidden depths of his consciousness will for ever deny the accepted values. He has seen and known and felt the world as it might be and ought to be : the world as it is no longer claims his final loyalty. He has known what it is to live in a world where beauty, rhythm, harmony, love of truth, tolerance, reverence for human personality prevail. He has submitted himself to the influence of saints and seers : not plaster-saints, but the kind who know how to laugh and be laughed at; not arm-chair seers, but those who have learnt wisdom by walking and working with simple men and women.

Such are the influences by which Santiniketan and other centres of light and learning in East and West may mould men to become true world citizens. If India will teach the world how her greatest *gurus* and her noblest ashrams have exerted their influence; if China will teach the world what her sages have learnt of the way of moderation; if each people in the world, according to its own genius, will develop means of educating the whole man for world citizenship, a world order will become possible.

In August, 1942, after I had been in India for a few weeks, I sent the following message to the Society of Friends (Quakers) in England :

". . . . One of the most remarkable effects on the mind of living in India just now is that the whole world takes on a different sense of proportion. Instead of living in an Anglo-Saxon world, cut off from the rest by a great block dominated by Hitler, here we are in the heart of Asia, menaced both from the north-west and south-east by dark powers of aggressive force, and conscious that the two great centres of ancient wisdom, China and India, are being drawn together. Both are at heart peaceful countries which for centuries have known and cultivated a deep peace of the soul, of which the restless west knows little or nothing. Both have been left behind by what we call modern progress, like two great sleeping giants. But today both are aroused from their slumbers, and each has, I believe, a deep sympathy for the effort the other is making to assert its right to a life of its own in the modern world, and to show the West, torn by frightful forces of evil, that the ancient cultures of the East, if reinterpreted to fit the modern age, might help to rescue the world from race suicide. Cannot those in the West who still believe that the forces of the mind and spirit are mightier than military and economic power speak a word of comfort and hope to the leaders of these eastern peoples —not a political word, but something that will strike a chord in the hearts of men who believe in truth and in human brotherhood ?"

In endorsing the general spirit of what I had written, the English Quakers wrote :

"We recognise that we need a new world, founded on the fellowship of all cultures, and we look to the people of India and China, as also to those of Japan, to help us bring a new vision, a new and vital sense of spiritual realities."

The lust for power in the heart of man can only be overcome by some mightier force—by a devotion of his whole being to truth, to justice and mercy, to beauty and harmony.

GOETHE'S "FAUST"

By Principal KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A., D.Phil. (Heidelberg)

Goethe's well-known dramatic work "Faust" is also the greatest poem in the German language. Indeed its essence lies in its being a poem. It is essentially a piece of art and not just a drama delineating faithfully the interactions of ordinary human passions and depicting the play of common human psychology. As a "text-book for gathering wordly wisdom" therefore it is bound to be disappointing. Such lessons as it inculcates it does so not through the faculty of mere reasoning but mainly through our feeling and (spiritual) experience, for 'Gefuehl ist alles.' *Faust* does not lay down rules of commendable conduct, for, the function of art is not to evolve a system nor to sermonise but to create and give expression to the Beautiful, and yet nothing can bear the stamp of real and lasting beauty unless it also carries with it the message of a Truth. The strength of this truth in art does not, however, lie in its arithmetic precision but in its power to lift up the soul from the depth of despondency and inspire it with the aspiration for a higher existence,—"zum hoechsten Dasein immerfort zu streben."

Faust purports to delineate the inner history of the soul stretching from the depth of despondency, passing through the tumult and excitement of temptation and passion and finally reaching the glorious height of upliftment which comes to a life dedicated to service and love. *Faust* is a Soul-Drama. The subject-matter of a soul-drama is the struggling, aspiring, ascending human soul. The language of the market-place cannot do justice to such a theme, hence the necessity of the medium of poetry. The commonplace scenes and characters cannot provide a proper setting for unfolding the evolution of the soul. The transactions of the body are limited to this world but the soul transacts in this world as well as in others whose maps and regulations we do not know. The poet in his intuitional vision can get glimpses of unknown or half-known and unseen worlds with which the soul has commerce, but to express his vision in language he has to take recourse to hints, suggestions and analogies and hence the necessity of symbols. *Faust* is the symbol of the "type of human intellect faced by the problems of human life" and Mephistopheles is the embodiment of scepticism and temptation to which man is subject until he realises himself rough action directed towards that end.

The work is named after the sixteenth century charlatan and magician *Faustus*, who, according to legends, gained supernatural powers as a result of a compact with the devil. The story of *Faust* which underwent changes in the hands of subsequent writers (like Marlowe, Lessing and others) finally took the following form in the hand of Goethe:

It is Easter Eve. The celebrated master scholar Heinrich Faust is musing in his dimly lighted study. A great despondency has overtaken him. He has toiled incessantly for a quarter of a century in pursuit of knowledge in all its branches and now in his middle age he finds that he has learnt nothing so far as the knowledge of the underlying principle of life is concerned. He is bitter at the thought of the emptiness of intellectuality and this feeling of bitterness is intensified by the further thought that while engaged in this futile task of gathering wisdom (through the intellect) he has missed life. But if he must live now, it cannot be for the wordly pleasures whose futility is too obvious to a man of his erudition. It strikes him that the proper way to live for him lies in communion with super-human life, in which he gets initiated by mastering the book of Nostradamus, the the alchemist. In this way he gets some spiritual experiences, which however, leaves the core of his heart dissatisfied and in utter despair he contemplates suicide, from which he is saved by the timely sound of the joyful Easter bells and the paschal hymns.

On Easter day Faust, accompanied by his pupil Wagner ("an eager boy in whom Faust sees his lost youth") wanders among the festive crowd which for a while lightens up his mind. But his restless inquisitive mind finds no lasting peace in anything and again he returns to his study in deep dejection, bringing with him a stray dog (as his pet) which starts growling soon after its arrival. Faust threatens to apply potent spells and thereupon the dog transforms itself and turns out to be Mephistopheles, the spirit of temptation and doubt ('der Geist, der stets verneint'). Mephistopheles tempts Faust with the wordly pleasures but the latter sees it through. The long-standing starvation of the emotional side of his nature, however, reacts and seeks some satisfaction and this affords an opportunity for Mephistopheles to strike a bargain. It is stipulated that Mephistopheles would serve Faust in this world and Faust would serve Mephistopheles afterwards and the latter is to guide the former through the pleasures of the world. Accordingly, Faust is led by Mephistopheles to the Witches' Kitchen where he (Faust) regains his lost youth with the help

of a magic drink under the influence of which he begins to see a Helen in every woman.

"Du siehst, mit diesem Trank im Leibe,
Bald Helenen in jedem Weibe."

Next, Faust (through the connivance of Mephistopheles) falls deeply in love with an innocent girl, Margarete. He is now intoxicated with the passion and urge of sensual pleasure and worldly enjoyment. Under the influence of this newly awakened urge Faust enters one night Margarete's chamber and meets her under circumstances in which it becomes impossible for her to refuse him while the drug administered by the lovers to Margarete's mother to make her sleep soundly, being poison, kills her. As a result of this secret union a child is born to Margarete, whom she, in a delirium, kills in order to hide her shame, and in consequence she is confined to a cell where she awaits her execution on the scaffold. Faust, meanwhile, gives himself up to the wild merry-making of the Walpurgis Night.[1] In the midst of this wild excitement however his moral sense awakens anew and without caring for personal dangers he rushes to save Margarete from the condemned cell. She, however, rejects his helping hand partly because she is in a state of raving madness (caused by the death of her mother, brother and child) and partly perhaps because she wants to seek an escape from an unbearable existence in death. While Faust is still persuading Margarete to come out of the cell Mephistopheles realises that it is going to be too late for Faust (who may be detected by the warder if he lingers on), consequently he rushes in, drags away Faust out of the prison and disappears, while the fading voice of Margarete is heard from within the cell crying, Heinrich! Heinrich! Here ends the first part.

In the opening scene of the second part we find Faust seeking the possibility of a higher life with ardour and zeal. He seeks this possibility in vain in the showy atmosphere of the King's court. At this time moreover, he himself lacks the inner urge or inspiration which alone can enable one to undertake great tasks. This necessary inspiration he gets from the "Region of Mothers" whence he conjures up the image of Helena, the model woman (Müsterbild) to satisfy the King's curiosity. To the wide-awake and open-eyed Faust she appears to be the very symbol of the Beautiful in all its aspects. He feels that in order to live further he must get her and be able to live with her. Homunkulus, the wise, knows the means of getting her back from the land of the dead (Unterwelt). After sojourning the land of Greece with him, Faust comes to the Demons of the antic world, and then to Manto, the seer (Seherin), who leads him to the underworld, whence he gets permission for a fresh and short lease of life for Helena, who lives with him for this period. Her companionship uplifts and elevates our hero morally and spiritually, but Helena's time expiring she leaves Faust all of a sudden one day.

Returning to Germany, a great idea (Plan) seizes his mind: Constructing huge and powerful dams in the sea he would wrest from the mighty flood a wide expanse of earth surface which would be developed for the good of all. By lending help to the king in the next war Faust gets from him the enfeoffment of the sea-coast and the remainder of his long life is dedicated to this great task, which he fulfils till he is full hundred-year old. But even now his indomitable spirit knows no rest; newer and bigger plans suggest themselves to his thoughtful mind and his mental vigour does not diminish even though he is old and blind. As a *Karmayogin* he has realised the aim and purpose of human existence:

"Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
Der taeglich sie erobern muss."[2]

Faust dies and from heaven the testimony is given unto him that he is worthy of redemption (Erloesung), because through errors, difficulties and temptations he has ceaselessly and unfalteringly striven for it.

The basis of this drama is the upward struggle (towards perfection or goodness) of the human soul (represented by Faust). In the midst of its struggleful career it (the soul) has to wade through many doubts, difficulties and temptations. The evolution of this career can be divided into four stages: (*i*) First, a feeling of frustration arising out of the realisation of the futulity of intellectuality as a means of realising the meaning and underlying principle of life, (*ii*) secondly, a natural reaction against intellectuality and attraction towards the

1. Walpurgis night is the night before May-day and is also known as Witches' sabbath. St. Walpurgis was a historical person of English origin, who went (about 750 A.D.) with some other nuns to found religious institutions in Germany. Subsequently she became the Abbess of the Benedictine nunnery at Heidenheim in the diocese of Eishstatt, where her relics were buried in a hollow rock from which "exuded a kind of bituminous oil afterwards known as Walpurgis oil and regarded as of miraculous efficacy against diseases. She is regarded as the protectress against Magic arts".

2. That is, he alone deserves freedom and life who must daily struggle for them.

pleasures of life and the resultant deterioration of the moral life, (*iii*) thirdly, the awakening, assertion and triumph of the moral principle over the forces of temptation, and (*iv*) lastly, at the end of the struggle the realisation of satisfaction and bliss which comes to a life dedicated to service and love. Step by step the soul ascends from the intellectual to the emotional and from the emotional to the spiritual stage of existence and on each occasion the transformation comes through the mediation of a woman (Margarete and Helena). The drama throughout is resonant with its key-note, namely, that man is the architect of his own fate which he fashions by his own aspirations and strivings.

This acknowledgment of man's ability to achieve his own salvation by his own striving (Karma) stands in wide contrast to the doctrine of sin, the remedy of repentance and Divine grace and in fact is a great departure from traditional methods of salvation as prescribed by Christianity (or rather the Church). In a religion like Christianity it is impossible to derive the satisfaction which comes from the consciousness of a divine immanence based on a pantheistic monism because there is a wide separation and a standing distance between the Christian God and his creation. God lives in an imaginary heaven away from the sinful world which (paradoxically enough) he is responsible for creating. Christ's mediation and surrender to man are not acts of spontaneous joy (which accompanies union) but they manifest themselves through an act of excruciating torture. What a spiritual pathology! What a dismal philosophy for the guidance of life on earth! All this must be discarded if one would fulfil the mission of a great poet which lies in reconciling life with religion (the here with the hereafter), that is just the reversal of the process in which Christianity has been engaged since its inception. This is why Goethe deviated from the Christian traditions and not only did not deny salvation to Faust because of his 'slips' but appraised him worthy of redemption because he is "irrend aber stets strebend, niemals der Verneinung und der Traegheit verfallend."[3]

In this Goethe appears to have been acting as an instrument (perhaps unconscious) of historical forces whose real progenitors were the humanists who made the first effective protest against the Christian denial of life and beauty and the painters of the Renaissance period who carried the protest right up to the altar at the Vatican. Indeed, the accumulated protest against the narrow dogmatism of the medieval Church as recorded in the subsequent movements like the Reformation and the scientific revolution culminated in such a vigorous reaction in favour of accepting life that in the eighteenth-century Europe Rousseau's Naturalism almost succeeded in re-establishing man in ancient primitivism. But Naturalism or Realism, as an inspiration or force in art has its limitations and this limitation was reached when it arrived at a stage whence to move forward would have meant the sacrifice of that discipline or restraint without which no art can thrive. At this stage poetry, painting, drama searched for newer media for their expression and this was found in Symbolism which found such eminent exponents in Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Andreyev, Burne Jones, Gordon Craig, in Europe. This new Symbolism, therefore, is a result of twofold reaction,—one against the doctrine of original sin and such other religiosities of medieval Christianity and the other against the eighteenth-century Realism which, according to some critics, began to "degrade art into photography." Goethe seems to have been one of the pioneers of introducing this symbolism in art at least in Europe.

The Faustian symbolism, however, was not bold or mature enough to cut off all connection with (organised) religion as was the symbolism of the later soul-dramas, say, of Maeterlinck or Tagore. That is why, though, Faust, in its essence has, like the soul-drama that it is, tried to unfold the innermost stuggles and aspirations of the human soul, has still maintained, to a certain extent, the outward form or atmosphere of Christian religiosity,—a personal God presiding in heaven, the angels, the saints and the virgin Mary. Indeed, the Prologue in Heaven and the closing scene are to my mind unnecessary appendages which have, to an extent, lowered the merit of this otherwise classic work. Did Goethe really believe in the theological traditions of Christianity? There is nothing to justify such a surmise. On the contrary, his writings afford enough proof of a belief in a monistic universe where the soul, born in freedom, earns its salvation through its own actions and efforts and he appears to have been more inclined to a rather "Hindu view of life." In the *Faust* itself occur such expressions as "Die Tatist alles, nichts der Ruhm" or "Geniessen macht gemein,"—expressions so reminiscent of those

3. That is, erring but always striving, never given to despondency and inaction.

of the Gita or the Upanishads (such as "karmanyevadhikaraste ma phaleshu kadachana," or "tyaktena bhunjita, ma gridha" etc). Elsewhere in his writings we come across such passages as:

"Versuche, deine Pflicht zu tun, und du weisst gleich, was an dir ist"[4] or "Siehst du Gott nicht? An jeder stillen Quelle, unter jedem bluehenden Baum begegnet er mir in der Waerme seiner Liebe,"[5] or "Ich glaube, dass wir einen Funken jenes ewgen Lichts in uns tragen, das im Grunde des Seins leuchten muss und welches unsere schwachen Sinne nur von ferne ahnen koennen. Diesen Funken in uns zu Flamme werden zu lassen und das Goettliche in uns zu verwircklichen, ist unsere hoechste Pflicht."[6]

Or was it only to retain its appeal among Christian readers? If so that had been a very sad decision to be taken with regard to a work whose appeal otherwise is so universal. These inclusions give it the touch of a drama of the Christian soul and has the soul a communal bias or political boundaries? The point I am trying to emphasise will become clear if we just compare *Faust* with Tagore's *Raja* or *The Post Office* or Maeterlinck's *The Blue Bird* or *The Betrothal.* A truly soul-drama is one in which the mystery of the innermost recesses of the soul is unfolded without the introduction of religious stimulants.

The second difference of Faustian symbolism from the symbolism of later soul-dramas is its emphasis on the Will rather than on the Soul. In this Goethe appeared to have been influenced by the Schopenhauerean philosophy of viewing Will as the supreme force and the cosmic cause. (In this connection it is noteworthy that Schopenhauer's "Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung" appeared in 1819 and the second part of *Faust* was completed in 1831). Perhaps to their minds Will and Soul meant one and the same thing,—the motor force behind life, but the choice of the name makes a difference in the complexion of the philosophy one is going to evolve. Will is active, aggressive, dynamic; Soul is (not inactive) but tends to attain an equilibrium amidst life's forces and as such poised and peaceful (rather poise- and peace-loving). The emphasis on Will may save one from the lethargy associated with Hamletian introspection (or brooding) and may lead man from victory to victory (in Life's battle) which is thus a helpful asset during an earthly career but when that career is about to terminate what is the worth of such achievements if the fever of activity is not transformed into a poise that comes from a sense of unity with the source of all life. Without this poise one may get *redemption* (whatever that may mean) but not the joy of *reunion* with the Lord of our Being. It is however to be noted that the Faustian Will is not the Nietzschean will to power but the will here is so directed as to realise the highest in life so that at the end the spirit may attain the highest bliss.

With these preliminary remarks on the philosophical background of the drama if we now try to enter into its appreciation we find before us a great poem in which a master mind has unfolded the panorama of man's spiritual life with consummate skill, so that the experiences of a limited life-time are, by the magic touch of a poet's genius, heightened and "expanded to a theme which illumines eternity. The rays of that sublime light are scattered over the whole poem and lend to it the colour of the symbolic." As suggested before, it would be wrong to try to appreciate such a poem (with its unfamiliar phraseology and mysterious names) with the aid only of the intellect or reason. That is not to suggest that it is an unintelligible and incoherent jargon but that is only to emphasise that in appreciating such works there is such another thing as intuition, which can help us to go beyond intellect and today, after Henri Bergson (and his school of thought), who will question the validity of this attitude (however westernised or modernised his mind)? Its appeal is to our feeling, to our spiritual experiences, for, "Das Schaudern ist der Menschheit bestes Teil." Taking us beyond the limitations of time and space (Zeit und Raum) it unveils before us the human soul as a "battleground, where various forces struggle for mastery." But the human soul which Faust represents is not the soul in ignorance and torpor, but the wide-awake, well-informed soul which alone craves for self-realisation and feels dissatisfied without it. The Faustian discontent is a universal human phenomenon and even in our own times enlightened spirits experience the same conflict of "ideas, desires and loyalties, of subconscious depths struggling with outer circumstances, of an inner hunger unsatisfied." Indeed, this is also the theme of the Gita and

4. Try to do your duty and you know at once what you are.

5. Don't you see God? At every quiet spring, under every blossoming tree he meets me in the warmth of his Love. (So reminiscent of Gitanjali, *e.g.*—"Have you not heard his silent steps 'He comes, comes, ever comes. . . .' In the fragrant days of sunny April through the forest path he comes, comes, ever comes.").

6. I believe that we bear with us a spark of that eternal Light, which must illumine the depth of our Being and of which our mind has only a faint perception. To grow this spark in us into a flame and to realise the Divine in us is our highest duty.

an Indian reader of *Faust* cannot but be struck by the similarity of the remedy prescribed (in both the "Gita" and "Faust") for this restlessness of the aspiring soul, *viz.*, non-attached or disinterested performance of duty.

But performance of disinterested duty, however, cannot be made possible by rejecting life or confining oneself to the seclusion of one's study. That is barren intellectuality, rejection of life and can only deaden our emotions. But life *has to be lived* and what is needed for the fulfilment of life and realisation of self is not the deadening but the ennobling or sublimation of our emotions, and this, according to Goethe, can come to man only through his contact with women, for,

"Das Ewig-Weibliche
Zieht uns hinan."

But to bring such an one as Faust in contact with women (and society in general) is not an easy task and so the instrumentality of the devil and of a magic drink (from the witches' kitchen) were necessary to quicken in him the emotion of love. To the unsophisticated girl Margarete however, love comes in natural spontaneity. Her song by the spinning-wheel is one of the finest and simplest which has given expression to the pathos of a woman's love-lorn heart.

"Meine Ruh ist hin,
Mein Herz ist schwer,
Ich finde sie nimmer,
Und nimmermehr.
"Wo ich ihn nicht hab',
Ist mir das Grab,
Die ganze Welt
Ist mir vergaellt.
"Mein armer Kopf
Ist mir verrueckt,
Mein armer Sinn
Ist mir zerstueckt.
"Sein hoher Cang,
Sein' edle Gestalt,
Seines Mundes Laecheln,
Seiner Augen Gewalt,
"Und seiner Rede
Zauberfluss,
Sein Haenderdruck,
Und ach! sein Kuss'."

She has lost the peace of her mind, her heart aches and she has also lost her reasoning owing to a short separation. She longs for a reunion, for, without him the world to her is only a grave. She longs for his smile, his speech, his touch and his kiss which have for her magical efficacy. It is almost an echo of Radha's songs of separation.

Margarete's love releases Faust from barren intellectuality but he fails to utilise this freedom for higher and nobler purposes owing, perhaps, to his lack of experience and knowledge of the efficacy of love fro·.·which he has been so systematically and unnaturally dissociated by his one-sided intellectual gymnastics. Freed from one bondage (of thought) therefore, he falls a victim to another, the bondage of enjoyment. He loses his moral balance as a result of which he becomes (directly or indirectly) responsible for a series of tragedies—the death of Margarete's mother, the death of her brother, Valentine (who hearing of his sister's shame comes to fight with Faust a duel in which he is fatally wounded), the birth and death of her illegitimate child and the imprisonment of Margarete. But wordly pleasures and merriment of Walpurgis night are unable to influence his mind permanently. His conscience awakens and we find him rushing into the cell in which Margarete is condemned for saving her from the gallows. He fails in his mission but henceforward his aspirations for higher and worthier life take more concerte shape and he steadily grows in his moral stature.

But if Margarete's contact transforms our hero's barren life to an emotional and ethical one, his short companionship with Helena leads him to a moral and spiritual level of existence and fills him with an inspiration which enables him to dedicate his life to the service of humanity. Helena, the model of the classic beauty of Greece, is conceived by Goethe as the very type of woman, who inspires man in noble action and who by the strength of her power and position commands from man his submission (Neigung), love (Liebe), and devotion (Anbetung). A Bengali reader of *Faust* is struck by certain similarities in Tagore's conception of Urvashi and Goethe's conception of Helena (though without being partial, it must be admitted that nowhere in his description of Helena does Goethe reach the same poetical grandeur and felicity of expression as does Tagore in his matchless "Urvashi"). Like Tagore's Urvashi who is 'eternally young'[7] 'beloved of the universe'[8] who "by her magic glance obliges gods and saints to give up their meditation and offer at her feet the fruits of their penance'[9] and 'maddens the heart of man and makes his blood bubble in his veins'[10] Goethe's Helena is also the model (Musterbild)

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7. अनन्तयौवना

8. विश्वेर प्रेयसी

9. मुनिगण ध्यान भाङ्गि देय पदे तपस्यार फल,|
तोमारि कटाक्षपाते त्रिभुवन यौवनचंचल ।

10. अकस्मात् पुरुषेर वक्षोमाझे चित्त आत्महारा, नाचे रक्तधारा ।

of womanly beauty, who maddens the world (die Welt verwirrt), who is desired by demi-gods, heroes and even demons (Halbgoetter, Helden, je Daemonen) and so infatuates the hearts of men (ueberall der Maenner Busen so zu betoeren) that they work, strive and fight for winning her. She is the symbol of inspiring energy in man ("Regung aller Kraft"). Here too Goethe has only borrowed the name from the past but has created a new character just as he has done with his Faust and Mephistopheles.

These two women, Margarete and Helena representing attractiveness and elevativeness in woman's love, were both necessary for the moral and spiritual regeneration of Faust and it is noteworthy that Faust's union with both is brought about by the agency of the devil of temptation, indicating the presence of temptation in human love unless and until it is purified in the fire of suffering and bathed in the sunshine of sincerity. But this temptation is unable to drag one down permanently because that would be against the philosophy of life which Goethe has tried to inculcate through his masterpiece, *viz.*, man, if he is sincere and good, by the innate force of his character and actions emerges victorious in the life's struggle and becomes entitled to a higher existence in spite of his errors and pitfalls. Goethe's Faust, unlike the heroes of earlier Faust stories, shows no sign of repentance (in the Christian sense) for his mistakes, but by the dynamic force of his will and character rises to greater and greater heights and ultimately finds the one right path, for,

"Es irrt der Mensch, so lange er strebt," but,
"Ein guter Mensch, in seinem dunklen Drange
Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst."

Goethe's Mephistopheles fails to ruin Faust morally and spiritually and two reasons are ascribed by critics for this failure. First, Goethe's Mephistopheles is not a fallen angel but simply a spirit of scepticism and as such he has no resolute will to spoil man. Secondly, while entering into the contract with Mephistopheles, Faust is fully aware that he is but a poor devil (armer Teufel) and is "confident that nothing that such a poor devil can offer him could give him that supreme satisfaction for which he craves." As such, as the hero acquires mastery over his wild passions Mephistopheles is more and more reduced into a subservient from an obstructing agent. From the nature of the thing this is bound to be so, for, as Mephistopheles himself declares about his own nature,—he is only

"Ein Teil von jener Kraft,
Die stets das Boese will und stets das Gute schaft."

In plain prose it means that an enlightened man very well knows that what the temptations of the world offer cannot be the source of supreme bliss and joy and sooner rather than later his cravings and passions are sublimated so that they no longer remain base and degrading but are transformed into nobler virtues like sympathy, service and love in which lies the real salvation of the human soul.

The message of *Faust* is the message of hope embodied in the philosophy of action (Karma) of which the necessary corollary is the rejection of idle brooding, despondency, faint-heartedness, inaction and acceptance of life.

"Doch in Erstarren such' ich nicht mein Heil."

It emphasises the fact that man by his very strivings can make his own right way[11] and that he is not to beg for salvation from God or Heaven or Fate. Not only therefore temptation but even troubles and anxieties (Sorge) of life cannot deter him from his high purpose; for he is the architect of his fate. That is why when towards the close of his life he is asked by the old woman "Anxiety" if he had never known anxiety, Faust answers that he has aspired and fulfilled and that however strong the powers of anxiety he will not recognise them.

"Doch deine Macht, O Sorge, schleichend gross,
Ich werde sie nicht anerkennen."

and though physically blinded by the curse of anxiety (which perhaps no man can avoid in old age) he gained the spiritual insight

"To see a World in a Grain of Sand
And a Heaven in a Wild Flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand
And Eternity in an hour."

That is why addressing the fleeting moment just before his death he could say "Verweile doch, du bist so schoen" (tarry a while thou art so beautiful).

Rest eternal is the reward of a spirit who having thus fulfilled the law of his being (or the Will of God) in this life finds at the moment of his death the highest bliss ("Geniess ich jetzt den hoechsten Augenblick") and when such an ideal is consummated it is verily time for spring to blossom forth in "purpur and gruen," for, when else can we expect

"Rosen, ihr blendenden,
Balsam versendenden
Flatternde, shwebende,
Heimlich belebende,
Zweiglein befluegelte,
Knospen entsiegelte,
Eilet zu bluehn?"

11. *Cf.* Tagore's चलार बेगे पाबेर तलाय रांस्ता जेगेछे।

CLOTH WEAVING IN SURAT

By S. I. CLERK

Not quite long ago, Surat was reckoned as a great industrial and commercial centre in India. Its industries and trade, as a matter of fact, were thriving very well and strongly attracted the British and other European nations when they first landed in India. It was renowned throughout the entire civilised world for its manufacture and trade in rich silks such as atlases, velvets, taffaties, satins, etc., among various other products.

Even to-day, Surat is the home of the greatest number of art-crafts in the Bombay Presidency. Some of these are the weaving of



A weaver weaving a Kinkhab piece on pit-loom. Both hands and feet are used in this type of loom

kinkhabs and other rich silks, manufacture of laces from gold and silver thread, embroidery works, sandalwood carving and inlaid work. Weaving is probably the most important industry. There are two types of cloth woven in Surat. Firstly, we have the highly specialised and very rich cloth such as kinkhab or jari-georgette saree; these are hand-woven. Secondly, we have the modern cotton coatings and shirtings; mostly, these are woven on small-scale power looms.

Kinkhab is a gold-woven royal cloth of about five yards by twenty-seven inches. It is considered to be the finest product of handloom in India. Kinkhab is produced in great varieties and in many designs. There are natural designs with fruits, flowers, birds or animals as motifs. Geometrical designs, designs with religious motifs, and designs of the ancient kings are also equally common. For ages, this rich cloth used to be a very favourite apparel with the rich. Even to-day, Surat sends this cloth not only to various places in India, such as Sind, the Punjab, Bombay and Ahmedabad, but also exports considerable quantity to East Africa, Arabia, Persia, Ceylon, Burma (before it became an enemy possession), etc.

An independent artisan requires about ten days to prepare a piece of kinkhab. The finished product fetches him about Rs. 12/- depending on the artistic quality of the cloth. In other words, he earns Re. 1/- to Rs. 1/8/- per day. The present-day kinkhab, unfortunately, is not so beautiful as that made say a hundred years back. The decay has set in because of cheap imitations. Competition has compelled the artisans to use aniline dyes instead of vegetable dyes, and to use imitation white and yellow metals. The result is that this most artistic product of the handloom is deteriorating into an ordinary handloom product.

Besides kinkhab, jari-georgette saree is an important handloom product of Surat. It is woven with silk yarn and gold or silver thread. Occasionally, a border is also woven along with the cloth itself. If the raw materials used in the manufacture of these sarees are genuine, they cost anything from about Rs. 8/- to Rs. 15/- per yard. These sarees have a very rich appearance and are highly prized for their exquisite translucency. Saree-borders are yet another product of Surat handloom industry. The breadth varies from about one inch to ten inches. Some of the artisans manufacturing these borders are indeed very skilful. They can weave any given design in the borders; they can even weave any given portraits in these borders. The weaving frame becomes very complicated when the design to be woven is highly intricate.

To-day there are about 200 handlooms in Surat on which kinkhab and other silk weaving is done. Most of the weavers are Momins and hail from Benares. There are also some Ghola weavers. These are natives of the city itself. Theirs is a hereditary craft, and so they have their training right from the childhood. At the same time, we must admit that they are ignorant about the modern trends in textile designs and about the modern methods of production. The present deterioration in this craft may be check-

ed to a certain extent by providing facilities to the children of the artisans for training in modern textile designs under the School of Arts. Among the various other handicaps of the artisans, mention may be made of the middleman's profits, want of publicity and want of proper selling agency. Most of the weavers do work on labour contract for merchants in Surat. In this connection, we are glad to note that the Bombay Government Industries Department,

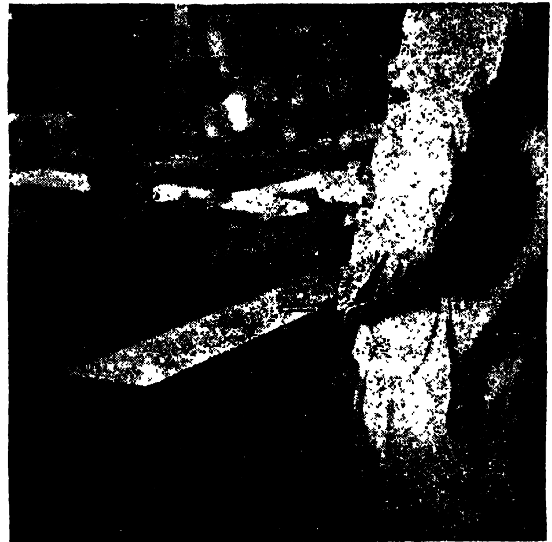


Jari-georgette saree weaving. The horizontal threads are silk; these are woven with silver or gold thread. The final product has a very rich appearance

through its sales depots at Surat, Bombay, etc., is giving more and more publicity to the art-wares of Surat. We hope that through the diligent work of the Government District Industries Officer at Surat, this Department will soon be very popular both with the artisans and the general public in Surat.

There are some 4,500 small-scale power-looms in Surat. Formerly, silk-weaving was done exclusively on these looms. Later on, silk was partly replaced by artificial silk and staple fibre and spun silk. However, artificial silk could no more be imported after Japan's entry into the War, and so these small-scale power-looms took to cotton weaving using Indian mill yarn. With the hectic rise in yarn prices, the weavers had to change over from fine counts to medium and low counts. About a year back, they were using 2/60 and 32s yarn; to-day they are using mostly 2/32 and 16s. This change over is due to the fact that the prices of Surat cloth did not keep pace with the high yarn prices.

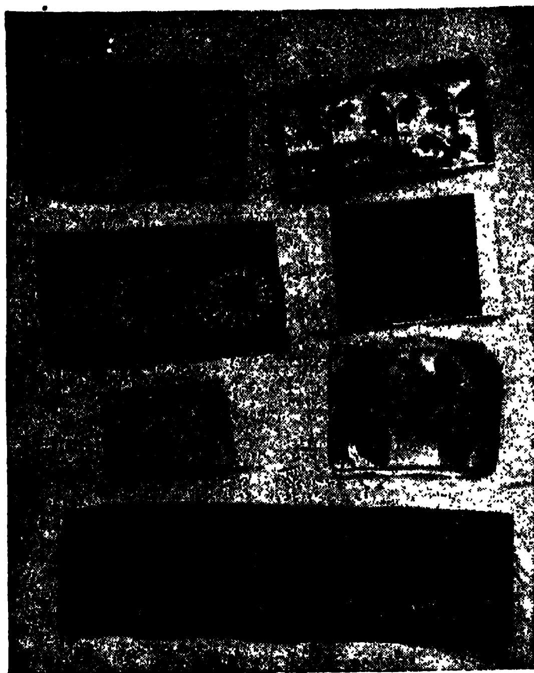
At present, these looms are very much prospering. They specialise in the products of rough counts such as shirtings and coatings. On account of the specialization of the design and the quality of the cloth produced on these small-scale power-looms of Surat, the large-scale mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad cannot compete these small-scale power-looms. Similarly, it would be uneconomical on the part of these power-looms to produce cloth like dhoties, sarees or fine white coatings and shirtings; this is the domain of the Bombay and Ahmedabad mills, for here, large-scale production is very profitable. The small-scale power-looms of Surat are run mostly on electricity or oil, while occasionally coal is also used. Their products are becoming more and more popular day by day throughout the country. In spite of being woven on power-looms, the cloth has a peculiar



A section of small-scale power loom. Popular coatings and shirtings are mostly woven on such looms in Surat

look of having been woven on handloom. Hence, it is popularly known as hand-woven Surat cloth. The yarn is mostly brought into Surat from Bombay. There is little or no indigenous production of yarn.

At present due to the War, there is a brisk demand for any cloth. Unfortunately, to reduce the cost of the manufacture, the dyed yarn of fast colour is replaced by dyed yarn of direct colour. If this short-sighted policy is continued, it would be very difficult for Surat to find foreign



Some specimens of saree borders which are hand-woven in Surat. Some of the artisans can copy any given design in the border, or even any given portrait

markets after the end of the War. Once the War is over, a factory having a complete dyeing, bleaching and furnishing plant should be established in Surat. If necessary, the Bombay Government Industries Department should give financial loan to the enterprising entrepreneur who undertakes to establish such a factory in Surat. After all, the prosperity of small-scale power-looms will enable Surat to emerge once more as an important textile centre of a class in itself.

There is a bright future for small-scale power-loom weaving industry of Surat. There should be a post-war programme of proper organisation and rationalisation of this industry. For obvious economic reasons, it will not have to face any large-scale mill competition, so long as it confines its activities to the production of cloth of rough count. Probably, there will be foreign competition; but this, we believe, can be successfully faced by appealing the people on grounds of Swadeshism and by being very keen on improvements in texture, durability and design of the products. The entrepreneurs in this industry would do well to refrain from following the short-sighted policy of fleecing the customers and profiteering—the very common defect of most of the industries in our country. For the sake of the industry—and ultimately for their own sake—they must incur considerable expenditure on research and laboratory.

We believe the small-scale power-loom weaving of Surat to be the logical development of its hand-looms which made it so very famous throughout the entire civilised world in the old days. And, if there is proper guidance and organisation, there is little reason why Surat with its products of small-scale power-looms cannot be as famous (if not more) to-day, as it was when it used to manufacture and sell the highly artistic products of hand-loom.

VIDYA BHAWAN

The School of The Future

By Dr. MARGARET SPIEGAL, Ph.D.,

Lecturer, Elphinstone College, Bombay

Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta (now Minister of Education and Revenue, Udaipur) founded a progressive school in Udaipur in 1934 which is known as Vidya Bhawan. The difficulties underlying such a project are clear—one may say, rather far too many for an individual to cope with. But Dr. Mehta happens to be a man of unusual calibre. He has the most modern European outlook, but at heart he is a true Indian, this is the secret of his personality. He is calm, cool, patient. He foresaw every difficulty; but instead of being beaten by it, he determined to fight it like a brave man and eventually he succeeded. In a country stricken by poverty, full of communal, racial, cultural and political dissensions, he wanted to start a school with no political bias, no religious dogma, and no communal, racial or cultural prejudices, where children could be taught to look upon the whole of mankind as one big family and the whole of the vast earth as their playground. Dr. Mehta's first requirement in this connection

was a really efficient Principal. This he found in Mr. K. L. Shrimali. He is an expert psychologist and knows how to guide each child to its full individual development.

Besides the inspiration of these two men, nature itself is the most inspiring factor in Vidya Bhawan. The school is situated in the country, 2 miles from Udaipur, surrounded by hills, only 5 minutes' walk from the Fateh-Sagar Lake. Vidya Bhawan has the character of a boarding school, even those children who are not boarders, remain at the school from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. The environment at home is often harmful for the child, so the school substitutes the home.

The children are divided into groups consisting of different ages for their activities outside the class work. These groups are organised—like Scout groups, in order to develop social responsibility, esprit de corps, loyalty, leadership. The groups, arrange camps, games and festivals where the boys perform plays, recite poems and read out stories written by them.

A special feature of Vidya Bhawan is the Open Air Session. In winter the whole school, except the highest class and the youngest children, is transferred to a camp for a fortnight. The time-table is changed and the syllabus is adjusted to the surroundings. The boys study the art, literature, geography and history of the place, the social conditions of the people, village industries, they make pottery and furniture. Thus the children are collecting material for the making of history of Mewar on a scientific basis.

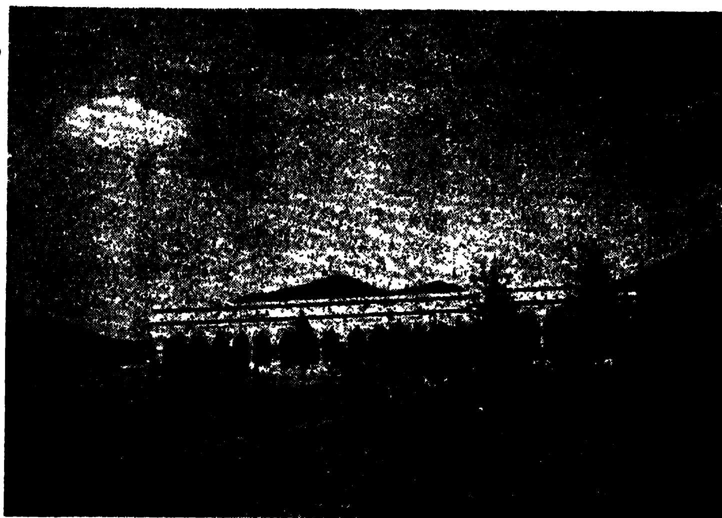
The children have a Boys' Own Hour. In this period, they follow their own hobbies, such as carpentry, book-binding, spinning, leather-work, art and music.

Once a month the boys and the teachers work in the field; they dig the ground and remove stones in order to get better playgrounds. This work is meant to teach them the dignity of labour.

On Sunday mornings there is a talk. A teacher speaks about some problem of life generally in the form of a story to make the subject more interesting for the children. Then a discussion follows. There was one talk on Gandhiji's fast, another on the caste problem and yet another on Hindu-Muslim unity.

In order to get in contact with the parents the Parents' League was founded. The League publishes a monthly Hindi magazine *Balhit* on modern education and child psychology. It is edited by the Principal.

The school is divided into 3 sections,—Nursery, Junior Section up to Class V and Senior Section from class VI to X. Vidya Bhawan High School prepares for the High School



Vidya Bhawan, Udaipur

Examination of the Board of High School and Intermediate Education for Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior.

The school admits girls, but there are only a few girls and only in the lower classes, for Rajputana with its purdah system is not a favourable place for co-education.

The School enjoys the benefit of a psychological laboratory. The backward and difficult children are attended by Mr. Shrimali who also happens to be a practising psycho-analyst.

The Basic School has recently been opened by Vidya Bhawan in a neighbouring village.

In order to propagate the educational ideals of Vidya Bhawan in Rajputana and in the whole country, a Training College for Teachers was established last year. It is affiliated to the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior for the Teachers' Training Certificate examination. The course lasts for one year.

Vidya Bhawan has been doing pioneer work not only for Rajputana and India but for the whole world. Professor Pierre Bovet, Director of the J. J. Rousseau Institute for Educational

Sciences, Geneva, who visited Vidya Bhawan as a delegate of the New Education Fellowship, compares Vidya Bhawan to the Odenwaldscule, one of the leading modern schools in Germany under the Republic which was closed by the Nazis. Vidya Bhawan stands for the same ideal as the modern schools under the German Republic, and Bedales School and St. Christopher's Sitchworth in England, Santiniketan of Bengal and Raj-Ghat School of Benares. All these schools have been striving for the same goal, to develop the individual capacities of the child harmoniously, to enable him to become a useful citizen of society.

I wish that every Indian child could be sent to schools like Vidya Bhawan. I wish every child in the whole world could be sent to schools like Vidya Bhawan, for only then society will be changed. There will be better understanding between different social groups, classes and nations and there will be no more war. But the difficulty of such institution is finance. Therefore, all those who want to make India independent, all those who are striving for social and international understanding, should encourage them.

When I first saw Vidya Bhawan in 1932 there was only a very small part of the present school building. I was surprised to see how much it had grown within 10 years. Now there are 4 hostels, a nursery-school and a Training College for teachers. I am afraid Vidya Bhawan has been growing too fast, for it has not got enough funds.

Children as well as teachers are overworked. There are too many activities. Children and teachers badly need time for their own studies, especially the big boys. Only one period a day is too little for them. A permanent staff is the most necessary requirement for a school, and it will be extremely difficult to get one as long as th teachers are overworked and under-paid. The school will only get young enthusiasts who will leave after a few months. The school is however, fortunate in having on its staff a band of devoted life-workers who are serving this institution at great personal sacrifice.

That which strikes me most about Vidya Bhawan is the spirit of the children which is the product of the atmosphere. It is a pleasure to live among them because they are so natural. They say what they think and feel because they are not suppressed and they are always free to criticise whatever they feel is wrong or requires improvement. This is the most important thing of all. They have got rid of that slave mentality and hypocrisy which accept everything without criticism.

THE LATE MR. VALOD OF TRANSVAAL

By Swami BHAWANI DAYAL

I HAVE learnt with much regret the death of Mr. Mahomed Ebrahim Valod, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress and one of the Vice-Presidents of the South African Indian Congress. It will indeed be a great loss to the Indian community of South Africa. His death removes from our midst one of the most distinguished Indian leaders and one of the foremost advocates of Indian education in South Africa. During the fifteen years I knew him, I had the fullest opportunity of getting to know him from every angle. His noble example to his countrymen compels admiration. His steady and persistent participation in all good work in the community's interest was a wonderful thing. The passing away of our friend Mr. Valod leaves a gap in the Transvaal which cannot be filled.

He was born in Gujrat about 45 years ago and went to South Africa in his youth. He was a businessman and a partner in the firm of Mahomed Ebrahim & Co. at Johannesburg. He was keenly interested in the educational work and founded an Indian school and hostel at Standerton which will ever remain a monument of his educational enterprise in the Transvaal.

I cannot, in this short tribute, speak of the innumerable services that Mr. Valod rendered as the President of the Transvaal Indian Congress. Mr. Valod was a man of great abilities and remarkable gifts and it was not surprising that he should have been engaged in so many public activities and connected with so many organisations, but I doubt if there was any work which was dearer to his heart than the work of the Transvaal Indian Congress. I always respected him, because he was a gentleman and a man of character. His innate modesty and gentlemanliness prevented him from practising the art of self-advertisement. In his own quiet way, he worked to advance in every direction the cause of the Indian settlers of Transvaal.

His premature death will be more and more felt by the struggling Indian settlers particularly at this critical period of their existence, when his leadership was most essential to combat the notorious Segregation Act of South Africa, but none could stay the hands of Parmatma. A finest fellow I saw him in the shape of a co-worker; handsome as he was brave, determined, cool and clever. To the great Parmatma, who loves all alike, we can safely leave the departed soul, there to reap the reward of his exemplary life of service and sacrifice.

TAXILA

A Meeting Ground of Nations

By WAHIDA AZIZ

THOUGH the Punjab was the earliest seat of Vedic civilisation, archaeology has hitherto failed to discover any monuments or traces of the Vedic or the epic period. It is strange that not a single relic of the Mecedonian invasion has been brought to light, and, as in the rest of India, the oldest monuments in the Punjab are the Asoka inscriptions.

Of these, two were inscribed on pillars which now stand at Delhi, where they were re-erected by Firoz Shah in about 1362, one having been originally erected at Topra in the Ambala district, and the other near Meerut in the United Provinces. Both the inscriptions are in the ancient Brahmi script, which is found in all the Asoka inscriptions excepting those at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra in the North-West Frontier Province.

The vast ruins of Takshasila (Taxila), now known as Shahdheri, remain to show the extent of the capital of the great Mauryan province which comprised the modern Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. South-east of Taxila is the tope of Manikyala, identified by General Sir Alexander Cunningham as one of the four great stupas mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, who visited the place in about 400 A.D. and again by the Chinese pilgrim, Huen Tsang, who halted there about the years A.D. 630 and 643.

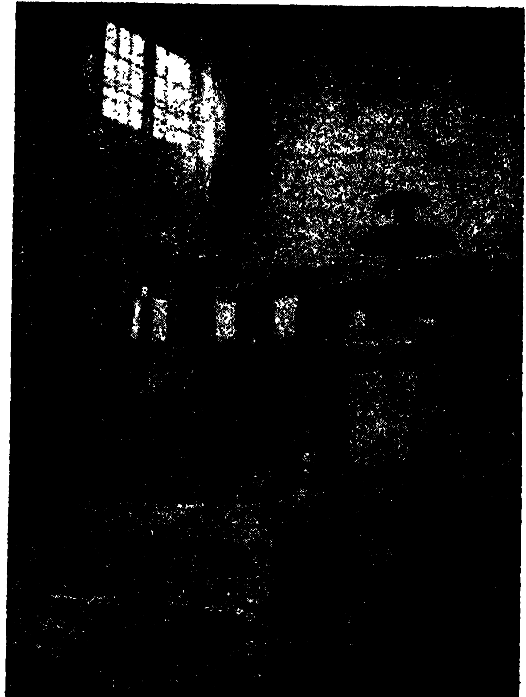
It is the largest stupa, in Northern India, and is believed to have been built to commemorate the sacrifice of the Bodhisattva, who gave his body to feed a starving tigress. Nearby, there is yet a smalier one, which contained a slab with a Kharoshthi inscription recording its erection during the reign of Kanishka early in the Christian era..

ANCIENT HISTORY

According to the Ramayana, when Rama ruled in Ayodhya, the Gandharvas used to live in the country on both sides of the bank of the Indus. Towards the end of his rule, Rama, at the request of Yudhajit, King of Kekaya and maternal uncle of Bharata, sent an army for the conquest of the Gandharvas who lived there.

It is said that the army was led by Bharata who was accompanied by his sons, Taksha and Pushkala. On hearing their approach, Yudhajit (whose kingdom appears to lie to the east of the Indus adjacent to the country of the Gandharvas) joined them with a large following. The valiant Gandharvas came out to fight when they found their country attacked. A terrific battle ensued, but the Gandharvas were defeated.

Bharata, to commemorate this victory, built two cities which were named Takshashila and Pushkalavatta, after the names of his sons, who later established themselves in the two cities. The towns were full of riches and precious stones; they were adorned with gardens and vied with one another in beauty and splendour. There were many beautiful temples; also trees, such as Tal (palm), Tamala, Tikala, and Bokula.



A relic casket of lime plaster painted and studded with gems and other exhibits housed in the museum

The Gandharvas who are described as such good fighters were also famous as good musicians. Kalidasa refers to their musical talent when he describes the conquest of their country by Bharata in his *Raghuvamsam*. His description is short but poetic.

The identity of Pushkalavatta, where Bharata's second son was installed, does not appear to have been fixed yet. Historians believe that it was somewhere near Peshawar,

which was the country formerly known as Gandhāra.

Similarly, we also find mention of it in the Mahabharata, where it is recorded that King Janamejaya conquered it and performed the great snake sacrifice. From the Buddhist Jatakas we learn that in the 3rd century B.C. and during the centuries following Taxila was a renowned university town, famous for its cultivation of wits and sciences.



A Buddhist Stūpa discovered during excavations and preserved in the museum. It is one of the finest workmanship in stone

Seat of a University

The university worked under a system of Yoga synthesis, or unity, which was doubtless a dominant feature of the Indian culture. It was a self-sustained colony and a centre representing the community's life under various aspects, economic, intellectual, and spiritual. The professors and students, not only studied there, but did manual work. The thirst for the universal spirit, or the universal love, was a marked feature throughout. The doors of the university were open to strangers who showed some special taste for any branch of science.

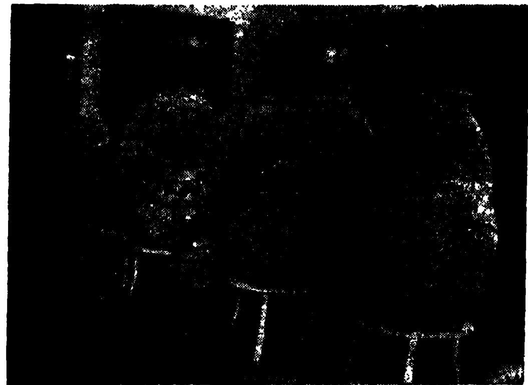
The modern terms—'race psychology' and 'race-dominance,' favourite expressions of the civilised West—were quite absent in their old dictionary. Knowledge, 'Vidya,' was pursued with great avidity and zeal. Foreigners, and strangers were respected for their learning, without the least animosity, irrespective of any difference in creed or religion.

The students in the university led a very simple life, full of mirth and jollity as a preparative for communion with nature. The community, as a whole, lived a life of self-control and self-discipline attained not as a result of constant whipping and slapping, but through the inspiration of human fellowship in the service of the ideal.

The combination of the aesthetic and the spiritual made them understand that what is beautiful is sublime, is Divine. Thus the university embodied truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, the highest ideal of life in any civilised and highly intellectual country.

A Historic Meeting

The very site of Taxila explains, perhaps, its rise and fall. Situated in the valley of the mountain chain that ends in the Hathial Range on the banks of Haro river, Taxila flourished once as a trading centre on the great road that linked Hindustan with Western and Central Asia. This road served too, as a route for conquerors who came, conquered, ruled or destroyed the city. The same road that gave it prosperity brought, too, her destruction.



Specimens of pottery found at Taxila

It was in the year 326 B.C. that Alexander the Great swooped down on the fertile valley of the Punjab. The then reigning king Ambhi of Taxila was at this time at war with two neighbouring kingdoms—those of Porus and Abhisara. With a view to strengthening himself against these enemies, Ambhi readily made sub-

mission to Alexander and helped him with troops against Porus.

A great battle, victory to the Greeks, and Porus a prisoner were the consequences. Racine in his *Alexander le Grand* has immortalised this scene; the meeting of the victor and the vanquished. A handsome person of majestic stature, Porus, wounded in the battle, stood before Alexander the Great.

'How shall I treat you, Porus ?' asked the Greek.

'Treat me, O ! Alexander, as befits a king.'

So Alexander admitted Porus into his circle of friends, and restored to him his kingdom. And this happened not far from Taxila, about 326 B.C.

Soon after Alexander's death, Chandragupta, the King of Magadha, completely annihilated all Greek influence east of the river Jhelum and annexed Taxila and other Punjab states to the Magadha empire. Later, Asoka ruled at the place as viceroy on behalf of his father.

The White Huns

Asoka died about 231 B.C. and soon after the Magadha empire broke up and with the decline of the Maurya power, Taxila once more asserted her independence, although it was very short-lived. There were fresh invasions from the Bactrian Greeks who regained possession of Taxila.

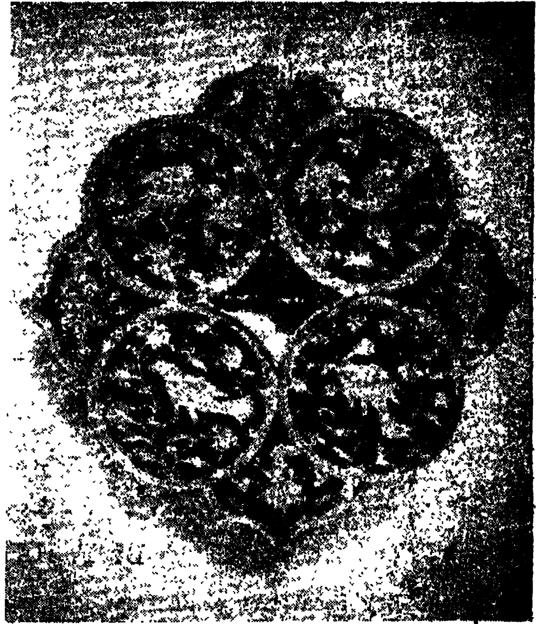
The Greeks ruled over it for a little over a century when they were ousted by the Sakas (Scythians) from the West who became masters of the kingdom of Taxila. Subsequently, Taxila was united with Arachosia under a Parthian King named Gondophares.

Between 60 and 63 A.D., the sovereignty of Taxila was again transferred from the Parthians to the Kushans who originally belonged to the extreme north-west of China. Their most famous king was Kanishka, who made Purushpura (modern Peshawar) his winter capital. After the death of Kushan King Vasudeva, the downfall of the dynasty began until, in the 5th century A.D., they were completely extinguished and Taxila destroyed by the barbarians known as White Huns. It seems that Taxila never recovered from this disaster and was found, in the 7th century, to be a dependency of Kashmir by Huen Tsang, who visited it.

Today, Taxila is an insignificant village of that name which bears in its bosom the faded memory of its past glory.

Archaeological Remains

The archaeological remains lie to the east and north-east of the railway station of the same name and are spread over an area of about twenty-five square miles. They contain three separate sites. The earliest of them is situated on an elevated plateau known as the 'Bhir Mound.' The excavations reveal the different cities that once stood here. It was here that a fragment of vase with the head of Alexander the Great was found. At the time of its glory, it was obviously a flourishing city, with streets and dwelling houses, with temples of the Buddhists, —a haven where they taught, meditated and prayed.



A pendant in gold with birds and human figures cut in a very artistic fashion (a museum exhibit)

The second city known as 'Sirkap' is situated beyond the Tamara Nala on the western spur of the Hathial Hill and was built by the Bactrian Greeks in about the 2nd century B.C., and continued to have been occupied by the Scythians, Parthians and the Kushans, down to the time of Vima Kadphises (end of the 1st century A.D.). An Aramaic inscription and some pottery were, besides others, the noteworthy objects found there.

The third city known as 'Sirsukh' appears to have been built by the Kushans probably in the reign of Kanishka and flourished for some five or six centuries. It is interesting from the point of view of fortifications and reveals improvement in the construction of the bastions and 'whether these new features were the out-

come of developments in military engineering in India itself. . . ' is a problem that has yet to be solved by archaeologists.

STUPAS AND MONASTERIES

Besides the three cities, there are many other outlying monuments mainly Buddhist stupas and monasteries, the most important among them being the Dharamarajika Stupa known as 'Chir Tope,' the 'Kunal Stupa' and monastery, and the stupas and monasteries at Mohra Moradu, Pippalan and Jaulian further to the east. At Jandial, almost opposite to Sirkap, there is a spacious temple with ionic pillars dedicated to fire-worship; and further north to it is the lofty Bhallar Stupa situated at the end of the hills bounding the valley on the north.

At the Dharamarajika Stupa built in the time of Asoka, besides the main structures, the chapel in the north-east corner with the feet of a colossal image of Buddha, a small apsidal Chaitya on the west side of the main stupa, and a chapel not far from it, where relics of Buddha accompanied by a Kharoshti inscription on a silver scroll (of the year 136 of Azecs—A.D. 78) were found, may be seen in particular.

The Stupa of Kunala is said to commemorate the spot where Kunala, the son of Emperor Asoka, was blinded through the guile of his step-mother Tishyarakshita.

At Mohra Moradu the main stupa is chiefly remarkable for the stucco relief of Buddha and his attendants still surviving here and there. At Jaulian the fine stucco and clay reliefs adorn the stupas. Here a relic casket of lime plaster painted and studded with gems, and a half-charred birch bark manuscript in Brahmi of the Gupta Age were recovered from one of the smaller stupas. Many other objects of art are worth seeing at the museum, which have been recovered and kept there from ravages of the time.

Once a seat of culture and learning, capital of many a kingdom, prey to hordes of invaders, the face of Taxila still bears that expression so characteristic of the images of the Buddha that had lain buried for centuries.

BRITAIN'S BOY SCOUTS AID TO THEIR HOMELAND

Quarter Centenary of Service

By F. HAYDN DIMMOCK

The Boy Scouts Association was founded in Britain twenty-five years ago. Today its members, trained in citizenship and service, are rendering gallant service to their country.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, the late Lord Baden-Powell founded the famous Boy Scouts Association, a youth organisation which exists to encourage physical and mental development, and to teach its members to be self-reliant, useful and observant citizens.

At the outbreak of the present war, the training which these boys had received made them eminently suitable to carry out many non-combatant but essential duties in the war effort. Their contribution has been magnificent, and more than 60,000 Scouts in Britain have gained their National Service Badge.

Here, for instance, is the story of one brave Scout, John Bethell, who is sixteen and has been on duty in every raid on his city. Because of his consistently good work since joining the Messenger Service, Scout Bethell was appointed Senior Cyclist Messenger, which meant that he had to accompany the Head Warden to all incidents, taking more than ordinary risks.

One night there was a particularly heavy raid. John turned out immediately the alert sounded, and reported to the Warden's Post.

Bombs were falling as they set out from the Post. They had not proceeded far before they came upon an "incident"; a bomb had partly demolished some houses. People may have been buried under the debris, and the Warden had to find out. John could wait in comparative safety, leaving the Warden to carry on alone, but he refused to stay behind.

From one "incident" to another they went, helping in the rescue work, fighting incendiary bombs. It was hard, nerve-wearing work, but they kept on with dogged spirit. At last the round had been completed and they were making their way back to the Post, when a couple of explosions occurred close at hand. Suddenly John realised that they were in danger of falling debris. "We'd better dive for shelter," he shouted, and a second or so later, as they

reached cover, a shower of bricks crashed down upon the spot where they had been lying.

They waited just long enough for the danger to pass, then they were off again in search of a new "incident." Suddenly the Scout halted, his whole body tense.

"Quick! Down!" he yelled. His keen hearing had detected the faint swoosh of a falling bomb. The Warden obeyed instantly. There was a devastating explosion, and for a time it seemed that the whole world was coming to an end. Thankfully they realised that they were unhurt, but the Warden knew that, had they turned the corner ahead of them, they must have been killed. John's warning had saved them both.

"We shall need help, lad," said the Warden. "That was a big fellow, and by the look of things a lot of houses are down. Hurry! I'll go on."

John did not hesitate. He knew where he could get the help that was so badly needed, and he was back on the scene with a party of men within an incredibly short space of time.

What had once been the comfortable homes of happy people were a heap of splintered wood and rubble. John discovered two women partly buried in the debris of their houses and his promptness saved their lives. No sooner had they been rescued than the whole house collapsed.

The "All Clear" sounded at last. Tired and dirty John made for his home.

Next day he was out with his Patrol, taking their trek-cart round and helping the bombed-out families to move their salvaged belongings. Is it any wonder that the Warden says of John: "His is the spirit that will win this war"!

Another courageous Scout was Patrol Leader Dennis Melville. He was just sixteen, and gave his life in the line of duty. One afternoon, whilst at work, an air-raid warning sounded, and within a few minutes incendiary bombs were raining down. Dennis at once volunteered to help the fire party, and they were glad to have his help because they knew that his Scout training had taught him to fight fire bombs. He succeeded in putting out several bombs and was tackling another when it exploded. He was fatally injured.

It was only after this act had been brought to notice that the full story of Dennis's fine service work was revealed. He always turned



A group of Scouts at work putting out an incendiary bomb with stirrup pump and sand-bags

out when bombs fell in the district in which he lived, carrying his first-aid bag, which he kept well equipped out of his own pocket money. He was one of many thousands of Scouts who are doing heroic service, but of whose exploits little is heard.

Dennis's mother wrote of him—"Service to others was his whole life. He was helpful,



A Scout is showing a Home Guard how to take advantage of all the available natural cover when out on manœuvres

cheerful and outstanding in everything he did." That is the spirit of the true Scout, wherever he may be.

Altogether the boys in this world-famous Association are carrying out something like two hundred different forms of service. Not all of them have the chance of active work during air-raids, though a vast number carry out these fire-guard or messenger duties night after night. The Scout in Britain today stands prepared for any emergency.

When the "All Clear" sounds over a blitzed town, another army of Scout workers comes into action, and there is much work to be done. People may be trapped under debris, there are injured people needing attention, bombed-out victims to be taken to shelter and given food and refreshment. Many of these tasks are carried out by young Scouts, and in almost every big town there is an organised squad of Scouts, mostly under sixteen, who stand by waiting for the "All Clear."

This squad would not be of much use if the boys were not trained. The first-aid which they have learnt in the Troop Room now comes into service. Their knowledge of the district enables them to act as guides and messengers. Their trek-carts become useful for transporting salvaged furniture and effects from bombed homes. They are useful in any number of ways.

The Boy Scout uniform has become the symbol of service. Every Scout knows that to be of service he must be efficient, so he carries on with his Scout work side by side with his job of service for the country.

When the Scoutmasters are called away to the fighting services, the Patrol Leaders take over the Troops and carry on. The training goes steadily forward. New recruits are coming in, keen to learn, keen to be efficient to serve their country. The spirit of Scouting runs high in Britain today.



Two Cubs (the name given to the youngest members of the Scout organisation) are helping to collect scrap paper which will be turned into cardboard bomb packing cases

Since the war began, the Boy Scouts Association had made 130 awards to Scouts for bravery during air-raids, but there are many hundreds of whose gallantry we do not hear. Whole troops have given such splendid service that it has been impossible to single out any one member for distinction, and in those cases the award has been made to the Troop; fourteen Troops have been awarded the Silver Cross, and His Majesty King George VI has personally decorated twenty-three Scouts.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The Russian offensive which started on the 5th of July is still being maintained at a high pressure. The Allied assault on the island of Sicily has come up against strong opposition after about two-thirds of the island had been occupied. The Mediterranean route is reported to be open now to the Allied Sea-traffic. In the Far-East sporadic assaults are being made on the Japanese. The aerial offensive against Germany, occupied Europe and Italy is being maintained with great force. The Battle of Atlantic is experiencing a quiet phase, but it is not yet certain whether the U-Boat menace has been really mastered yet.

The Russian offensive, which began with a peculiar series of elastic thrusts and counter-thrusts, that started in the Orel-Byelogorod sector about the 5th of July, later developed into a full-scale major offensive of a magnitude that has eclipsed even those of the Russian campaigns of 1941 and 1942. Although very scanty details are now coming through the news, what has already been announced suffices to give an idea of the forces involved. The figures of German losses given out by the Russians, even if they be accepted at a much lower value, indicate the strength of the German opposition. The strength of the Russian forces engaged in the assault can also be gauged by the statement of the Germans that "600 divisions are now locked in a mortal combat." The battle-line has further been lengthened and now stretches from Lake Ladoga to the Kuban bridgehead in the Caucasus area. Nine or ten millions of soldiers, thousands of aeroplanes, and tens of thousands of armoured vehicles, besides countless guns of all calibres have now been thrown in by the opponents in this most terrible of all armed show-downs in the history of human warfare! Geographically speaking the results up-to-date have not been very apparent, there has been no spectacular break-through, no encircling or "pincers move" involving thousands of square miles. This is now developing into an war of extermination which goes on either till the weaker collapses through loss of men and material or a halt is called by both through sheer inability to keep up the tempo of the battle.

Although the losses of the Germanic forces have been terrific, they are still putting up an extremely fierce resistance. Uptil now they have contested every inch of the ground and met every thrust with a counter-thrust, without showing any signs of weakened strength anywhere. Very naturally no announcement has been made of Russian losses, though considering the terrain and the nature of the battle, the Soviet losses must be equally high. But on their side the Soviets have not diminished the fury of their assaults, on the contrary, they have extended the frontage over which the thrusts are being delivered. Mass movements have been made in fresh areas and all along the twelve-hundred mile long battle-front, every inch of the German defence-lines is being tested with force, to find any weak spot that there may be.

It was evident in June that the Nazi High Command contemplated some drastic alterations in their war-strategy. Western commentators had hinted that Hitler was no longer dominating the War-council and that the professional war-technician was gradually assuming control. It was assumed that a long period of defensive-offensive fighting may be initiated by the German Supreme War-council, and it was also pointed out that in warfare of this nature, the Axis may prove formidable. An enemy that can manœuvre its opponent into an assault on prepared positions, is likely to be able to inflict more losses on its opponent than it suffers itself, and thus in the long run can wear down the aggressor who suffers ever-mounting war-wastage. The beginning of the present offensive, which started with both sides claiming to be fighting a defensive battle seemed to indicate that the Nazi High Command was feinting in order to draw the Soviets into an assault of the nature indicated above. But later on came the Allied assault on Sicily, which seemed to indicate that the Russian offensive was part of a co-ordinated plan.

Whatever be the genesis of this latest campaign on the Russian front, the Soviets are now pursuing an all-out offensive which is being relentlessly pressed on regardless of cost. It is evident that the Germans have not been caught unawares and that the fighting is gradually developing into a pure trial of strength and endurance with no strikingly new development in strategy in evidence. The next [illegible] will be full of interest and anxiety for friend and foe alike because in an war of attrition of this

nature sudden and devastatingly catastrophic developments may occur.

The assault on Sicily is now entering its final phase. The immediate result of the Allied action has been the fall of Mussolini, an occurrence of historic interest. What may follow this new denouement is as yet a matter of pure conjecture, though there are undeniably many possibilities that may hasten the end of the present struggle. The position considered militarily has not altered at the time of writing (29. 7. 43) nor has there been any signs of confusion apparent in the German plans for defence. The battle goes on uninterruptedly and though there are plain signs of the stiffening of the opposition, the Allies are now in a superior position on the island.

The assault on Sicily has freed the Mediterranean to a great extent and thus has considerably advanced Allied plans for a Second Front of which the Sicilian assault may be considered as an essential preliminary. The air-assault on Germany, occupied Europe and Italy continues. The results have been devastating so far as reports from all sources show. But whether its effect on German war-industry will be sufficiently great to influence the course of the war substantially yet remains to be seen. That this aerial-warfare cannot replace a second-front campaign on land is now a foregone conclusion, but with it comes the question of the civilian morale in Germany which must have been seriously affected by the havoc caused.

Russia still absorbs the greatest part of the German war-effort, whether measured in the terms of armed forces and man-power or of armament output. The question of Allied aid to the Soviets therefore is becoming increasingly important, and if war-wastage of the Soviets' strength continues as at present then the early conclusion of the Sicilian assault and the begining of the attack on the main land of Europe will soon become imperative.

The collapse of Italy will undeniably simplify matters for the present, but wishful thinking will not help. The re-opening of the Mediterranean route has placed many new possibilities in the hands of the Allied High-Command, the fullest utilization of which may substantially relieve the load that the Soviets are shouldering now. This year is the year of opportunities for the Allies as the last year was for the Axis.

In the Far-East no development of any significance has taken place. The forces at the command of General MacArthur are still evidently inadequate. On the Indo-Burman front the monsoons have clogged up the wheels of war. Allied air-assault on the Japanese in Burma continues, however, and the Japanese have not so far retaliated. This apparent inactivity on the part of the Japanese is open to all sorts of interpretations. The most natural—which does not always mean the most accurate—conclusion is that the Japanese have shot their bolt and are now in a predicament, being unable to move forward to an invasion of India and equally unable to withdraw as that would mean the re-opening of the Burma-road and the consequent accession of strength to the Chinese. Along this line of deductions many statements have been made about the state the Japanese forces are in, both in Burma and in the Pacific. The scanty details published about Brigadier Wingate's expedition, some of the broadcasts from Australia and the occasional statements issued to the public all go to indicate that the morale of the Japanese in the occupied areas is not at all high.

On the other hand, the belated news that reaches India from abroad in the form of information regarding Japanese activities in the occupied zones as published in the English and American Press, goes to indicate a different state of affairs. They give clear indications that consolidation work is being pushed ahead by the Japanese in all areas without remission or delay. Indeed, what has been published about this consolidation work indicates beyond all doubt that the Japanese are not only determined to hold on but also that they are not inclined to leave anything to chance. The refloating of the "world's largest" floating dock at Singapore was not done by the Japanese out of any altruistic motive nor would they have lavishly expended the time, energy and skill involved on such jobs unless they were convinced that Singapore would remain long enough in their hands to yield fruitful returns for the investment. The extension of the Iron and Steel industry in Manchuria, the re-starting of the oil-wells and refineries in the Dutch East Indies, all are actions along the same line.

There is no need to cry havoc now, but neither is there any necessity to ladle out "dope" in support of the principle "Asia can wait." It is Hobson's choice—or rather Winston's choice—with the Asiatics, and they realise it. Whether they like it or not is another matter, a matter of no particular moment either in London or at Washington.

CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND

By NORMAN HILLSON

II

Hereford

In the year 676 Bishop Putta of Rochester, whose diocese in the county of Kent had been ravaged, was given a parcel of land in the west country, on the border of Wales. The place was called Hereford, and on this small piece of ground Putta erected the church which, today, has become the notable Cathedral of Hereford.

Those were troublous times in England, and along the Welsh Marches there was a conflict over the new Christian religion which endured for centuries. From time to time the Welsh hillmen would make inroads across the flat country round the beautiful valleys of the rivers Wye and Severn. In one of these forays, Putta's wooden church was left a charred ruin.

In another part of the country, the King of Mercia had captured and executed the pious Ethelbert, King of the East Saxons. The dead man's body was brought to rest at Hereford, and to celebrate the solemn occasion it was decided to build a stone church above the tomb.

But even the great stone church did not deter the Welsh, who in 1055 once more sacked the city and callously slew seven of the canons at the great door of the cathedral. Another and bigger cathedral was begun in 1107, and that is the massive church we see today.

Its later history has been uneventful, save for a brief period during the Cromwellian wars in the seventeenth century. The Puritan Roundheads used the nave as a barrack, and the more ardent reformers among them spent their time defacing the beautiful carved monuments of medieval bishops, of which there are a very large number. The reigning Dean was not frightened by their excesses, and denounced their vandalism from a little wooden pulpit, which can still be seen. Unfortunately the defaced images can also be seen.

The present cathedral is largely a Norman structure, and stands a short distance away from the main street of a quaint old city and close to the river Wye, which for a thousand years has been an anglers' paradise.

The cathedral contains two notable treasures, one of which is a renowned Map of the World—the only other like it is, or was, at Nuremberg. It represents the world as known in the Middle Ages, and was made by a Canon of the Chapter in 1305. The world is shown as a perfect circle with Jerusalem at the centre.

The other treasure is the medieval chained library of 1,440 books, preserved with their fittings, desks, seats and iron work just as they were when they were first acquired by the canons long ago.

In later years, after the Reformation, particular care was paid in England's great churches to the quality of choral music. The new ideas accompanied the great development of the art of building church organs by such experts as Renatus Harris at the time of Charles II (1660-1685). Music in English cathedrals has therefore long been famous, but it is in the west country that sacred song finds its fullest expression.

Thus there has come into existence the "Three Choirs" Festival. The choirs of Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester each year join together in one or other of the three cathedrals to give a series of recitals which, in peace time, attract music lovers from all parts of Europe and the Americas.

Gloucester

Gloucester is the capital of the adjacent county. There has been an Abbey church there since 1070 at least, and the present cathedral is one of the most beautiful to be seen in England. Standing secluded in its close of green lawns and gardens, the great central tower reaches to the sky like a piece of fine lace flung into the air.

It is a perfect blend of many styles. The daintiness of the trefoil work of the East window contrasts strongly with the incredibly massive pillars which support the nave. This church contains perhaps the earliest war memorial in existence in the country—the East window, which commemorates local barons and knights who fell at the battle of Crecy in 1346. Then again there is the magnificent great cloister, which is preserved exactlv as it was when the church was a closed abbey. You can still see the lavatorium with the actual recess where the brethren hung their towels after ablution. Part of the "walk" was reserved for

novices, and there is quaint evidence of their youthful diversions in the forms of holes carved in the wall behind their particular bench showing where the novices played such harmless games as "Fox and Geese" and "Nine Men's Morris."

In its own days Gloucester was also a place of pilgrimage. When the wayward King Edward II was murdered in nearby Berkeley Castle, his personal reputation was so besmirched that no Bishop would give him Christian burial. Eventually the Abbot of Gloucester consented to let the dead King's remains rest in his presbytery.

The assassination of the King roused the feelings of the people, and thousands flocked to pay homage to the dead. A magnificent tomb was built, and can still be seen, and the city prospered by reason of the pilgrimages. The visitors were so numerous that a special hostel had to be constructed. It was called the "New Inn," and is still in existence.

WORCESTER

Very often a first glance at one of Britain's cathedrals from a particular aspect leaves an abiding impression. That is most emphatically the case with Worcester. The tall tower rises above the banks of the gently flowing Severn and across the other side is a broad flat field which forms the famous county cricket ground. On a summer's afternoon it would be difficult to imagine a more entrancing setting.

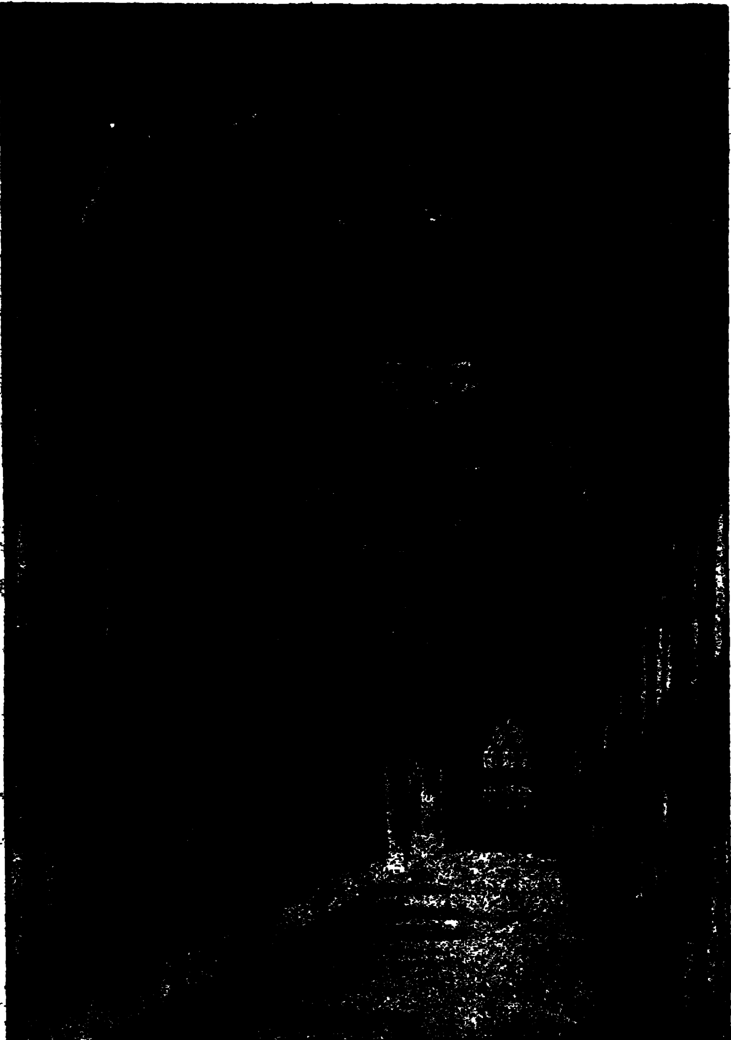
Worcester was made the seat of a bishop as far back as 679 A.D., but the regular succession of bishops does not begin until 780 at least.



Hereford Cathedral. It is largely a Norman structure and stands a short distance away from the quaint old city of Hereford on the banks of the River Wye

It is curious to note that after the Norman Conquest in 1066 the only Saxon Bishop not dispossessed was the saintly Wulfstan of Worcester. He it was who built the greater part of the church we see today, adopting the new Norman style as his model. His devotion and energy quickly made Worcester a diocese of importance, and his personal piety was honoured after death by canonisation in 1203.

The shrine of St. Wulfstan became more than locally famous, and the succession of pilgrims brought much money which was used by the monks to embellish the church. As a result, Worcester Cathedral, though grimly plain from the exterior, apart from the great tower, contains some very beautiful interior work.



The magnificent cloisters in Gloucester Cathedral which were originally part of the old abbey



Worcester Cathedral. The tall tower rises above the banks of the gently flowing Severn



Acres of Tunis dock area levelled by Allied bombs which preceded the Allied capture of the Tunisian capital



At Amchitka, now U. S. base in the Aleutian Islands, two anti-aircraft gunners lie in wait for a possible attack by Japanese planes

THE NINE GEMS OF AKBAR'S COURT

By Rao Bahadur G. S. SARDESAI

Tennyson puts the following lines into Akbar's mouth :

> " I hate the rancour of their castes and creeds,
> I let them worship as they will, I reap
> No revenue from the field of unbelief.
> I cull from every faith and race the best
> And bravest soul for counsellor and friend."

The conception of the nine gems patronized by a great monarch is purely Aryan and receives its first mention after the reign of Vikramaditya of Ujjain, a lover of arts and letters in whose court the poet Kalidas, the mathematician Varaha-Mihira, the grammarian Vararuchi, the physician Dhanwantari, the lexicographer Amarsinha, the astronomer Brahma-Gupta, the architect Shanku, the astrologer Kshapanaka, and the magician Vaitalik are said by popular tradition to have flourished. Tradition hardly cares for historical accuracy and it has now been proved beyond doubt that these great worthies were not all contemporaries but lived and worked during widely different periods in the past; nor does the figure nine signify a literal sense. This figure has a peculiar fascination over the popular mind. The expression " nine gems " therefore conveys what great progress in the various branches of knowledge had been achieved by the Aryan brain during olden days and represents types in the advance of civilization all round. The name Vikramaditya itself has not yet been identified, although it is associated with the traditional Vikrama Era which started 56 years before Christ and which is so universal in India to this day. Kalidas is now definitely ascertained to have flourished early in the fifth century of the Christian era and been patronized by the Emperor Chandra-Gupta, who had assumed the title of Vikramaditya. This monarch ruled from 378 to 414 A.C.

Similarly the expression " nine gems " as applied to Akbar was equally a creation of popular fancy, started after his death, possibly by Hindu Pandits of Shah Jahan and Darashuka's Court like Jagannathrai or Kavindracharya, who therein commemorated the advancement of learning during Akbar's rule so close to their generation. When a ruler achieves phenomenal success in his craft, popular imagination soon invests him with a glow of praise and gathers round him a list of conspicuous personalities that had shared his toils. It is obvious therefore that neither the actual names, nor the exact number of these gems or helpmates of Akbar can be accurately set down. During his long reign various workers and officials stuck to him through weal and woe and were afterwards profusely rewarded by him, of whom tradition enumerates the following nine or ten :

1. Bairam Khan, 2. Abul Fazl, 3. Abul Faizi, 4. Raja Mansingh, 5. Raja Todar Mal, 6. Raja Birbal, 7. Mulla Do-pyaza, 8. Tan-Sen, 9. Hakim Humam and 10. Badayuni.

A careful student of Akbar's reign can easily add to this list many more names of generals, architects, painters, etc. But these are sufficiently representative of the various activities and interests of the Great Emperor.

Why popular imagination raised these personalities into the nine gems of Akbar's court can be easily accounted for. During the three or four centuries preceding the reign of Akbar, the disastrous effects of the Muslim conquest of India were everywhere visible and fresh in popular memory. Mahmud of Ghazni, Shiyabuddin Ghori, Kutbuddin Aibak, Ala-ud-din Khilji, Muhammad Tughlak, Taimurlung, Sher Shah Sur, these great and other small rulers had changed the traditional course of Indian history, particularly in the sphere of religion, so dear to the Hindu heart. It was Akbar who first introduced an entirely different policy based on equality and impartiality irrespective of race or religion. Not only did Akbar remove most of the causes of friction and ill-will, but he boldly undertook the novel experiment of establishing peace and unity among the various warring elements by getting together a body of representative intellectuals and openly debating measures for smoothening their sharp angularities. He sent cordial invitations to the heads of various religious denominations, not only Muslims, but the Hindus, the Jains, the followers of Charwak, the Parsis and the Christians. For the first seven or eight years since 1575 these debates were relentlessly pursued and later continued during several more years whenever leisure and convenience were available, with a view to establishing a new order of society, " with the greatest advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion while gaining whatever is better in another. In this way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the people and security to the empire."

The plentiful records now available of great experiment of Akbar in the fulsome writings of two of his courtiers, Abul Fazl and Badayuni, and in the letters written by the Jesuit missions, give us a realistic picture of his efforts and testi-

y to the wise and benevolent policy he introduced. Even a bare list of names of the various representatives who were brought together in the debating hall at Fatehpur Sikri would be enough to give one an idea of the importance of these Thursday debates. Dastur Meherji Rana of Navsari was long in Akbar's employ and initiated him into the mysteries of Zoroaster's religion. Hiravijay Suri, Vijay Sen Suri, Bhanuchandra Upadhyay, Jinachandra and Sidhha Chandra were Jain scholars who are mentioned as having participated in these debates at different times. Akbar bestowed the title of Jagad-guru upon Hira-Vijay Suri, and their association has been immortalized in a long Sanskrit inscription in a temple on the Shatrunjaya hill near Palitana. Akbar is said to have studied the Surya-sahasranama from one of the Pandits. Rudolf Aquavia, Monserrate, Francis Henrique with some others were Jesuit Fathers who long stayed at Sikri and have left accounts of the debates in which they participated. Purushottam and Debi are two pandits who represented the Vedant system of the Hindus. Badayuni translated the Mahabharata into Persian. These few names among many that must have been lost, supply us an idea of those debates, which in later ages came to be interpreted as the work of the nine gems.

Akbar arrived on the stage of history at a peculiar coincidence of circumstances; indeed he may be said to be their product. The Pathan rule which had engrossed the labour of centuries had collapsed. The sufferings of Akbar's kind-hearted father haunted him at every step. The heroic effort of his competent grand-father Babar had proved of no political avail. Under Bairam Khan's guidance Akbar could just secure a footing in 1556 at the imperial capital. He had no longer a home in Central Asia. Further conquest in India was impossible for want of resources in money or dominion. Thus he had to choose between only two alternatives, build up a permanent empire of his own based on popular support or be for ever annihilated. The high-handedness of Bairam Khan and petty domestic intrigues compelled Akbar at the very start of his career to assert his own power and independence of outside control. An effort to put down the risings and rebellions which cropped up all round in rapid succession, enabled him in a few years to conquer the outlying territories and consolidate his government as a kind of benevolent autocracy. During the first few years he succeeded in creating a centralized monarchy acting through a bureaucratic machinery directly and rigidly under his control. At this stage he was overwhelmed by a great anxiety caused by the opposition of the Rajputs, the best fighting leaders of the Hindu community. They must be either subdued or conciliated. He spent many a restless year over this problem. He realized that if his sovereignty was to be something different from the ephemeral Pathan dynasties, he must build on a more solid foundation by placating the Rajputs into a sort of political and social synthesis. His lofty mind rose above the petty prejudices of his age and after much anxious deliberation he decided to associate the Rajputs in his ambitious enterprise on perfectly honourable terms. He managed to win over Baharmall the Kachwa Raja of Amber and married his daughter. This small beginning led in due course to a greater expansion of a conciliatory policy necessary for a broad-based and permanent empire. It is not possible to advert here to the various links in this bold policy in which almost up to the last, conquest and conciliation went hand in hand and confirmed Akbar in the wisdom of the measures he adopted out of his own hard and independent thinking. The year 1575 became the turning point in his career after twenty years of experimenting. "When at the beginning of that year he came to his capital, he was conscious of having gained a long succession of remarkable and decisive victories, which left him without an important enemy in the Indian world, as known to him. We are told that he spent whole nights in praising God. His heart was full of reverence for Him, who is the true Giver. He would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone near the palace in a lonely spot. He thus developed a passion for unlimited discussion of all matters religious, social and secular, for which he erected a special building at Fatehpur Sikri."

Thus was Akbar led by his situation, like a practical man of business, to develop a remarkable sentiment of self-reliance, questioning and hearing all who were about him but trusting to no one's judgment if it did not satisfy his own conscience. Like every great ruler the final decision upon which he would act in any affair of state or personal conduct, came to be entirely his own. How to make his rule strong, permanent and beneficial, became a passion of his life; to this purely political necessity he subordinated all other concerns. The responsibility of ruling vast alien races, warring religions and conflicting interests, weighed so heavily upon his bosom that he investigated his situation all round for

a practical solution. This necessity fostered in him a spirit of inquiry and suggested to his open mind all those measures which in the long run made him a great and famous monarch. The Rajput alliances, the destruction of the power of the Ulemas, the foundation of his new religion, Din-i-Ilahi, getting together a body of gifted intellects, all these topics emanated from his own free thinking and have been so elaborately narrated by the versatile pen of Abul Fazl.

Free discussion of religious, philosophical and political questions with various intellectuals liberalized Akbar's mind and supplied him a strong common-sense which alone guided him throughout life. His tutor Abdul Latif was a paragon of learning who imparted to him the guiding principle of conduct, "*Sulhi-Kul,*" peace with all. An early inculcation of this attitude came to be later strengthened by an unexpected and accidental acquaintance Akbar contracted with the family of a great free-thinker of his age, Shaikh Mubarak (1505-1593) and his two able sons, Abul Faizi (1547-1595) a poet of a high order and Abul Fazl (1551-1602). A study of these three dominating personalities who were all gifted with rare intellectual powers, supplies us the clue to grasp the secret of Akbar's greatness.

Shaikh Mubarak belonged to an ancient Saiyad family of Arabia that had migrated into Sindh and thence later taken residence at Ajmere. Mubarak possessed a studious bent of mind, worked under various learned scholars and developed a trait for enquiry and free thinking, accepting nothing on mere authority. He dissected the teaching of the Koran and made a comparative study of other religions. He then established a private school of his own and openly began to preach his reformed views more or less like his German contemporary Luther in Europe. The bigoted Ulemas violently denounced his flagrant breaches of orthodox teaching and even obtained from Akbar, then only a few years on the throne, a decree to capture and put him to death. The Shaikh fled from Agra and was for a time sheltered by Shaikh Salim Chisti, Akbar's Mentor. For years Mubarak had to suffer severe persecution and imminent danger to life. Mubarak's two sons shared his sufferings and with all the vehemence of youth imbibed his defiant spirit of revolt upon orthodoxy. The elder Abul Faizi was of a quieter contemplative turn of mind and pursued the art of writing poetry in retirement. The younger Fazl however turned out to be a vengeful diplomat and developed both a biting tongue and an artful pen. Acciden[illegible] brought to Akbar's notice Faizi's excellen[illegible] poems; he was called to the imperial presenc[illegible] in 1568. Their meeting at once becam[illegible] the turning point in the fortunes of th[illegible] persecuted and wandering family of th[illegible] Shaikh. Faizi had accompanied Akbar int[illegible] Bengal during 1574 and being called upo[illegible] to do certain duties which he was unable t[illegible] perform himself, informed the emperor that hi[illegible] younger brother was more fitted for that kin[illegible] of service both by temperament and trainin[illegible] The emperor at once ordered Fazl to his presenc[illegible] and their first meeting took place early in 157[illegible] at Fatehpur Sikri soon after Akbar's retur[illegible] from Bengal. This first audience of Fazl wit[illegible] the Emperor proved in the long run an event o[illegible] transcending importance in the history of Indi[illegible] It soon ripened into such mutual esteem tha[illegible] the master and his admiring devotee formed a[illegible] indispensable association during the next 2[illegible] years thereby changing the essential charact[illegible] of the Mughal Empire for good. The two beg[illegible] to shine as lustrous stars in the political firm[illegible]ment of India, complementing each other bo[illegible] in their mental make-up and the outward pros[illegible]cution of a deliberate policy. Akbar was va[illegible] unlettered and ignorant; Fazl a perfect a[illegible] gifted courtier, an opportunist seeking person[illegible] aims by bestowing fulsome adulation upon h[illegible] earthly master, who could raise him almost [illegible] the first position in the state. He alone cou[illegible] write the voluminous Akbar-namah, a histori[illegible] disquisition which has made Akbar great a[illegible] immortal. Endowed with extraordinary inte[illegible]lectual powers Fazl exercised a powerful influen[illegible] on the pliant and receptive temperament [illegible] Akbar. He initiated the noble idea of holdi[illegible] open debates and himself arranged its programm[illegible] with a view to fixing up some common ratio[illegible] principles and tenets tending to the good [illegible] society and removing friction and bigotry [illegible] destroying the power of the Ulemas and maki[illegible] the emperor the supreme head of both the st[illegible] and the church. What Elizabeth achieved [illegible] the Act of Supremacy in 1559, Akbar acco[illegible]plished in 1583. The two contempora[illegible] sovereigns have thus much in common.

The last moments of both these broth[illegible] heavily saddened the Emperor's heart. Fa[illegible] died on 5th Oct., 1595. Akbar visited him [illegible] his death-bed, when he received the news t[illegible] his condition was bad. Akbar took with hi[illegible] competent Hakim and said to the dying pati[illegible] "Shaikhji, I have brought you my Hak[illegible] please open your mouth and take in the do[illegible]

But no response came and the emperor was moved to tears. He dashed his turban on the ground and wept like a child. Seven years later the other brother Fazl was killed by Salim's machinations, thus darkening the last years of that great Emperor. These two brothers form two important gems in the garland of the nine.

The other gems need not detain us long. Badayuni, was an equally gifted man but was the very antithesis of Fazl. A hearty supporter of orthodoxy, he chafed and stormed at the innovations of the Emperor. He too has left an ample but piquant story of the great emperor's reign and supplies the other side of the shield which Fazl has presented in the Akbarnamah. The two works form a valuable quarry for the student of historical research.

Raja Mansingh was a loyal and trusted military commander of Akbar and claims the main share of the latter's conquests. He did not take part in the religious debates nor did he care to accept the Emperor's new creed of Din-i-Ilahi. When questioned by the Emperor on this point, he replied, "I am a Hindu, but besides Hinduism and Islam, I know of no other religion. As regards my willingness to sacrifice my life for your Majesty, I have given pretty clear proofs till now."

The history of Todarmall and Birbal who illumined Akbar's court is equally well-known to all. The former was a Khatri by caste, resident of the district of Ayodhya. The credit of bringing to perfection the revenue system of the Mughal empire belongs solely to him. How highly the Emperor prized his services is well illustrated in a current anecdote. Completing the conquest of Kashmere Akbar and Todarmall returned to the plains after an arduous journey, in which the bundle of a small canebox containing Todarmall's worshipping apparatus and the principal deity happened to be lost. A devout Hindu as he was, he never ate or drank unless he completed his morning worship and prayers. Having lost the baggage, he began to fast and starve himself to death. The incident being reported to Akbar he at once repaired to Todarmall's tent and enquired how his God could be lost. He then collected a body of learned pandits to advise on the future course. They quoted Shastric authority for Todarmall to undergo penance on the Ganges and take up new idols. The Emperor himself took Todarmall to Haradwar, readily spent for the ceremonial and extricated his distressed servant out of the tragic situation. Here is a great Muslim monarch administering to the needs of a Hindu servant. Todarmall died at Lahore on 11th November, 1589.

Raja Birbal is another Hindu who wholeheartedly supported the Emperor's move for ending the Hindu-Muslim friction and himself accepting the membership of the new religion Din-i-Ilahi. Raja Birbal is only a title bestowed upon him by Akbar. His original name was Maheshdas, a Brahman bard, resident of Kalpi and practising the art of composing poems and earning livelihood by singing them to royalty. This profession earned him the notice of Akbar soon after he had ascended the throne. But it was in secret diplomacy which Akbar had to conduct with the Rajput princes for gaining their friendship that Birbal was found to be an invaluable agent. Birbal negotiated the matrimonial alliances of the Emperor and impressed upon him the vital features of the Hindu religion. Later generations have created profuse ingenious anecdotes in which the ready wit of Birbal has been well illustrated. While on an expedition in Kashmere, Birbal was killed in an action in February 1586.

Mulla Do-pyaza was a very sharp and outspoken man of whims, who could recite the whole Koran by heart. At the age of 15 he left his native country Persia, reached India in the entourage of Humayun and started teaching the Koran to disciples at Delhi. His humorous ways, caustic speech and deep learning soon made him famous, being adept in reading aright the character of a man from his looks. Faizi introduced him to the emperor who highly enjoyed the intellectual tug of war between the Mulla and Birbal, both possessing surpassing wit and a caustic tongue. The Mulla accompanied Akbar to the Deccan and died at Handya on the Narmada in 1600. How he had earned the nickname the "Mulla of the two onions" is narrated by Pairamall in the July (1910) number of *The Modern Review*, where the Mulla's picture is given which certainly bespeaks the whimsical character of the original.

Tan-Sen's name is well known in India as a perfect artist of music. He was in the service of Raja Ramchandra Baghela of Bundelkhand from whom Akbar borrowed his services. It is said that the emperor was so highly pleased with the very first performance Tan Sen gave of his art, that he was given a reward of two lacs. He composed songs which are still in vogue. Mr. A. C. Pandeya has published a useful sketch of Tan Sen's life in the October issue of the *Northern India Observer* of Lahore.

The last gem Hakim Humam was an eminent physician. He belonged to a family of ancient Hakims, residing at Gilan on the Caspian sea. Humam's father was murdered and he migrated into India and was taken into service by Akbar in 1576. He was so clever in his craft that Akbar always had him close to his person, to look after his health. Once in 1587 Hakim Humam was sent as an ambassador to the king of Iran. He died in 1596.

This completes the list of Akbar's nine gems. Of these Todarmall, Mansingh, Birbal and Tan Sen are four Hindus and the others Muslims. We may be sure however that Akbar entertained many more gems of similar character in various spheres of his vast empire, to whom all in fact he owed his greatness. All these worthy comrades of Akbar's life died before him and awfully saddened his last years. But these nine gems with the central figure of Akbar form a complete picture with varied shades and charming colours. Akbar alone without them will look bald and insipid. Likewise these human gems scattered about without their patron to string them together will appear lifeless. They needs must have their main life-spring to utilise their merits, to promote their interest, to rejoice in their happiness and shed tears in their sorrow, all together forming a united family controlling and regulating the wide empire outside and enabling us today after four hundred years to revive their old memory. In this way the splendour of Akbar's reign can become visible to us and show how one man can change history for all ages. Does not India even now possess such gems? Yes, she does; but there must be another Akbar to notice and work them into the nation's service.

Paper read at the Akbar Quater-centenary Celebration, Bombay, 30th November, 1942.

E. P. T. AND INDIAN INDUSTRIES

By S. C. ROY, M.A., B.L.

TAXATION is admittedly the least disturbing and, therefore, the best of the three ways in which a modern war is financed—the other two methods being borrowing and inflation. Excess profits which accrue to business during a war provide a very fruitful source of Government revenue. Taxation of such profits, further, satisfies the canon of equity; for those who make extra profits while and because others have to risk their lives and suffer hardships, may quite justifiably be asked to pay a large slice of their windfall for the conduct of the war. In short, we cannot object to the principle of taking excess profits during a war.

However, so far as India is concerned, we are confronted with an entirely different aspect of the problem. It is a situation that has been created by the arbitrary method by which the excess profits are defined and then immobilised by the Government through taxation. The Excess Profits Tax Act was passed in 1940 and now it has been supplemented by an Ordinance called Excess Profits Tax Ordinance of 1943. These are supposed to be emergency measures calculated to raise funds. But on a critical examination of the provisions of the E. P. T. Act and those of the companion Ordinance, an impartial observer is likely to come to the conclusion that in adopting these measures, perhaps the Government have not been actuated entirely by considerations of sound finance.

It is not possible within the space of a brief statement to criticise this extremely complicated Act in any detail. We shall confine our criticism to the adverse effects of the E. P. T. Act and the E. P. T. Ordinance on the growing industries of India. It is interesting to recall in this connection the history of India's industrialisation during the Great War of 1914-18. In the wake of that war, as is also the case in regard to the present, a situation was created favouring the growth of new industries and the expansion of the existing ones. The circumstances created by the war enabled Indian industries to make profits in excess of the normal, but during the first three years there was no extra tax on them. When the tax was eventually imposed on excess profits the minimum of one lac of rupees per annum was exempted. That is, the infant industries of India were left with ample surplus funds which could be reinvested. The result was a "virtuous circle" for the new indigenous concerns: more profits, further investment, expansion and even greater profits. A large number of these industries grew big enough to be able successfully to compete with their British rivals when the time came. By the time the war was over and normal

tradings resumed, some British industries had lost their Indian markets for ever.

When the present war began, the possibility of another spell of industrialisation loomed large in India. The circumstances were indeed favourable and it was rightly hoped that history was going to repeat itself. That hope now lies buried under the provisions of E. P. T. Act and the Ordinance relating to it. Let us mention the relevant provisions of the Act.

The Excess Profits Tax Act, 1940, came into force on the 13th of April, 1940, with retrospective effect from the 1st of September, 1939. That is, the chargeable period begins from the first day of the war. The liability to pay E. P. T. arises only if the profits of a business during the chargeable accounting period exceed the minimum of Rs. 36,000 per annum. The fixing of the minimum at such a small figure has brought small-scale enterprises—mostly indigenous—within the purview of the Act. On the other hand, while Rs. 36,000 is the minimum to be exempted from taxation, the actual amount exempted is variable. For excess profits do not mean profits in excess of this amount. By "excess profits" is meant the amount by which the profits during the chargeable accounting period exceed the standard profits.

That is, profits in excess of standard profits are excess profits. But what are standard profits? The method by which standard profits are computed is arbitrary. For one business the standard profits may be fixed at 40 per cent; for another at 8 per cent. For standard profits have to be ascertained on the basis of profits made during one of the four standard periods, arbitrarily selected. The following are the four specified standard periods, any one of which may be selected at the option of the assessee:

1. The previous year as determined under Section 2 of the Indian Income-Tax Act, 1922, for the purpose of the income-tax assessment for the year ending on the 31st March, 1937, or the previous year as so determined for the year ending on March 31, 1938.
2. The previous year as so determined for the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1937, and that for the year ending on 31st March, 1937.
3. The previous year for 1937-38 and that for 1938-39.
4. The previous year for 1938-39 and that for 1939-40.

It is not difficult to realise how differently the determination of standard profits on the basis of profits earned during these arbitrarily selected periods will affect the growing industries of India and the overgrown industries of Britain. Industrialisation is a recent phenomenon of Indian society and we may assume that many industries were in the stage of infancy during the periods selected for ascertaining standard profits. Consequently the profits they earned during these periods were much smaller than those earned by British businesses. We have then a situation like this. British concerns which earned normal profits during the standard periods have a large portion of their profits exempted from E. P. T.; but most of the Indian businesses being in the stage of infancy earned small profits during the standard periods, and consequently have only small portions of their respective total profits exempted.

Exceptions have been made with regard to businesses very recently started. Thus, according to the E. P. T. Act, in the case of businesses commenced on or after March 31, 1936, an option is given to adopt a basis of statutory percentage for ascertaining standard profits. This statutory percentage is either 8 percent or 10 percent depending upon the nature of the controlling authority. As the statutory percentages are low, in any case, the infant industries to whom these exceptions are applicable are in no way in a more favourable position than those that secure exemption from the E. P. T. on the basis of profits earned during the standard periods.

Let us now consider how the E. P. T. Act of 1940 and the E. P. T. Ordinance of 1943 involve the complete immobilisation of the excess profits, thereby rendering industrialisation of India during the war extremely difficult. According to the provisions of the E. P. T. Act, 1940, tax on excess profits was at first fixed at 50%. Even making allowance for tax and super-tax on the remaining 50%, industries would still be left with ample funds for re-investment. When this tax was later fixed at 66⅔ percent the scope for re-investment was correspondingly narrowed down. In certain specified cases statistical evidence reveals an absorption roughly of 13⅓ percent of the excess profits by income-tax and super-tax, though in many cases the amount is even larger. The present position then is that in any case 80 percent of the excess profits earned by businesses is paid to the Government of India. In other words, so long as the E. P. T. Act of 1940 remained in force the scope of expansion for our industry would be very restricted. And now, even this little scope is denied to them by the issue of an Ordinance which provides for a compulsory deposit of 13⅓ percent of excess profits. That is, all except 6⅔ percent of excess profits is now drawn into Government's coffers.

A portion of 6⅔ percent is sure to be paid out to shareholders in the form of dividends with the result that practically nothing is left for expenditure on new capital outlay. Apart from the fact that the Ordinance immobilises funds that would otherwise have helped India's industrialisation it also creates positive difficulties for the growing industries. As the resolution, passed at a Joint Conference of the Chambers of Commerce, points out :

"Many assessees will not have the cash to make the compulsory deposits of 13⅓ per cent. as the profits remain employed in business; and the trouble will be aggravated by the fact that such deposits will remain locked up with the Government for a long time and on the security of which it will be impossible even to borrow money."

An illustration will make this point clear. Suppose an industry has made excess profits to the extent of ten lac rupees. This industry will be required to disburse its excess profits amounting to Rs. 10,00,000 in the following manner : 66⅔ percent as E. P. T. and 13½ percent as income-tax and super-tax or Rs. 8,00,000 as E. P. T., income-tax and super-tax, and more than Rs. 1,30,000 as compulsory deposit with the Government. In other words, the industry concerned has to pay to the Government a little over Rs. 9,30,000 out of its computed excess profits of Rs. 10,00,000. Any one knowing the A. B. C. of business will realise how difficult it would be for any business to meet any such requirement. For, clearly no business is ever likely to have all its profits in the form of bank deposits or liquid assets. The profits computed include outstanding bills, raw-materials purchased, etc. Suppose that in the case of the business we have taken as an illustration such items account for, say, 3 lac rupees of the excess profits and the balance of 7 lacs only is in the form of liquid assets. In order to meet the requirements under the E. P. T. Act of 1940 and the E. P. T. Ordinance of 1943 this business would have to borrow a little over Rs. 2,30,000 from the money market.

It is then clear that the E. P. T. Act and the E. P. T. Ordinance have placed the infant industries of India in strait-jackets and consequently India is losing a rare opportunity for industrialisation.

However, considerng that the question of extra funds is of paramount importance to a Government at war, we should not expect or ask for a complete reversal of the Government policy that led to the adoption of the measures we have been criticising. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the fact that the only way in which we can create adequate opportunities for India's poverty-stricken masses is through industrialisation. Having these conflicting factors in mind we submit to the Government for their consideration a proposal which, while providing a measure of relief to India's industries, will not appreciably disturb the budget of the Government.

As we have already pointed out, the infant industries could not have been making, before the war, profits on a scale which would allow of capital expenditure in any appreciable degree. It is the favourable situation created by the war that has made it possible for the indigenous industries to make extra profits that can be drawn upon for their expansion and for creating reserve funds. The Act and the Ordinance provide for the absorption of nearly the whole amount by the Government coffers. It is true that the compulsory deposits made in accordance with the Ordinance shall be repaid by the Central Government within twelve months of the date of termination of the present hostilities or within 24 months of the date on which the deposit was made, whichever is later. We may be a little comforted by the thought that the funds thus immobilised may be looked upon as their prospective reserve funds, but for the duration of war the businesses are none the better for that.

We are still left with the question of expansion of industries while the time is yet favourable. We suggest that the businesses be allowed to earmark a certain percentage of their excess profits for capital expenditure. This portion of excess profits would then have to be regarded as allowable expenditure. We cannot be dogmatic about the exact percentage; it may be tentatively fixed at 15 percent of the excess profits. In order that there may be no evasion of tax through this provision, an industry may be required to show that a proposed capital expenditure is warranted by the exigencies of its production. It is clear that the entire amount of money thus spared is not going to be lost to the Government. When expansion of capital is justified—we may assume it, since it is to take place under the supervision of a statutory authority—it means extra profits. And eventually there is an increase in the amount accuring to the Government in the form of tax, super-tax and excess profits tax. Thus the Government do not lose much while India gains a great deal.

We hope, that taking all factors into consideration the Government will not turn a deaf ear to our proposal.

SHANTI SWARUP BHATNAGAR

By X

The recent announcement of the election of Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar to the fellowship of the Royal Society of Great Britain is yet another instance of the West's recognition of India's contribution to modern science. Since the election of Srinivasa Ramanujan, the wizard mathematician of South India in 1918, in the last quarter-century, only six other Indians—J. C. Bose, C. V. Raman, M. N. Saha, B. Sahni, K. S. Krishnan, J. H. Bhaba—all well-known names in their own branches of science have been included in the Society's roll of fellowship. Shanti Swarup is the first Indian chemist to join this distinguished galaxy.

Shanti Swarup was born on the 21st February, 1894 at Bhera in the Punjab. Bhera is the only district in India which can boast of being the birthplace of two Indian F. R. S.'s—Birbal Sahni and Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar. His father the late L. Parmeswar Sahay, a teacher in the Anglo-Sanskrit School at Bhera, died quite young. Shanti Swarup was then only eight months old. When he was nearly ten, L. Raghunath Sahai, Headmaster of the Dayal Singh High School, Lahore, who was an intimate friend of his father, brought him to Lahore and arranged for his education there. After taking his M.Sc. degree of the Punjab University he worked as a demonstrator on a modest salary in the Dayal Singh College for some time. In 1919 he secured a scholarship from the Dayal Singh College Trust for higher studies abroad, which enabled him to proceed to London and join the University College of Science there. He started research work in the Sir William Ramsay Institute under Prof. F. G. Donan. At that time three of India's foremost chemists—Ghosh, Mukherji and Bhatnagar—were working in Prof. Donan's Laboratory. Bhatnagar was admitted to the D.Sc. degree of the London University only after two years' work.

On his return to India Bhatnagar was appointed Professor of Chemistry in the Benares Hindu University. In 1924 he joined the Punjab University as Professor of Chemistry and Director of Chemical Laboratories. He initiated and conducted researches in various branches of physical chemistry and magneto-chemistry and under his inspiring guidance an active school of chemical research grew up in Northern India. In 1946 when the Government of India decided to create a new department of scientific and industrial research to undertake a planned scheme of industrial research on a large scale, Bhatnagar was called upon to fill the post of the Director.

Bhatnagar has made notable contributions to colloid chemistry and magneto-chemistry, which of course is difficult to be described in detail in non-technical language. After his return from England he continued for a number of years very important studies on the properties of emulsions. With his collaborators he carried out interesting investigations on thin films of organic liquids on paper and the relation between the chemical constitution of organic liquids and the transluscence of papers dipped in them. In magneto-chemistry his contributions cover a wide field. He discovered interesting effects of magnetic field on various chemical reactions and showed that interesting changes in magnetic property take place in some substances on colloidisation and adsorption. To him goes the credit of designing the most sensitive apparatus for measurement of magnetic susceptibility—the Bhatnagar-Mathur magnetic balance, which has been put in the market by Adam Hilger Ltd. of London. He has written in collaboration with his student Dr. K. N. Mathur an advanced treatise on magneto-chemistry which has been published by Macmillan & Co. of London.

Bhatnagar was President of the chemistry section of the Indian Science Congress in 1928 and again 1938 which was the Silver Jubilee year of the Science Congress.

The recognition of his services has come not only from the people and Government of his own country but also from the leading academic bodies of Great Britain. He has the unique distinction of being the first and the only Indian honorary Fellow of the Institution of Chemists of Great Britain and now he has the further distinction of being the first Indian Chemist to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Shanti Swarup married Lajjavati, the eldest daughter of Rai Saheb Raghunath Sahai, the well-known educationist and Brahmo-Samaj leader of the Punjab. In private life he follows the old Indian ideal of plain living and high thinking. He is simple in his habits, unassuming in his manners and has a charming personality. Always helpful to his pupils in every possible way, he would often loosen his own purse-strings to help them. His selflessness in making over to the Punjab University several lakhs of rupees which were offered to him by the Attock Oil Co., (Messrs. Steel Brothers) for his valuable researches on oil technology, reminds of the princely munificence of that doyen of Indian Chemists, Sir P. C. Ray, who made over the entire sum of his fifteen years' salary to the Calcutta University for the promotion of Chemical Research.

INDIAN MONETARY POLICY IN RECENT TIMES

BY PROF. P. C. THOMAS, M.A.

I

WHAT is to be the monetary policy of a country? How far could a central bank effectuate such a policy? For a long time it was regarded that stability of the value of a country's money in terms of the monies of other countries with which it had trade relations should be the aim of monetary policy. Gold standard, which after the gold discoveries of the mid-nineteenth century came to be evolved in most European countries, was employed for securing this end.[1] Even secondary states or regions which could hold only smaller stocks of gold adopted Gold Exchange Standard which served much the same purpose. Holland, India, the Philippines, Mexico, Panama, Thailand, Indo-China, the Straits Settlements and even China tried this experiment for longer or shorter periods.[2] India adopted it for the longer part of her currency history in modern times. The Gold Exchange Standard allows for holding foreign exchange as currency lease and disallows internal conversion which meant economy in the use of gold.[3] From 1898 to 1914, India worked the Gold Exchange Standard on the whole "well in practice, except for certain failures of co-ordination due to the division of function between the Government of India and the India office."[4]

A sound monetary system is understood to include "(1) a method for regulating the supply of currency and credit with a view to maintaining as far as possible the stability of the internal price-level, and (2) a method for regulating the supply of foreign exchange so as to avoid purely temporary fluctuations, caused by seasonal or other influences and not due to a lasting disturbance in the relation between the internal and the external price-level."[5] It is not easy always to choose between the two policies, though often a choice has to be made. The two are not always perfectly compatible. Of the two Lord Keynes attaches greater importance to the former, but laments that in the pre-war (1914-18) days we "all plumped for stability of exchange as against stability of prices."[6] Studying the two policies as distinct from one another, a distinction is to be made between countries depending on foreign trade for a large measure of their prosperity and those which do not so depend. In the case of the former it is debatable whether a stable foreign exchange is not more important.[7]

About the advantages to England of a stable foreign exchange Mr. G. D. H. Cole once expressed himself thus:

> "Great Britain is more dependent on international trade than any other country in the world. . . . . It has, therefore, considerable advantages from the standpoint of those engaged in external trade. In the period of unstable exchanges after the war, traders had ample reason to realise the disadvantages of exchange fluctuations. They might gain or lose by particular fluctuations; but the fact of fluctuation introduced an element of gambling into all overseas commercial transactions."[8]

But some have argued that internal price-stability is preferable even for countries with a large volume of foreign trade.[9]

It has sometimes been lamented that India regarded stability of exchange as the objective of her monetary policy even to the detriment of other needs more vital to her economy. In a country like India with a large volume of internal trade, which is a large multiple of her international trade, price-stability is preferable to exchange stability, in the event of a conflict between the two. But Indian monetary history affords many examples of determined attempts at securing a medium of exchange stability even at the sacrifice of any order in prices.[10] The author of the Central Banking (Minority) Report says with some bitterness:

> "The credit structure in the country (India) is subordinated to currency requirements and trade and

1. T. E. Gregory: *The Gold Standard and its Future*, p. 5.
2. J. M. Keynes: *Indian Currency and Finance*, Chapter II.
3. Feliks Mlynaiski: *The Functioning of the Gold Standard*, p. 51.
4. Report of the Royal Commission (Hilton Young) on Indian Currency and Finance, Para. 22.
5. J. M. Keynes: *Tract on Monetary Reform*, p. 177.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
7. Sir Charles Addis: *Economic Journal*, June, 1924. Keynes himself seems to support a view of this kind. "The right choice," he said, "is not necessarily the same for all countries. It must partly depend on the relative importance of foreign trade in the economic life of the country." *Ibid.*, p. 155.
8. G. D. H. Cole: *Gold, Credit and Employment*, p. 34.
9. J. M. Keynes: *Treatise on Money*, vol. II, p. 333.
10. This was true of almost all countries for sometime. De Kocle: *Central Banking*, p. 139.

industry are sacrificed at the altar of what is considered by the Government as the supreme need of maintaining the exchange."[11]

The complaint is not wholly without foundation. Evidences are many that the Government kept in view the exigencies of the exchange in most if not all their monetary policies. It has been said that "there was not a single occasion when it was remotely suggested by the Government and its currency experts that the sole object of a currency organization for India should be the maintenance of stability in the purchasing power of the standard coin in terms of commodities—in other worlds, the maintenance of a comparatively stable level of prices."[12] There is hardly any doubt that if the prime object of a sound monetary policy is stability of prices in India that was held subsidiary, if not entirely neglected. Throughout, the Government themselves were aware that they were in pursuit of such a policy and their spokesmen have often expressed the same:

"The admirable history of Indian currency since 1893 . . . . shows at once that in all the various changes the dominant force, whether in initiation or modification, has been the stability of the foreign exchange value of the rupee in relation to gold."[13]

In 1835, India introduced, though by gradual steps, a silver standard. It worked satisfactorily well till the early eighteen seventies when the silver market experienced a slump.[14] With the fall in the value of silver the Government's difficulties were mainly external in character, *i.e.*, in discharging their gold obligations. And the prime purpose of closing the Mints in 1893 was minimising exchange fluctuations.. The task entrusted to the Herschell Committee was to devise means of meeting the great difficulties that the Government had to face when silver fell.[15] The Chamberlain Commission asserted that the cardinal feature of the whole system is "absolute security for the convertibility into sterling of so much of the internal currency as may at any moment be required for the settlement of India's external obligations."[16] Writing on behalf of the Government of India in 1919, H. F. Howard observed that the main objective of the various commissions and committees which have enquired into the currency question was "to devise measures which would prevent the exchange value of the rupee from falling below 1s. 4d."[17] It was stated in the terms of reference to the Babington Smith Committee that their recommendations should confine "to ensuring a stable gold standard." Monetary theory has by now established, and post-war monetary experiences have confirmed that Gold Standard is calculated to establish exchange stability even at the risk of unstable prices. In a statement made in 1919 before the Babington Smith Committee, the Controller of Currency made the following admission:

"In the Government of India's statement the problem is the consideration of the means of securing the greatest practicable stability of the rupee in terms of the sovereign. . . . From the trade point of view there is no doubt that the stability of exchange is almost a necessity. There are countries which work on fluctuating exchange, so that you could not say it is an absolute necessity; but the conditions to which India is accustomed in the last twenty years my own feeling is that stability is really an essential necessity to trade."

That stability of exchange is desirable none will deny. But in a country of India's dimensions and with a large volume of internal trade the interests of the consumer, the producer, and the internal trader are paramount and far more important than those of foreign traders who form but a very small portion of the population. Moreover, as the Babington Smith Committee put it, stability of exchange is not an essential condition; "our conclusion, after considering the viewpoint before us, is that for current operations of trade stability is an imporant facility rather than an essential condition." The importance of exchange stability has often been overrated. It will be of interest in this connection to notice the recommendation of the Australian Royal Commission on Currency, 1936, on exchange stability *versus* price stability:

"The function of the Commonwealth Bank should be to regulate the volume of credit and currency, making its chief consideration the reduction of fluctuations in general economic activity in Australia."

"The Policy is not to fix the exchange rate and to require the economy in ordinary circumstances to adjust

11. Mr. Manu Subedar: *Minority Banking Report*, Para. 264. Mr. R. K. (now Sir) Shanmukham Chetty once said in the Legislative Assembly: "The Hon'ble Member (The Finance Member) who ever since he came to India has been singing the praise of the stability of internal level of prices is now deflating the currency and bringing down the level of prices with a view to keep up his pet theory of an 18d. ratio to the rupee." Debate on the Reserve Bank Bill in the Legislative Assembly on 25th January, 1927.

12. Wadia and Joshi: *Money and Money Market in India*, p. 238.

13. Nicholson in the *Economic Journal*, June, 1914.

14. Herschell Committee Report, Para 5.

15. Financial statement (Sir David Barhom). "If that fall could be stayed, and the rate of exchange with England fixed permanently at even its present low figure, the difficulty of dealing with the present deficit would be comparatively light . . . . unless some settlement of the currency question is obtained there is no prospect of even the most moderate degree of stability in the rate of exchange."

16. Chamberlain Commission Report.

17. Babington Smith Committee Report, App. I D., p. 29.

itself to that rate, but to keep the economy reasonably stable and to move the exchange rate, if necessary, as one means to that end."[18]

It is thus abundantly clear that the main purpose of the long series of the Indian currency measures since 1893 when the Mints were closed and the silver standard abandoned, was to stabilise foreign exchange as much as possible, irrespective of the needs and dictates of India's economy in general.

18. Report of the Royal Commission (appointed in November, 1935), quoted in *Money and Banking*, League of Nations, 1937-38.

(To be continued)

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Apologies for Art-Review

The very instructive and educative comments that my imperfect survey of the Years' progress in Art have extracted from Professor Cousins, the greatest leader of Art-movements in India, will inspire friends of Art in other centres of India to emulate his laudable and valuable endeavours. The many "omissions" and "commissions" that disfigure my poor effort to draw up a Yearly Balance-Sheet of Art in India—deserved harsher punishments, but Professor Cousins has not even chastised me with a mild rebuke. To be rebuked by him is to me a singular "privilege." The State Gallery of Art—Sri-Chitralaya of Travancore is a growing tree, a veritable Kalpa-Vriksha, which is always putting forth new flowers (in the way of new acquisitions), under the careful nursing of the Director and Adviser,—an example which many Government Museums of Art (I do not refer to the Museums of Archæology) could follow with advantage. Our Museums and Galleries of Art have yet to develop a live relationship with our Schools and Colleges and a vital connection with educational curricula and programmes. No true lover of Art is satisfied with a mere collection of paintings and sculptures—unless they are utilized as live factors in our educational courses—and Professor Cousins has been steadily working for that end, almost single-handed.

There is no room, here, for any discussion of the ethics of picture-buying for Public Museums and Galleries. There are some healthy and sane rules observed in England (National Art Collections Fund) and in the United States (the organizations of the various City Art Galleries in each State), but in the present apathy on the part of our citizens to matters of Art—acquisitions for public galleries—any discussion of such ethics may, perhaps, be premature.

There is a crying need for our State Museums and Government Galleries of Arts and Antiquities to *develop* a conscience for cheap publicity of their treasures and data for study of Art, in the forms of accurate Collotype and Colour Post-cards for educational purposes. This is a cheap and an effective way of popularizing the latest acquisitions. And if the State Gallery of Travancore and of other States followed the practice of the Museum Directors in England and America, in this matter, they will be helping the cause of Art, to a considerable extent. India is a vast continent, and lovers and students of Art are separated by telescopic distances, and issuing Picture Post-cards of existing treasures and new gems—is the only cheap method of Art Publicity. The American Museums regularly issue illustrated Bulletins (monthly, bi-monthly, or quarterly) which bring to the notice of Art students and connoisseurs the latest acquisitions of works of Art-pictures, sculptures, prints or textiles, and help to stimulate interest in the study of Art, and awaken love of beauty in quarters, hitherto bereft of that spiritual blessing. The daily and the weekly journals in the West render valuable help to popularize Museum acquisitions—a help stoutly denied by Indian editors of daily newspapers. But that is another matter.

It may interest educationists in other parts of India, to know that an effort is being made in Bengal to introduce "Picture Hours in the Schools," with the help of Colour Post-cards of famous masterpieces of painting—a very effective, yet a cheap apparatus of study suitable for conditions prevailing in India. I have just finished a series of intensive course of lectures on the History of Art for the benefit of a group of Art-teachers, at the Calcutta University, almost, exclusively illustrated with a series of Post-cards representing significant Masterpieces of Art of all the Schools.

But the Calcutta University's humble efforts to train a small band of Art-teachers to take up duties in schools to develop interest in Art, appreciative and creative, appear to pale into insignificance in comparison with the greater achievement of the Travancore University in sending out a formidable battalion of 320 graduates, with L. T. degrees, to take up strategic positions in schools—to vanquish the prevailing ignorance of Art and to make our students art-minded. But the great problem is to provide these teachers with the necessary arms, implements, and apparatuses, for, Art is a subject which cannot be talked about, but has to be demonstrated, at each step, by visual examples. Before every school has its Gallery of Pictures—it is impossible even for trained teachers to accomplish much. Yet the beginnings have to be laid in the schools, for long before the school-boy matriculates and comes to his University his hunger for beauty is starved out by our too much bookish education.

As regards Srimati Rukmini Devi's valiant and courageous endeavours in the cause of the Visual Arts and to bring Art to our daily domestic life, her memorable Exhibition of "Art in the Home," held at Madras, a few years ago, is an unforgettable testimony. My suggestion was to the *Kala-Kshetra* to bring selected examples of masterpieces of painting and sculpture through worthy reproductions, within the reach of popular understanding. For, in India even the most learned and the cultivated have no memory of the masterpieces of Art, Indian or European. Art has been too much neglected in the fields of University and popular education, and, in the South, two earnest workers—Rukmini Devi and Professor Cousins—have done and are destined to do great things to advance the knowledge of Art and to enrich the opportunities for cultivated and spiritual living.

O. C. GANGOLY



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

POLITICAL INSANITY OF INDIA : *By N. H. Vakeel. Published by Thacker & Co., Bombay. Pp. 95+ix. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The author of this interesting brochure is a member of the Parsi community. He seeks to analyse the factors responsible for the present impasse in India and is critical of the attitude of all the parties involved in the tangle. Though complete agreement with Dr. Vakeel's views can not be expected from any close student of affairs, it may be expected that his constructive scheme would receive serious consideration. In brief, he pleads for (*i*) composite cabinets on the Swiss model, (*ii*) a "Provincial" Federated India and Federated State India working for certain common objects through an "Imperial" India Council "Chamber," (*iii*) the majority community not to have more than 55 per cent. of seats and not less than 50 per cent. and the minorities should in *all* cases be guaranteed weighted representation through *purely* communal electorates for *all* classes of seats, (*iv*) 50 per cent. representation for majority community and weighted representation for others on the cabinet, (*v*) application of a ⅔ majority rule in regard to controversial legislation affecting any community in particular and also recourse to the method of reference to Tribunals, (*vi*) abolition of the India Secretary's office, and (*vii*) British officers being asked to quit within ten years, etc.

This is not a technical work nor a theoretician's thesis and judged as a layman's commonsense contribution should be welcomed as a straight approach towards Indian problems. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who contributes a Foreword, rightly sums up the main criticism to the proposals when he says that the recognition of *separatenesses* for evolving a national will can only be a temporary makeshift for "to make it a permanent feature will perpetuate the evils which Dr. Vakeel himself denounces." Sir Chimanlal very significantly adds that the scheme also "overlooks the fact that the future Government of India will in course of time be a Government by experts and that racial and religious considerations be thrown into the background by economic considerations." By the way, who told Dr. Vakeel and Sir Chimanlal of a demand by Bengalees for "Bangastan"?

Benoyendranath Banerjea

THE WELL OF THE PEOPLE : *By Bharati Sarabhai. Publishers : Visva-bharati, 2, College Square, Calcutta. (Agents : New Book Company, Hornby Road, Bombay). Price Rs. 2.*

Flung out of the depth of modern India, this play is itself a drama of our peoples; it represents the passionate resurgence of India's millions." But the new popular will, while it speaks through workers' choruses and the atmosphere of events, finds its intense reality in the struggle and conversion of a lonely village woman who symbolises rural India. From isolated introspection and piety she turns to hard, clean work of service; there she finds satisfaction which is creative and co-operative. This is the first modern drama, written by an artist of the younger generation which is all-Indian and genuine in its rootedness, and it is because of its regionality—India is a great region—that it touches the universal concrete. The writer is at her best in voicing the strange uniting upheaval that transforms the inner life of a nation even while it is largely an unconscious force; but behind this spiritual surge, like the moon behind a forest of trees, we feel the radiance of the great leader. Gandhiji's sustaining character invests each minor event with a transcending significance and the peoples' drama is shaped by the dynamics of goodwill.

"We sought the pattern of our regeneration
In him : for him our seven hundred thousand
Villages were to be, each in intention
A miniature nation; for him *Daridra*
Narayana, our apotheosis of the poor."

Thus speaks the chorus, in language which as it touches the awakening heart of India, turns into lyric gold. There is flowering passion here, and a vitality that conquers suffering in its forward-marching destiny; the balance between imperatives of action and the spiritual assertion of a people is finely laid. And this balance could only be shown through the struggles of an individual : the village woman has discovered the secret of India's civilisation which has to be re-interpreted in modern terms. "Her life's desire is to go on a pilgrimage but when the time comes no one will take her to Benares. She turns to her village workers and the idea of builing a well instead, a well for the outcast Harijans, dawns on her. And to-day the well is there; it cost one hundred and fifty rupees."

The technique, thoroughly modern, is influenced by Eliot and Auden, and yet it is quintessentially Indian in its exploitation of the folk-lore tradition; the speech-effects and the larger, leisurely movements of free verse draw from the unconscious reservoir of India's immemorial epic of ordinary human life. The Indian *Jatra* with the patriarchal banyan tree as background, and the village religious fair as a processional fringe, still maintains its current of poetic drama in our villages. The subtle pattern of simple speech, quick and complex and full of inversions can be rendered either by the anonymous co-operation of many minds—I refer to the old unselfconscious language of folk drama and other folk-lore creations—or by a new, direct *poetic speech* which we are evolving, sometimes selfconsciously, in modern

verse. The period of experimentation proceeds, but we have already seen poetic drama emerging into a sophisticated simplicity which does communicate; this communication is proved by the immense popular appeal of some of Eliot's and Auden's most artistically contrived productions. The oblique, the suggestive, the symbolic, and the apparently naive forms of modern expression might be variously handled by a genuine artist; *poetic speech* takes and deviates from ordinary speech in unpredictable ways. Through such mutations a new lucidity is achieved which corresponds to the complex organic growth of our human behaviour. Severe reticence, the deletion of tired adjectives, and the bold use of precision instruments of speech for conversational and yet intellectualised expression, give to passages in Bharati Sarabhai's play an underglow of eloquence which is immediate and powerfully evocative. For richest success in such technique, at once individual and widely modern, the author will have to use her own language but her use of an alien medium is creative and surprising. Here is a drama which new writers will have to read, which is daringly artistic and closely woven with the texture of our peoples' lives; a remarkable first production of an author who has rendered the atmosphere of a new age with sensitive regional feeling. There is profound refreshment of spirit to be found in this *Well of the People*.

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

WIVES OF FAMOUS MEN : *By Ela Sen. Published by Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. 1942. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 4-4.*

This is a collection of sketches that were originally published in *The Sunday Statesman*, which are now available between the covers of a single monograph. The pen-pictures of such widely varying characters as those of Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Kasturbai Gandhi, Mrs. Churchill and Kamala Nehru, Madame Stalin and Mrs. Bernard Shaw have been portrayed by the authoress in delicate shades and with consummate skill. These interesting studies which breathe an air of exquisite sensitivity would be read with equal curiosity and zest both by men and women, although for different reasons. In these sketches, however, we fail to find the complete woman, her passions, prides and prejudices even outside the domain of wifehood, but that is perhaps inevitable in view of the fact that the authoress did not have the advantage of personal acquaintance with her models. In spite of this, the characterization of Kamala Nehru is extremely lively, intimate and even touching. The delineation of one or two characters would carry to some the impression that a reflection of their husband's personality has somewhat prejudiced the just evaluation of their individuality, and it is a pity that Ela Sen's political inclinations have in this matter been allowed to prevail over her pleasantly stressed feminist views.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

IMMORTAL INDIA OR INDIA'S DEATHLESS HERITAGE AND PRICELESS CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD : *By L. H. Ajwani, M.A., Professor of English Literature, D. J. Sind College, Karachi. Published by the Educational Publishing House, Karachi. Second Edition. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Mr. Ajwani is an eminent professor and gifted speaker of Sind. At Karachi we used to hear, with rapt attention, the torrential flow of his oration. Happily he has now come out as a popular author. His maiden work, which is the book under review, has been crowned with extraordinary success. The popularity of this book may be gauged by the fact that its first edition was exhausted in the course of a few months.

This little book deals very impressively in a lucid and flowing style the secret of India's undying vitality. It is a marvellous survey—a praiseworthy presentation of India's immortal heritage and invaluable contribution to the world and its unique mission in the history of nations. The twelve chapters into which the book is divided contains short but substantial sketches on India's fundamental unity, heroic role, way of life, wisdom, sages, women, arts and sciences, kings and warriors, past and present as well as the new awakening. Every chapter is illuminating and full of interesting informations. There are five beautiful illustrations which make the book attractive. It is replete with apt quotations from both Eastern and Western authorities on the subject. The charges that are generally levelled against India and her history by foreigners have been forcefully contradicted and refuted in the book. The learned author rightly acknowledges in the preface that he has extensively quoted from well-known books on India, chiefly from the published works of Swami Vivekananda and from the monumental publication issued in memory of his master—The Cultural Heritage of India.

At this critical juncture, when young India, oblivious of her glorious past, is at her wits' end and does not know what to do and what not the publication of this book is very timely. A perusal of this book will remove the confusion, and clear the vision about Indian future and reveal the secret of India's survival through the ages. The reader will learn from this book that India is immortal and destined to get through the present impasse and build a greater future than her great past. Attempts should be made to bring out the book in Indian vernaculars for wider circulation.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE MUSLIMS AND THE CONGRESS : *Edited by Mr. Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L. Published by the Barendra Library, 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 271. Price Rs. 2-8 only.*

This is a very timely publication being a symposium of addresses of the Muslim Presidents of the Indian National Congress from 1887 to 1940 with an introduction from the Editor. Altogether, there are seven presidential addresses, *viz.*, Budruddin Tyabji, Madras, 1887, M. R. Sayani, Calcutta, 1896, Nawab Syed Mohammad, Karachi, 1913. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Ahmedabad, 1922, Mahammad Ali, Coconada, 1925. M. A. Ansari, Madras, 1929 and Abul Kalam Azad, Ramgarh, 1940. The addresses of Syed Hasan Imam and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for special sessions held at Bombay (1920) and Delhi (1923) respectively are not included in this publication. The Muslims did not muster strong at the first session held in 1885 at Bombay under the Presidency of W. C. Bonnerjee but since third session at Madras over which Budruddin Tyabji presided, they are joining in large numbers in spite of the foundation of the All-India Muslim League in 1907. The Congress has always stood, and fought for all the nation and did not make any distinction of caste, creed or colour. In its history of the last half a century and over, whatever might have been the programme of the Congress moderate or extremist, Goal—Dominion Status or Independence, Method—constitutional or non-violent non-co-operation, it stood for India and India alone and promised full protection to the Muslims and other

minorities. Although predominantly Hindu in numerical strength, it never had any communal outlook and the Presidents of the Congress have been drawn from all classes and as a matter of fact out of the six first Presidents, three belonged to the minority communities and two were Englishmen. All the Muslim Presidents of the Congress expressed themselves in clear emphasis that Muslim interests would be best served by the Muslims if they would join the Congress in its great struggle for the liberation of India—the common Fatherland. Even the All-India Muslim League could not serve the communal interest of the Muslims better than the Congress as its past history shows.

It is significant that at this critical juncture of India's history a Muslim adorns the presidential chair of the Congress. He is no less a Muslim than an Indian and is serving Islam best by espousing, fighting and sacrificing for the cause of India's freedom. The utterances of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at the Ramgarh session (1940) give a lie to the propaganda that Congress is a communal organisation run by the Hindus for the advancement of their communal ends. In the words of the great Maulana, "This thousand years of joint life has moulded us into a common nationality . . . . . Whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian Nation, united and indivisible. No fantasy or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity. We must accept the logic of fact and history and engage ourselves in the fashioning of our future destiny."

The book deserves to be very widely circulated and read by all classes of educated people throughout the length and breadth of India.

A. B. Dutta

SCULPTURE INSPIRED BY KALIDASA : *By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., Curator, Archæological Section, Government Museum, Madras. Published by the Samskrita Academy, Madras.*

The book draws attention to the close ideological parallelism existing between a number of old sculptures in different parts of India or outside and some of the verses of Kalidasa. It is suggested that this is all due to the unique hold obtained by the works of Kalidasa due to their immense popularity, over the minds and imagination of cultured India. To quote the words of the learned author, *Kalidasa's* inspiration has been everywhere. In his own time and later, all over the land, his verses were on the lips of every devotee of art. Painters and sculptors loved to ponder over his lovely descriptions and inimitable pen-pictures; and they became part of their aesthetic culture. Without an effort these found expression in their works as they chiselled the stone or painted the wall (pp. 2-3). The sculptures illustrated in the work range from second century B.C. to fifteenth century A.D. It is difficult without going against the generally accepted date of Kalidasa to agree with the author's theory at least with respect to the earlier specimens. The view of Dr M. R. Jayakar expressed in the Foreword would appear to be free from such difficulties and thus be more plausible. "His [Kalidasa's] poems," writes Dr. Jayakar, "gave expression to all the knowledge and feelings that were probably the common possession of the cultured men and women of his times and it is perhaps a more true theory to hold that the sculptures reproduced in the present treatise are only instances of an unintentional parallelism rather than that they represent a deliberate design to reproduce Kalidasa's ideas in rock or stone." (Foreword, p. viii). But though there may be difference of opinion with regard to details, it must be admitted that the book opens a new and interesting field of study and bears testimony to the keen observation of the author. It is a welcome and valuable contribution to the study of Sanskrit literature in its realistic aspect as a moving vehicle of the life and culture of the land.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

SEX AND SOCIALISM : *By M. R. Raju. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Pp. 156+iv. Price Rs. 5.*

This book in all its pages tends to convince its readers that socialism can alone set sex right. The author is one of those who believe that communism alone can solve all riddles in man's life and remove all sources of human miseries and sufferings. Various manifestations of sex, natural and pathological, have been discussed in the book. The author has gleaned knowledge from various sciences such as anthropology, biology, sexology, psychology, psychoanalysis, socialism, pathology to show the varied complicated nature of the matters of sex. But the standpoints of approach to human problems in those sciences are different from one another and the reader is likely to experience confusion in comparing the statements and findings of one science with those of the other. The author frequently indulges in adopting a layman's point of view and outlook towards scientific statements. This seems to be an objectionable fallacy.

The author talks of the difficulties and anomalies in matters of sex, marriage, etc., in such a way as to give the impression that only man's consideration for money has ushered them in man's life, whether personal or social. If it be so easy to free oneself from the bondage of his misery and suffering by deleting his consideration for money, why is it then that man continues to suffer from that bondage ?

In the state with the capitalistic texure of society, the question of money is unduly over-emphasized and the sufferer in that state is tempted to make things simpler by holding the economic inequality, which of course, exists therein, responsible for everything that befalls to his lot. It is an over-simplification to hold the economic inequality of man responsible. It conceals the truth of man's existence and leads him to the path of illusion. It is tempting because man's self-regard remains untainted and unchallenged if he can shake off the responsibility from his shoulder. Furthermore, for many of us, to see the obstacle on our path insurmountable and hence inevitable is a very alluring scheme of observation.

It is indeed a very fascinating imagination to believe that the socialistic or communistic distribution of wealth will remove all difficulties regarding sexual matters. When the mode of living is changed in the future socialistic state, one can hope that the picture of many sexual problems will also change but it would be extremely unjustifiable, if not altogether unreasonable to imagine that the sources from which they spring would be eradicted. It is very necessary that man should free himself from pathological manifestations of sex but we cannot agree with the methods advocated by the author in his book for achieving that freedom.

Rabi Ghosh

COMPLETE INCOME-TAX READY RECKONER, 1943 : *By R. C. Doodhmal, R.A., F.I.S.A., Empire Terrace, Lamington Road, Bombay, 7. Price Re. 1-4.*

The recent increase in the Income-Tax and Super-Tax Rates introduced by the Indian Finance Act, 1943, has necessitated recalculation of the taxes payable by

individuals, Hindu undivided families, unregistered firms, limited companies and others. The author has done the calculation in a careful and comprehensive manner. The printing and get-up of the book is good; and we have tested the calculations and found them to be accurate.

J. M. Datta

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HINDU LAW TO WORLD JURISPRUDENCE: *By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., F.R.S.L., Bar-at-Law. Published by the Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras. Price Re. 1-8.*

In this book, the learned author has examined in brief *The Contribution of Hindu Law to World Jurisprudence,* in various directions.

Hindu Jurisprudence differs from all other jurisprudence in this that, while the jurisprudence of other nations concerns itself only with portions of a man's activities, Hindu Jurisprudence embraces all the activities of man from the moment he is conceived till he attains salvation. There is no distinction in Hindu Jurisprudence between Religion and Morals. Dharma or Law embraces everything in life. A man has to follow the law not because of the fear of the penalty or sanction but because that is for his own benefit and enables him to obtain his own salvation. The chief end of law and its declared goal was the ideal of Righteousness or Dharma. As a result of this, there is no place in Hindu Law for the English Common Law maxim "The King can do no wrong." The King is liable in Hindu Law like his subjects. The King's power is delegated to him by God so that he has no power to alter by legislation the Vedas or Smritis or Sadachara. He can only enforce the Dharma enjoined by these. Law meant not merely law, in the narrow sense of the term, but also justice, equity and good conscience. Yagnavalkya and Narada both emphasise that equity should prevail where two Smriti texts are in conflict.

The well-known Factum Valet rule applied only in cases where the settled fact was in consonance with justice, equity and good conscience but it would not apply to iniquitous things.

In Hindu Law, the King was held to be a servant of the people and the taxes were considered to be his wages. He had to work as hard as any of his subjects. This book throws a flood of light about India's notable contribution to Law and Jurisprudence. It will be appreciated both by the students of law as well as by laymen.

Jitendra Nath Bose

ST. MANICKAVASAKAR—His Life and Teachings: *By Lt. M. S. Purna Lingam Pillai, B.A. The Bibliotheca, Munirpillam P. O. Tinnevelli District (Southern India). Double Crown 16mo Antique Paper. Pp. 95. Price Re. 1.*

St. Manickavasakar is an ancient popular poet and *Siddhantist.* His principal work is *Thiru-vasakam.* The saint has been called by the present writer the pole-star of the Pandyan Kingdom and his delicious hymns appear to breathe a spirit of pure devotion to *Siva,* whom he and his fellow saints regard as the Lord of the Universe. His book of poems indicates the gradual evolution of the *Saiva Siddantists* from the orthodox *Vedantists.* The Rev. Dr. Pope has made the following remarks on *Tiru-vasakam* :—"There is in the songs a strange combination of a lofty feeling and spirituality with what we must pronounce to be the grossest idolatry. The more philosophical and refined a saint becomes the more enthusiastic does he often appear to be in the performance of the incongruous rites of the popular worship."

There is idolatry more or less in every religious system. What are the sacraments of the Christian Church after all ? As for miracles, their days are over. Jesus Christ's birth itself is a miracle, and the feeding of hundreds with meat and drink just enough for one man, comes under the same category.

Tiru-vasakam means sacred word, and the extent *Tiru-vasakam* contains fifty-one poems each of which has been briefly described in the book under review. In all his poems will be found the personal relationship of the devotee to God as manifested in the *Guru.* The Lord (*Siva*) is the first cause of all things, from whom inseparable is His *Sakti,* His consort. The souls are eternal, waiting for embodiment, and *Pasam* or bond, the material cause. God, Soul and Matter are the three categories of the *Saiva Siddhanta* system.

One of the songs says that the worship of *Siva* began in days of yore in the Pandya country. This sets at naught the theory that *Saivaism* passed from the Himalayan region to Cape Comorin in historical times.

In all his songs, the saint's passionate hankering after the Lord and his complete resignation to His will, are in evidence. The *Saiva Siddhantist* looks upon life as a probation, as a purgatory, as a preparation for endless fellowship and communion with the Supreme through His Grace.

In one poem, absence of faith in mythology is noticeable, making no mention of *Uma* even. God is spoken of as the Truth, as the King, as the Ineffable Essence, as the Helper, as the Sea of Virtue, as the Father, as the Imperishable, as Freedom and as the Lord Supreme. In another poem He is represented as a Light, as a Beauty, as an Unfailing Refuge, as the Lord of Heaven and Earth. In short all his songs teem with expressions of unlimited faith in God and His all-powerfulness.

One is surprised to find an erotic poem in this devotional collection, like the Chapter on Love in Tiru-valluvar's *Kural.*

The love between two human lovers is often ascribed to a god and a goddess and their sports are vividly portrayed.

The essence of the *Siddhanta* system issued up in three words—*Pati, Pasu* and *Pasam. Pati* is the Lord Absolute, *Pasu* is the soul's bondage and *Pasam* is matter enveloping the soul. The enthralled soul, when it does not work for eternal grace, is subject to births; but when it realises its thraldom, it is illuminated by *Siva's* grace and attains final and full deliverance.

To St. Manickavasakar God or *Siva* was *personal* and appeared in the form of a *Guru* or Teacher incarnate. The soul though immortal underwent metempsychosis, and was gradually divested of its grossness and prepared for the *Mukta* state; and matter was eternal which enveloped the soul—to be gradually eliminated.

All souls cannot be at the same stage of evolution, and the universe can develop harmoniously only if each soul progressed along the path marked out by the law of its life. *Karma* and God's energy are the two agents at work in the development of the soul. Each soul is placed in surroundings conditioned by its *Karma,* and is, by the indwelling Divine energy, given opportunities of approaching its goal.

The book under review is a creditable performance. The author has bestowed considerable labour and thought in bringing out its salient points. The public is now placed in possession of a phase of *Saiva* worship different from the current one.

Nalini Mohan Sanyal

BENGALI

KEDARPUR MUNSIBATI : *By Jyotish Chandra Gupta. Published by Monoranjan Gupta from 9E, Jogodyan Lane, Calcutta.*

This booklet is a genealogical history of the Guptas of Munsibati of the village Kedarpur (Mymensingh), now swept by the turbulent waters of the Dhaleswari. A glimpse of the old village-life of Bengal adds a literary charm to the work. The short life-sketch of Rampran Gupta, the famous historian, who belonged to this family, is likely to be of great help to the future compiler of literary biographies.

D. N. Mookerjea

HINDI

DANDA SHASTRA : *By Prakash Narain Saxsena. Published by the U. P. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, Council House, Lucknow. Pp. 278. Price Re. 1-4.*

It is a far cry from the times when "a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye" formed the basic motive and method of punishing whosoever injured an individual or committed a crime against society. But for centuries the spirit behind it all persisted. That the offender is only a *diseased* member of the body of humanity, this knowledge seems to have dawned on our law-makers very late. And it is since then that the twin-principle of segregation and sympathetic preventive or reformatory treatment of the anti-social element in our population has been adopted. The book, under review, is actuated by a passionate plea for the understanding of the psychology of crime and punishment.

The author has covered a very wide field, indeed. Tracing the history of crime from its beginnings in the primitive past, he has dealt with the origin of the jail system and its evolution from punishment of the criminal to preventive and reformatory measures, in respect of the juvenile and adult offenders, ranging from capital punishment to parole and probation. He closes on an appeal for aiding the discharged prisoners to merge himself back in the streams of society. *Danda Shastra* is a text-book on penology—the first of its kind in Hindi—and as such it should be in the hands of the lower cadres of the custodians of law and order, so that they may look upon the offender as a brother-man, rather than one who is to be condemned to live for his whole life in the dreary and dark shadow of the prison-gates.

G. M.

ARTH-SHASTRA KE MUL SIDDHANT : *By Bhagwandas Awasthi, M.A. Published by the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad. Pp. 438. Price Re. 1-8*

India, more than any other country, with her teeming millions depending almost entirely on agriculture and its allied pursuits, needs a fairer knowledge of economics and how it guides life in this part of the universe. But there are very few books in the languages spoken by the people to help and educate them in this respect.

The book under review is an attempt to acquaint the Hindi-reading populace with the basic principles of economics. The style is easy and succinct and the language simple. We congratulate the author and the publishers for bringing out this useful volume.

M. S. Sengar

ORIYA

SARALA BHASA-TATTVA (A Primer of Oriya Philology) : *By Prof. Girija Sankar Ray. Royal Octavo. Pp. 105. Price Re. 1 only.*

The study of philology of provincial vernaculars has, in recent years, engaged the attention of Indian scholars and Dr. S. K. Chatterjee's work—Origin and Development of Bengali Language—is a valuable contribution to the linguistic culture. But the study of philology of Oriya which is closely allied to Bengali remains neglected and hence we welcome Prof. G. S. Ray's Primer of Oriya Philology. In this work the author has delineated some established agreements that are existing among different Indo-European languages in order to infuse in the students an idea about the fundamental principles of general philology. But unfortunately he forgets the racial factor that largely contributes to the modification in the pronunciation of a word borrowed by one race from the other.

ORIYA NATYA-KALA (A Critical Study of the Oriya Drama) : *By Prof. Girija Sankar Ray. Royal Octavo. Pp. 219. Price Rs. 2 only.*

In this work the author has narrated the history of modern Oriya dramatic literature and given a comparative survey of outlines of different Oriya plays with elaborate discussions on merits and demerits of works of the late authors and with cautious opinions about the works of living authors. His brief criticism has been based on points of climax and contrast. This is, no doubt, an important work and we recommend it to the students of Oriya Literature.

B. Misra

TELUGU

ANDHRA SARVASWAMU : *Edited by M. Bapineedu, B.Sc. (Cornel), M.Sc. (Cali.), M.L.A. Published by Visalandhra Publishers, Madras. Printed at Hindi Prachar Press, Madras. Pp. 576. Price Rs. 8 only.*

The book under review is an *Encyclopædia of Andhra Desa*, the first of its kind in Telugu Literature. Social, political and cultural aspects of the country are elaborately dealt with and necessary statistical facts and figures are supplied. The book is profusely illustrated and contains several illuminating articles by eminent men like Dr. Pattabhi, Adavi Bapiraju Garu, Pingala Laxmikantam Garu and others. It contains a good deal of information and is valuable from the educative point of view.

The present volume is a positive asset and we heartily congratulate Mr. and Mrs Bapineedu for this excellent work.

K. V. Subba Rao

GUJARATI

HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS OF GUJARAT, Part III : *By G. V. Acharya, B.A., M.R.A.S. Published by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. 1942. Cloth bound. Pp. 258+188. Price Rs. 6.*

This substantial volume is the last one of the series undertaken by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha of Bombay, of publishing in Gujarati Historical Inscriptions, found inside and outside Gujarat from ancient times to the end of the Vaghela Dynasty. It is a collection of 318 inscriptions on stone, copper, etc., and begins with the Maurya dynasty and comes upto the last dynasty (Vaghela) of Hindu kings in Gujarat. Mr. Acharya being the curator of the Archæological Department of the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay was well qualified to do this work and he has done it well, utilising all available sources on the antiquities of Gujarat, for the purpose of throwing the light of History on each Inscription. It has been a strenuous task. He rightly observes that no finality can be claimed for his work as it is quite possible that researches made hereafter may require his conclusions to be modified, or even set aside. But this contingency is inherent in the subject itself and no blame would attach to the scholar.

K. M. J.

THE FATE OF A PLAN FOR THE INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA IN 1770

By NIRMALYA BAGCHI

"We do not want generals, statesmen and legislators; we want industrious husbandmen."—WILLIAM THACKERAY.[1]

THE two events, the battle of Plassey and the Industrial Revolution in England, both falling in the same period should not be viewed in isolation. The history of the century preceding them explains the forces which acted together and culminated in the two epoch-making events. The plunder of the East for the two centuries past provided for the growth and accumulation of industrial capital[2] and the Act of 1700[3] and the more drastic Act of 1720[3] restricted the entry of Indian calico into England and supplied the urge to the Industrial Revolution. In the logical analysis, the battle of Plassey won a market to be inundated with the manufacture of England. Hence it became the historic task of the John Company to keep India an agricultural colony.

The John Company carried on a revolution in India destructive and negative in character. India in 1757 was a highly manufacturing and trading country. Her market included among other countries the continent, Africa, West Indies and America. Her ports and towns were centres of activity and her favourable balance of trade made her the sink of gold and silver. The disintegration of the Mughal Empire saw the rise of a new middle class and a new town economy. Iron-smelting, glass-making, weaving, textile-calicoes, silks and muslins, were among the few of her industries. The technological backwardness of India was not as great as is commonly supposed.[4] Her shipping excited jealousy of the English monopolists even as late as 1800.[5] The import of lead, iron, tin, copper, quick silver speaks of a diversified and variegated economic life. The unmistakable tendency was towards a transition to the capitalist mode of production. If India was agricultural, she was equally industrial; in her case both had been wedded together. The political structure, in the north or in the south, was a survival of the precapitalist economy and under the cumulative pressure of the new forces, India was ready for a political revolution. Perhaps, if left to herself, India could have welded together the new economic forces, established the basis of a new social order and unleashed the forces of production.

The relation of the Company with the appropriators of surplus value at home was full of contradictions. One of the provisions in the renewals of the charter compelled the Company to import to India woollen goods at a loss. The Acts of 1700 and 1720 closed the English market. By a series of Acts, the import duty was raised up and goods were imported to England only to be exported to the continent. It had to offer bribes to Cabinet ministers and the Bank of England. It had to finance British exchequer with £400,000 per annum. Again at the behest of British capital, it could not ally with the productive forces of the country. The servants of the E. I. Company asked for materials and utensils for use in calico printing in India and the reply came back that "it would be of great detriment to the manufacturers of this Kingdom.[6] But the two groups of the greedy capitalists in spite of such contradictions joined hands in killing her manufactures and in compelling her to produce certain raw materials. The history of her economic development now faced a *volte face*. The story of the backward leap of a country from a growing industrial to a decaying agricultural economy has been written with letters of blood.

Armed with the monopoly of the external trade against its own countrymen, and eliminated of its foreign rivals, the Company by one stroke after the battle of Plassey acquired the monopoly over the inland trade in cotton, silk, raw silk, saltpetre, opium and salt. The *dadney*

1. Fifth Report on East Indian Affairs 1812 Ed. Firminger.

2. Beauchamp : *British Imperialism in India.*

3. II. William, III. Cap. 3, VI. George I, Cap. 7.

4. Shelvanker : *Problem of India.* Penguin Series p. 148.

5. Taylor : *History of India,* quoted by Digby in *Prosperous British India.*

6. Despatches to Bengal, May 27th, 1779, para. 60, quoted by D. Prashad in *Some Aspects of Indian Foreign Trade.*

merchants were over-night degraded into so many *gomastas* of the Company. The inconceivably low monopoly price led the weavers to give up their independent profession and while some turned into galley slaves working under the vigilance of the *gomasta*,[7] the rest took to agriculture. The encouragement given to the cultivation of raw silk was aimed at the destruction of the manufacture of silk. The grant of *Dewany* converted the shop-keepers into tax-gatherers. The zamindars were dispossessed; ryots were left to the mercy of *amils* and supervisors; and the irrigation system was left neglected. The revenue collection of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa even during the year of famine of 1770 exceeded the collection of the previous year by more than 7 lacs of Rupees. The huge surplus revenue was 'invested' in buying those monopoly goods to be sent to England. The Company, "cleverer than the alchemist, made gold out of nothing."[8] To hasten the economic ruin the king-makers in Bengal drained bullion out of the country and financed China trade from Bengal. And after what was left unfinished by the "Nabobs," nature took its revenge. "Between 1769 and 1770, the English manufactured a famine by buying up all the rice and rufusing to sell it again, except at a fabulous price."[9] The process of de-industrialization of the country was complete.

The following material from the records of the East India Company, is a pointer to the thesis that "the Colonial country is compelled to sacrifice the interest of its independent development and to play the part of an economic (agrarian raw material) appendage to foreign capitalism..."[10]

II

In 1770, Lt.-Col. A. Campbell and Major H. Watson, the two Chief Engineers of the Company who were engaged on the construction of docks of Kidderpore and the defences of Fort William submitted a tentative scheme of mining silver, lead, copper and other valuable ores which would be "productive of the most beneficial consequences to the Hon'ble Company."[11] The reaction of the Secret Committee at Fort William to this Scheme is interesting and illustrative of the basic colonial policy of the East India Company in India.

The Committee considered the whole scheme as "fraught with advantages and inconveniences[12] and the discussions were carried on under three broad lines : (*a*) advantages to the mother country and to the Company; (*b*) disadvantages to the mother country; (*c*) disadvantages to the Company.

Proceeding along the first line of discussion, the Committee admitted the following advantages (1) "saving of all the prime costs of all their own imports in these articles"[13] (2) supply of bullion (3) duties levied upon these articles (4) cheaper purchase of naval and military stores (5) easy collection of revenue owing to supply of bullion.

But these advantages were regarded as merely illusory, as Bengal "cannot be considered as separate from and independent of Great Britain" and moreover "no consideration will have any weight but such as may affect the nation in general or the situation of the Company with the Government."[14]

Proceeding along the second line of discussion, the Committee feared that the British Government would lose the amount of duty "in which they will incur a most heavy penalty."[15] By a stipulation in the renewal of the charter, the Company was required to export British merchandise to the amount of £387,837. The success of mining scheme "must occasion a heavy loss to the nation in point of trade."[16]

Proceeding along the third line of discussion, the Company saw its own advantages more than counterbalanced by the dangers lurking in it. Firstly, an expansion of the resources of the Company would simply whip the greed of the English ruling class to lay its hands on the newly gotten gains. Previous experience foretold such a conclusion. The acquisition of Dewany burdened the renewal of the charter in 1769[17] with the condition of financing the exchequer with £400,000 annually. "The ministry may use of this plea to wrest the revenue and Government from the Company."[18] Secondly, the

7. For the historical analysis of the relation between the weaver and *gomasta*, read Venkatasubbiah : *Structural Basis of Indian Economy.*
8. Karl Marx : *Capital,* Vol. 1.
9. Karl Marx : *Capital,* Vol. 1.
10. Colonial Thesis of Sixth Congress of Communist International.
11. Secret Cons. 21 Nov. 1770, No. 1 (Imperial Record Department).
12. *Ibid.,* No. 3.
13. Sec. Cons. 21 Nov. 1770, No. 2.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.,* No. 3.
16. *Ibid.* No. 2.
17. Stat. of Geo. 3 Cap. 24.
18. Sec. Cons. 8 Dec. 1770, No. 2.

Company feared that as a result, the trade in those articles would slip away and the Company would thereby lose large profits. Thirdly, the Committee saw the red light from quite a different quarter. The Indians were fully acquainted with the use and utility of those articles and "their curiosity and avarice" may tempt them to experiment with the knowledge of mining and smelting. They would soon become masters in the manufacture of military stores. The Court of Directors had already apprehended the menace and reduced the import of lead to Bengal from 300 tons to 100 tons in one year. Along with this danger of strengthening the Indian bourgeoisie, there was the other danger of the spread of this knowledge among the "country powers" who in that case would be armed with the up-to-date developments of the West.

So the Secret Committee characterised the scheme as "highly impolitical and contrary to the maxims of our Governmene,"[19] and viewed with dismay the idea of "rendering a colony independent of the mother country, probable supply to the neighbouring powers of military stores, and teaching of them new means of independence and new sources of wealth."[20] The scheme was regarded as "extremely dangerous to the Company and highly prejudicial to Great Britain,"[21] because "the real change comes in any country when the iron and steel industries begin to be successful....The development of the metallurgical industries means the real industrial Revolution. England, Germany and the United States of America all started their iron and steel industries on the modern scale before they started their textile industries."[22]

19. Secret Cons. 21 Nov. 1770, No. 2.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Knowles : *Economic Development of the Overseas Empire* quoted by R. P. Dutt.

CAN WE NOT MAKE SUFFICIENT QUININE IN INDIA ?

BY MONORANJON GUPTA, B.SC.

THE Royal Commission of Agriculture was convinced to remark in its July 1928 Report that

> "If India was to embark any large campaign for fighting malaria it would first be necessary to reduce considerably the price of quinine within India and this can only be effected, if India is self-supporting in its production."

We are reliably informed that the average yearly consumption of quinine in India is 2,10,000 lbs., though diseases in India warrant its use upto 6,00,000 lbs. yearly.

Quinine is produced in India in two areas, *viz.*, Darjeeling and Madras; when the first centre produces about 60,000 lbs., the latter produces about 30,000 lbs. yearly. It appears therefore that more than half of India's consumption is imported from outside, though the requirement of the country is much more.

Quinine is produced in France, England, Germany, Holland, America, India and Java, etc., but the 90 percent of the cinchona bark required by the Quinine Factories of these countries is supplied by Java. In consequence of the above position the Kina Bureau of Java, a combine of some wealthy Dutch cinchona garden-owners, was controlling the world market of cinchona bark and quinine.

The above is the background on which should be placed the question of making India self-supporting regarding the production of quinine. But the following facts relative to cinchona plantations need enumeration :

1. It is not prohibited, by the law of India, to run a cinchona plantation by a private person.

2. But its plantation requires scientific knowledge and actual experience. Government being the only authority in possession of such knowledge and experience, it is expected that it will help any intending planter with seeds, grafting and supervision regarding the rearing of the plantation.

3. That the soil, altitude and climate of the Darjeeling and Madras areas are suitable for cinchona plantation has been amply proved by the progressive increase in the production of quinine in the respective factories.

4. In 1941 the Provincial Government of Bengal has informed the Central Government of India that if the latter could assure that

foreign quinine manufacturers would not be allowed to lower their quinine prices in India beyond a certain limit, they (Bengal) reasonably hoped to make India self-supporting regarding its needs about quinine within the course of next twenty years. Let it be noted in this connection that the cost of quinine in Bengal Factories varies between Rs 10 and Rs. 14 per pound. And according to the present Indian constitution the Provincial Governments have no control over matters of seaborne trade. These are vested with the Central Authorities of the country.

5. In India and Java cinchona bark is obtained from trees which have grown upto 7 to 8 years and recent informations from Russia show that they cut down the whole tree in about 18 months. In the former case the quinine and other alkaloid contents of the bark are much higher than that in the latter. But the latter enables one to get the quinine much earlier.

6. How Java gained ground in cinchona trade is explained from the following facts, obtained from Bernard F. Howard's speech at the Institute of Chemistry, Great Britain and Ireland :

(a) "A large proportion of the seedlings were successfully planted in the Nilgiri Hills in 1861, under the Superintendence of MacIvor. In 1865 plantations were established in Hakgala, Ceylon and in Coorg, followed shortly after by further enterprises in Wainad, Mysore, Darjeeling in Sikkim; and the Karen Hills in Burmah."

(b) "A summary of source of bark sold in European markets :

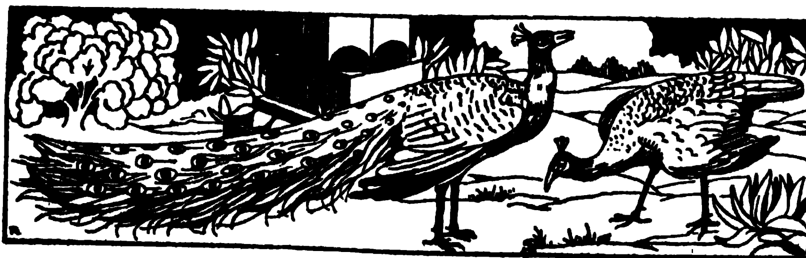
	In 1880	In 1911
India	1,170,000 lbs.	4,58,600 lbs.
Java	70,000 lbs.	19,7,78,000 lbs.
Africa	Nil	25,400 lbs.

it is therefore necessary to sketch briefly the history of this wonderful success of the Dutch in their principal Colony."

The first attempt at cultivation in Java in 1882 ended in complete failure through the poor alkaloid producing characteristics of the varieties of cinchonas of which seedlings were secured from South America; the only trees producing a tolerable yield being a small number obtained from MacIvor's plantations in the Nilgiris. In 1855, however, Charles Ledger secured some seeds of Cinchona Calisaya, half of which were planted in India and half in Java. Those in India failed, owing either to the climatic conditions or to mismanagement of the plantations after MacIvor's death. Those in Java, however, flourished exceedingly and have produced a wonderful strain of trees, which, by skilful scientific cultivations have produced, and are producing, bark containing upto 10 per cent. of quinine."

The past mistakes and omissions of the Government of India regarding its policies of quinine, adopted from time to time, is an interesting study and may be of some benefit in the adoption of yet another policy of making India self-supporting. But we desist; and express our fervent hope that in the absence of the Kina Bureau of Java, the Government of India will now keenly feel the necessity and opportunity of producing sufficient quinine equal to the needs of the country.

We do not know what answer the Government of Bengal (who has secured the services of a big group of scientific experts on cinchona cultivation and quinine extraction on a comparatively economic basis) has got from the Central Authorities regarding their very reasonable proposal of controlling the price of imported quinine. Let it be mentioned that such a policy has been the keynote in Tariff policies of all free countries of the world since the beginning of modern civilization. It will, therefore, be very surprising if the Government shelves the question or swings it astray on reasons of Departmental difficulties interpreted on the basis of the constitution of India. Or we have made a very big mistake in handling this normal problem in a natural way. India is a dependent country, its advance to self-government and self-determination is only a fiction and any normal thinking in this country will be little consequence as long as we are under a foreign yoke.



BLINDNESS IN INDIA

By KUMAR PAL, M.A.

I. Appalling Blindness in India

The rapid increase of the incidence of blindness with the equally advancing number of eye-specialists and increasing medical facilities provided in the eye hospitals is nothing short of an anomaly if not a mystery of the modern civilisation. Good many relief societies too have sprung up recently into active service. Yet no adequate way seems to have been found out to combat this widespread dark evil.

According to present statistics, there are twelve to fifteen million persons in the world who are wholly blind. And to every blind man there are three who are partially blind. As the census returns are open to doubt and all estimates are liable to be inaccurate, the actual ophthalmic picture of the blind would be multiplied several times.

Out of this enormous number India shelters about five million persons who are completely or partially blind. This would be a bolt from the blue to many who are eager for relief wherever it is needed. The ten-yearly census reports in India have registered a steady increase of blindness. Whereas the number of the totally blind was about five lakhs in 1911, it rose upto 7½ lakhs in 1921, went beyond 10 lakhs in 1931 and is feared to be about 15 lakhs in 1942.

The fast spreading terrible affliction of eyes in general which has laid its shadow over the health and happiness of our land cannot be appreciated by those who never come into close contact with its tragedies. Not a single family is spared. Eye complaints are quite general these days and new complications go on adding to the difficulties. The war-blind people too have now begun to create a new problem.

Viewing this development with grave concern the International Blind Relief Association of America gave a timely warning to the Government of India some time ago. But a simple review of the blind relief work in India was its only response.

At the present time a united effort on the part of ophthalmic surgeons of all nationalities working in conjunction with the League of Red Cross Societies is being made to grapple with the gigantic task of reducing the incidence of blindness throughout the world.

But in India little is being done in this direction. Government eye hospitals are very few and far between. No definite scheme has been chalked out. Nor is any plan for the same likely to be considered until a demand is voiced from the press as well as the platform. The thoughtful public and responsible leaders have to take the initiative and back up this noble cause of the millions of parasitic blind people who are proving a permanent liability to the nation at large and are moreover adding to its dead weight by rendering at least an equal number of their guides socially profitable.

The problem would look all the more worth trying when it is realised that about 60% of blindness is either preventable or curable. Much of the prevailing blindness could have been avoided by simple precautions and ordinary first aid measures. There are large numbers of blind persons to whom vision can be restored by proper measures. The conditions of the blind in India, thus demand a united effort and I am sure, that would be amply repaid.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru before his detention was pleased to release the following appeal for publication :

"Among the many ills of this unhappy land is widespread eye-trouble and blindness. Some of this is deep-seated but much certainly can be done by proper care of the eyes and preventive measures especially in the case of children. I wish that parents and teachers and others gave thought to this matter and took active steps to remove this evil."

II. Causes of Blindness

The alarming dimensions of the fast spreading blindness in India are gradually attracting attention in some parts. But it is regrettable that public opinion has not yet been roused to stimulate practical interest in the campaign for its prevention.

Prevention is always better than cure. And by proper remedy of the causes the effects are bound to disappear. Cause and effect stand or fall together.

There are in the case of blindness, some causes which are deep-rooted and unavoidable. But a bird's-eye view of the principal causes

would help us to understand that most of the eye-troubles can be easily eliminated. For example, with timely device, eye diseases due to keratomalacia, small-pox, ophthalmic Neonatorum, gonorrhoea, syphilis, trachoma and quack remedies need not have occurred at all. Besides, spread of such affections by contagion or infection can be very well controlled and stopped.

Why then, is the number of the blind in India so great? And what ameliorative measures should be adopted? Let us briefly take stock of the various relevant factors.

The first to strike us is the inadequate number of eye-hospitals in this country. One would show us the increasing number of eye dispensaries and eye specialists in different cities, yet the vastness and gravity of the problem necessitate much greater efforts and on a wider scale. In other countries where much fewer cases of blindness are to be found there are numerous eye-hospitals. In Egypt, for example, there is one eye-hospital to about one lakh of population, while in India, there is not even one in one million. A study of the ophthalmic relief work in Egypt would have been very beneficial if the space permitted.

The hospitals are almost inaccessible to the poor on account of the heavy expenses that one has to bear in order to avail of the relief provided in the eye-hospitals. On account of the appalling poverty of the masses, millions of the poor village folk cannot afford to travel long distances for expert treatment and prefer to lose their sight and remain blind for their lives. Many of them live to be blind because they do not have attendants to take them to some eye-hospital for treatment.

But what has proved to be a very general cause of blindness in India is the indifference of the patients for troubles of the eyes. Very few realise the harmful results of neglect in this matter. Urgencies of livelihood compel them to be deprived of any treatment whatsoever. And then they fall into the hands of quacks who go about with their needles and spoil their eyes with their cheap devices.

In spite of all this, much could certainly have been done to prevent blindness in many cases, if the people had knowledge of the causes of blindness and also knew how to prevent it by ordinary first aid measures. This lack of information regarding necessary hygienic measures results in aggravation of minor troubles and spread of eye diseases through infection as well as contagion. Not only that, ignorance in India about eyes is so deep that a good number of patients believe their case to be hopeless for ever. Some even mistake glaucoma for cataract and thus become incurably blind in due course.

In the end let us take stock of the external factors too besides the hereditary causes which affect everyone's eyes to a lesser or greater extent. Dirty habits of not washing hand and face frequently, using one and the same towel for washing eyes, lack of precaution against dust, smoke and glare; using a common rod for putting *surma* into the eyes by many persons, touching eyes with irritant drugs supplied by a quack; deficient diet and so many other causes need to be explained to the public in full. Otherwise these simple day-to-day practices are sure to result in damage to the eyes.

III. How to Combat Blindness

Having detailed the principal causes of blindness, I would now attempt to set forth in brief outline, a scheme for the prevention as well as eradication of blindness and blinding diseases in India which Shri Parmanand Blind Relief Mission of Delhi has just launched on a smaller scale. In the first place the Mission organises periodical camps (different camps) in different parts of India, specially where expert ophthalmic treatment is not easily available to the poor on account of little distant hospitals or limited accommodation in their wards. This camp system is just coming to the forefront of the public gaze. Periodical relief camps of different sorts have been long since known to everybody. For maladies, epidemics or catastrophes of a temporary character camps prove a very effective weapon. When the ophthalmic surgery established that sight can be restored to the blind people who suffer from cataract, glaucoma or leucoma with timely operative measures by staying for a very short period in the hospital, this idea of a blind relief camp too was easily transformed into practice. It was in Egypt that the scheme was first adopted.

In India too, eye-cure-fairs or camps have passed the stage of initial criticism and are now quite common specially in Upper India. Camps provide a very good supplementary arrangement to the hospitals. In such a camp eye patients are invited from several neighbouring districts after sufficient previous notice for treatment in the camp by an expert ophthalmic surgeon. Thousands thus muster together from villages and towns. They are all given instructions for preventive and precautionary measures. Proper medicines are distributed free to the poor for use at home by eye-specialists in sufficient

quantity. Operable cases are detained in the camp and operated upon. Such a camp lasts only about 20 days and costs much less per head than in the hospitals. Such camps therefore provide a very cheap and easy way of diminishing the incidence of blindness in India by curing large numbers of temporarily blind persons and preventing many who are on the way to blindness. This system brings medical relief at the very doors of the patients for those who suffer on account of poverty, ignorance or inaccessibility of medical facilities. Moreover, camps reduce the pressure on the hospitals too to a considerable extent. This camp system requires expansion to all parts of India in order to be useful to the country at large.

Secondly, the Mission at present runs a travelling dispensary in the Delhi province and surrounding districts with a neucleus at the headquarters. The travelling dispensary goes about to different village centres on every Sunday with its staff. Patients from about 50 villages are invited at a convenient place. Those curable with medicines are given medicines. Precautionary first aid measures too are fully explained through magic lantern lectures. Those suffering from cataract, leucoma, or glaucoma or trichiasis are operated by an expert ophthalmic surgeon. A competent trained compounder or assistant doctor is left behind for their after-care. The surgeon attends them on the 4th and 7th days or when necessary. Some who require prolonged treatment are brought to the central hospital for proper steps.

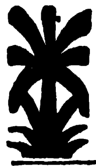
It is proposed that there should be one travelling dispensary in each district, working in various village-centres by turns with an eye-hospital at the district town for prolonged treatment. This would by itself alleviate all eye troubles and meet all essential requirements for a complete scheme of blind relief. The district and provincial government authorities have to take the initiative in the matter. In the event of their neglect philanthropists have to volunteer their time, money and energy if they have to relieve their motherland from the huge burden of blindness which is almost crushing.

What is most important and requires greater care is the active propaganda of preventive and first aid curative measures. Prevention is always better than cure. Most people suffer because they do not know how to avoid suffering. Lack of information regarding causes leads to serious troubles in many cases. Thus, many ridiculously wrong notions about eye diseases are responsible for the beginning and deterioration of eye troubles. If people know some simple things about the early care of eyes in many cases of trouble quite a good number of the blind would have been saved from this curse.

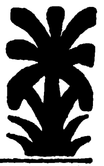
For this, therefore, it is incumbent upon those who sympathise with the blind that they should carry on propaganda of preventive measures through lectures, posters, charts, tracts, slides and films. In educational institutions and industrial centres the authorities must be careful not to neglect the eyes in taking care of the health of the students or the labourers. Particularly, more attention is to be directed to eyes, for the eye is the most important of all sense organs.

The above is an humble attempt to direct the public opinion towards this most pressing problem of blind relief which demands an early solution. The problem has been stated in clear terms, with an investigation into its root causes in order to find some way out of it. In the end some practical suggestions too have been put forward and if from the clues outlined above some measure of relief is extended to the poor blind, the author would feel amply gratified.





INDIAN PERIODICALS



Woman

An English translation by Dr. Kalidas Nag of an Address delivered by the Poet at the All-Bengal Women Workers' Association, 2nd October 1936, is published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. In the course of the address Rabindranath Tagore says :

Woman is the ancient one in human creation. Her energy partakes of the primordial force (adya-sakti) underlying human society, bringing life into existence and nourishing it.

The master-builder of this world made it worth living after aeons and aeons of moulding and hammering. That work was not half-finished when Nature started creating life and Pain showed her face on this earth. Nature has introduced that elemental pain, that birth-throe, in woman's veins and in her heart. Nature has endowed woman's body and mind with the vigorous impulse of nursing life. That impulse, naturally, has found its deepest and largest place in emotional rather than in intellectual capacities. That instinct is ever weaving in woman's soul the net of relationship to hold others on to herself, with pathetic patience, affection and love. That is the primeval bond which builds and holds human family, and family is the foundation of all societies and civilisations. But for that original bond, mankind would have got dispersed into shapeless vapoury nothing, without getting integrated into a centre of relationship. To woman belongs the primal function of holding family and society together.

Nature's creative processes are hidden and there is no doubt or diffidence about their spontaneous evolution. That natural flow of life courses through woman's soul which has therefore been called mysterious by men. That is probably why we notice in women's life the sudden manifestation of exuberant impulse which is beyond logic and which has its own justification in a causeless mystery. It is not a tank excavated to satisfy our needs; it is a natural spring.

The mystery of affection and love is very old and inscrutable. It never argues to justify itself. It demands a quick solution wherever it confronts a problem.

So, as soon as woman enters the home she begins functioning as the housewife; with the expectation of the child appears the mother already. Mature intelligence has come to man much more slowly. He finds his place after search, after fight, and he takes a lot of time to satisfy his doubts and to march ahead. Man gains strength and success by hard struggle with his doubts. Oscillating on the waves of doubt for centuries, he accumulates a formidable load of errors which explode to convulse human history repeatedly. Man's creation founders under the waves of destruction and he has got to lay ever fresh foundations of his glory. His work undergoes metamorphosis through repeated experiments. He lives if he manages to go forward with this constant renewal of experience; but he dies engulfed in dragging dissolution, if he fails to repair the big gaps of his errors which crack the very structure of life. Such creation and dissolution mark the history of man-made civilisation from its very beginning. Meanwhile woman, as the ambassador of Nature, continues steadily in her work of creation as lover, as mother; and from time to time, she too starts conflagrations in human society, through the concussion of terrific impulses. Her catastrophic impulses are like Nature's own calamities, fire and whirlwind, sudden and suicidal.

Man is ever a new-comer to his own world.

He has repeatedly built anew his own laws and regulations. His path was not paved by the Creator; he has got to build ever new roads in different times and places. The path of one age became a blind alley in another; its progress was reversed and the path disappeared.

The main current of woman's life, on the other hand, flows along a broad uniform channel amidst the rise and fall of new civilisations. She was not permitted to experiment with the wealth of her heart advanced by Nature; she cannot afford to speculate, with ever inquisitive intelligence in ever new undertakings.

She is conservative and ancient.

Man is obliged to move from office to office canvassing his goods and most men are obliged to take to some profession which is rarely approved by their talents but is just enough for earning a livelihood. So man must learn by hard work to ply many trades, and three-fourths of them do not attain success they deserve. But the work that woman undertakes as house-wife and mother, is her proper work, congenial to her nature.

Man attain greatness by overcoming obstacles and conquering the hostile surroundings with his powers. But few are the men who succeed in that unique way. On the other hand, we find, in almost every home, many such women as have fertilised society with the nectar of their heart. For their wealth of affection is naturally derived and they are trained by nature, even if not educated in schools.

India's Antiquity

The Aryan Path observes :

To those convinced of the antiquity and the wide expansion of greater Indian culture Herbert W. Krieger's discovery in the Philippines of cultural influences from India will be no matter for surprise. His recent publication, the fourth in the Smithsonian Institution's War Background Studies, is *Peoples of the Philippines*. Neither the latter-day influence of Islamic culture nor that of the Chinese traders has been as profound as that from India. Though Hindu or Buddhist architectural remains are not found in the Philippines, the impact of Indic culture, extending perhaps over more than two thousand years, has been strong. The art of metal working is characteristic of Indain influence and such decorative motifs as the lotus and other Hindu cult representations are found. Significant also are the many words of Sanskrit origin in the Tagalog and other

dialects and the similarity of the Philippine alphabet in use when the Spaniards discovered the Islands, to that of the Hinduised Javanese. Mr. Krieger quotes Dr. Pardo de Tavera as saying that "the words which Tagalog borrowed are those which signify intellectual acts, moral conceptions, emotions, superstitions, names of deities, of planets, of numerals of high number, of botany, of war and its results and consequences, and finally, of titles and dignities, some animals, instruments of industry, and the names of money."

This cultural influence emanating from India "introduced ideas and knowledge of varied types, enriched the language and radically changed fundamental religious beliefs." In the probable absence of direct maritime contacts with India it is possible that these cultural influences were carried slowly and piecemeal through Java and Borneo, but "there is no tribe in the Philippines, no matter how primitive and remote, in whose culture of today elements of Indian origin cannot be traced."

Beatrice Webb

Beatrice Webb has passed away at the age of 85. Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon writes in *The Indian Review*:

We owe a tribute to this "super-extraordinary" woman, as Shaw once put it, whose life-long and selfless devotion to public work and whose achievements in intellectual and political spheres, in themselves revolutionary but hardly discernible as such, will not only survive her mortal remains but will also play a very important part in the new social order.

The student of economics, the social worker and the political theorist owe a debt, much too great to be defined in a brief article, to the Webbs, and not less to Beatrice than to Sidney Webb. One associates them with authoritative works on Trade Unionism, the Co-operative Movement, Local Self-Government and with monographs and pamphlets on various subjects from Poor Law to public administration; one recalls also the *Fabian Essays*, (the Poor Law Commission) Minority Report agitation in the early years of this century, the foundation of the London School of Economics and of the *New Statesman* and also their characteristic theory of 'the inevitability of gradualness.' But let us also remember that at the age of 72 these eternal youths were touring extensively in Russia to collect data for their work *Soviet Communism—A New Civilisation?*, a monumental work of over a thousand pages, published when they were 80. In the death of Beatrice Webb, England and the world have lost one of the most outstanding and indefatigable social investigators of the last half a century and more.

Born in 1858 in a family noted for its wealth, political and business connections and intellectual interests, it is not surprising that Beatrice Potter, the last but one of a family of nine sisters (most of whom married distinguished husbands—Sir Stafford Cripps is one of her nephews—) should have been what she always was, 'a clever woman, quite free from any sort of sentimental veneration.' Both her parents and all her sisters were people with intellectual interests.

Like girls of her station then she never went to school or attended a university. Education was through the agency of governesses, English, French and German. With her intellectual curiosity and concentrated purpose, and not having had any university education, she took to self-training. In 1883, she went as 'Miss Jones' to Bacup in East Lancashire to study the conditions of work among the Lancashire mill-hands.

In 1887, she went to London to help her cousin Charles Booth in his great enquiry into conditions in London which was to act as a most potent impetus towards socialist thinking. Much against the disappro-

val of friends and relations, but after her father's death, she married Sydney Webb in 1892, and one of the greatest literary partnerships known to history began, and continued till her death last month

The Problem of Nutrition

The problem of nutrition is many-sided, and to educate the public in the right use of the right kind of food is not the least important point. H. P. Dastur writes in *The Social Service Quarterly* :

> But the moment one attempts this complications creep in from all sides. The dictatorial soldier stoutly asserts that if he is to win a war, a balanced diet for the army is as necessary as gun-powder. And with his usual bluff and bluster, he gets all he wants. But when the peace-loving civilian is as emphatic in asserting that to avoid war and bring peace to a war-crazy world, a balanced diet is equally necessary for the whole civilian populace, he is not heard. Yet experiments on rats show that those fed on a deficient diet are fretful, morose, selfish and quarrelsome; whilst those that get a balanced diet are contented, peaceful and full of life. Children suffering from diet deficiencies are not only physically weak, but quarrelsome, selfish, fretful and unsociable; whereas those receiving enough of a balanced diet are full of the joy of life, contented and sociable.

The distracted statesman is only recently waking up to the needs of the problem of utrition and is reluctantly learning to accept it as a state problem.

> Crisis after crisis, however, chase him with problem after problem from all directions which tempt him to side-track the problem of nutrition as of secondary importance, and to forget that all his problems are correlated and that most of them have their roots in malnutrition. The ever-greedy merchant sees in it a great opportunity for profiteering. His policy seems to be, "I and my profits and the devil take the hindmost." The self-satisfied employer who represents big business shortsightedly considers any such reform poor business and if occasionally an employer does attempt it, the industrial worker, whose problem is not so much quantity but quality, cynically wonders if this is another smoke-screen set up by his employer and his myrmidons to drive him still further to the wall. The overfed epicurean treats it as a great joke. He discusses vitamins and suitable proteins at his riotous club-dinners and fashionable tea-parties, and swears by or against them as may suit his particular need of the hour. The half-starved peasant too sees a joke in it, but a cruel one, and at his expense. His problem is some food, and food, vitamins or no vitamins, just something to appease a gnawing hunger. The faddist stupidly misrepresents the scientist. The scientist sometimes forgets that human chemistry is somewhat different from laboratory chemistry.

And the general public, mostly conservative, is always apathetic.

> Its prejudices die hard. From such jarring notes a rhyme and rhythm have to be evolved in tune with the new knowledge of nutrition, and that can be done even today if only the powers that can be made to recognise that food is a primary need and birth-right of all life, which cannot be trifled with without serious results. But if wisely utilized in the service of humanity instead of Mammon, it is a stabilizing, unifying, civilizing factor

of great possibilities. The war clouds that have burst over the world may well prove an Armageddon to teach all its peoples this useful lesson.

"The seed shall be sown in unrighteousness but shall arise in glory,
It shall be sown in weakness but shall arise in strength."

Cultural Fellowship of Bengal

In the course of his article in *The Prabuddha Bharata* Sisirkumar Mitra observes:

What marks her out is her genius to make bold experiments which Bengal carried on for centuries towards the building up of a composite culture. And among these creative efforts more remarkable were her inward adventures which led her to evolve a number of esoteric cults of spiritual humanism which are peculiar to Bengal, proving her passion to discover the secret of life so that it might unfold itself as a field of mystical experiences whose flowering would lift the seeker into higher realizations of which, it was believed, man with all his limitations is capable in his terrestrial existence.

They felt urged from within to give more importance to the collective aspect of the spiritual life so that the progress towards the goal might also grow into a uniform social phenomenon in the community life of the people.

The early schools of Upanishadic mysticism, the Tantric Chakras, the Buddhist Sanghas, the Vaishnavite Goshthis, or any of similar other circles or orders in Bengal were not bound by any rigid rules with regard to the admission of new entrants into them. Caste, creed, or birth was not to them the criterion of judging a man's spiritual seeking.

These centres of inner culture developed into meeting-places of men and women of all denominations, who by their adherence to a common ideal were united into a kind of spiritual brotherhood, which was almost a marvel in human relations, although its purity, especially, where opposite sexes came in contact, could not for obvious reasons be maintained all through. It is true that these cults of Bengal had each its secret conclave, but its object was to preserve the basic truth of its respective discipline, and that as nothing more than a nucleus round which the order would grow drawing its inspiration from it. They were not like the similar institutions of orthodox Hinduism confined within parochial grooves, admission to which was stipulated by birth or pedigree.

An excess of emotion is no doubt another distinctive characteristic of Bengal.

It has given her that unbounded ardour and warmth of her heart, that impassioned longing for the comradeship of others not only in her cultural pursuits but also in her search for the ultimate truths of life. It is this emotional bent that has helped Bengal to widen into a catholic outlook and inspired to a great extent her efforts to bring together men of all castes, creeds, and races under the banner of one religion, the religion of love, which is a true Dharma of her soul.

The *Chhandogya Upanishad* speaks of a Paravidya—higher knowledge—which was the exclusive possession of the Kshatriyas. It was from the Kshatriyas that the Brahmins obtained this knowledge. They taught the supreme necessity of self-culture even to the Brahmins. This esoteric philosophy had its origin in Mithila: it spread to Magadha but achieved a fuller development in Anga and Banga (Bengal). Thus the early Kshatriya mystics of Bengal were among the pioneers in giving a new form of inner culture to the teachings of the Upanishads, and their success in that direction has yet to be properly assessed as one of the remarkable contributions of ancient Bengal in the domain of Indian thought.

The cult of Bhakti took a more definite form in the later Upanishads in which was developed out of the Pranava ('Om') the philosophy of the Pancha-upasana, or five-fold worship, *viz.*, the worship of Shiva, Devi, Sun, Ganesha and Vishnu. The origin of the Tantras is traced to this five-fold worship.

Bengal, emotional by nature, felt an instinctive disposition for Tantric Sadhana. And she gave her whole soul to it so as soon to be able to make important contribution to the formulation of its doctrines, the worship of Shakti in them having appealed to her more than the other forms. Tantricism in Bengal does, therefore, emphasize a whole-hearted consecration to Mahamaya as a fundamental principle of its practice. It is well-known that over a long past Bengal has been a recognized seat of Tantric culture, and she is so deeply imbued with its spirit that she may be said to have received from it the very character of her spiritual being.

In the Mahayana path also devotion and knowledge coalesced to make of it that popular religious cult which flourished so remarkably in the soil of Bengal owing mainly to its being fertilized by an abundance of emotion.

A system of logic she was no doubt able to build up and a great school of philosophy of all-India fame; but an inordinate emphasis on intellect threatened to dry up her heart and wither the natural springs of her emotional being. Happily, however, this was confined to the upper classes and the intellectuals; and when partly as a reaction to it the sweeping tides of Vaishnavism began to flood the country from end to end and even beyond its borders, Bengal, rediscovered her soul and re-opened her heart. It is emotion again that largely was the cause of her being able to respond to the call of Sri Chaitanya and thereby rekindle the flame of her Bhakti.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Chinese Muslims View Pakistan

John Kin, a Chinese Muslim, writes in *Asia*:

At a recent meeting in Chungking, Chinese Muslims, decided to step into the League-Congress controversy in India. A written appeal, addressed to Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, President of the Indian Muslim League, urging him to co-operate with the Indian National Congress, was drafted to be signed by General Omar Pai Chung-hsi, China's No. 1 Mohammedan General and Deputy Chief of Staff of the Chinese Army.

General Pai Chung-hsi, as President of the Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation, truly represents all the Muslims in China and is, therefore, their rightful spokesman, as well as one of the Generalissimo's most trusted men. It is hoped that, through this Muslim-to-Muslim approach, the much-longed for Congress League accord may be brought to fruition and the way paved for a Roosevelt-Chiang mediation of the India-Britain issue.

The crux of the matter lies in the separationist policy known as "Pakistan" supported by the Indian Muslim League.

Although the common Chinese Muslims may not know from Adam what that means, they would certainly shake their heads in disapproval at the idea of creating a separate Muslim State in India, which is what "Pakistan" in plain terms amounts to. That sounds very much like something emanating from Tokyo, and they have had enough of the stench that every breeze from the Land of Bushido has brought to their nostrils. For more than five years they have fought against the Japanese string-pulling for the formation of a "hui hui state" in China. As a matter of fact, these intrigues have only served to fire the devotion of the hui hui, or Chinese Muslims, to their native land.

General Pai Chung-hsi, in communicating with the President of the Indian Muslim League, would naturally take every care not to commit himself to any open criticism of "Pakistan." But it would be insulting Mr. Jinnah's intelligence to assume that he could fail to read between the lines the obvious Chinese disapproval of that idea. General Pai has on numerous occasions emphasized the idea that the Chinese Muslims are part and parcel of China—neither a distinct racial unit, nor even a political party, but a religious and cultural group with much to contribute to the general welfare. In politics, they believe in the Three People's Principles underlying Chinese democracy just like the rest of the Chinese people. The Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation has as its two-fold objective the salvation of the nation and the propagation of Islam, but for the present the nation comes first. There can be no religious freedom to speak of when the freedom of the nation is not assured.

In fact, the policy of the Federation, as General Pai conceives it, is diametrically opposed to that of the Indian Muslim League.

While interpreting the mind of India at the gathering of Chinese Mohammedan leaders, Sir Zafrulla revealed himself as a strong advocate of "Pakistan." He was at once bombarded with questions. One of these questions pointed sharply to the sheer infeasibility of the idea of a separate Muslim State in India. Out of all the Provinces in India, it was pointed out, the only two in which Muslims constitute the majorities are Bengal and Punjab. Of the inhabitants of Bengal Province 27.810,000 or 54.44 per cent. are Mohammedans and 22,212,069 are Hindus. In Punjab, one half of the total population of 24,187.750 are Mohammedans. These two provinces are separated by many States and provinces in which the Muslims are definite minorities. The "Pakistan" idea, all considerations of its religious and political justification quite aside, thus seems impracticable.

One of the outstanding exponents of things Islamic in China is Mr. Ali Yang Ching-chih, who aroused much public attention by his articles on Japanese intrigues against the Muslim world. On September 5, he contributed another article to the same influential *Ta Kung Pao,* this time on "Islam in India." With dulcet candor he called "Pakistan" a medieval geographical expression and Jinnah the protege and scapegoat of those of the British Government who believe in keeping India divided.

The Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation has watched with keen interest the developments in the Indian situation since the Cripps Mission.

At its second general conference on March 29-31 of last year it was decided to send to India Mr. Othman K. H. Woo, who in 1939 had participated in a goodwill tour to South Asia. His mission in India, however, was merely to inform Muslims there of the activities of their Chinese co-religionists and to gather information on the spot about Muslims in India. Mr. Woo is said to have carried with him gifts for Mr. Jinnah from General Pai Chung-hsi. In an interview he reported back to Chungking, the President of the Indian Muslim League was quoted as having strongly disapproved of the Chinese Muslims' co-operation with the Hans, as the majority of the Chinese population are sometimes called. Mr. Woo also paid a call on Mr. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mohammedan President of the Indian National Congress, which was described as very cordial and satisfactory.

A direct answer to Mr. Jinnah's why-co-operate-with-the-Hans question may be found in a manifesto to the Muslim world issued by the Federation some time after the conclusion of its second general conference. In this manifesto, it was pointed out that throughout the 1,320 years since Islam was first introduced in China the Chinese Muslims have in the main been accorded a fair treatment by the Chinese Government. The policy of the Manchu Emperors in creating friction between the Muslims and the Hans failed to undermine the love of the Muslims for their fatherland.

The Chinese Muslims are essentially a religious group and as such are not necessarily interested in politics, the manifesto continued. Get-thee-into-government is no password among them. Their participation as plain citizens in the war against Japan, therefore,

has not been prejudiced by any inadequate representation of their status in the Government.

Nevertheless, in the Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation which was organized in Hankow early in 1938 mainly through the instrumentality of General Pai Chung-hsi, they are now finding an outlet for their energy and patriotism. To-day, with headquarters in Chungking, the Federation has branches in 17 Free China provinces and 256 county agencies. So if there is any one organization in China best qualified to deal with the much-publicized controversy between the Indian Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, it is this representative organ of the 45,000,000 Chinese Muslims.

British Parliament and American Congress

In a recent article, Mr. Laurence Housman, the eminent playwright and historian, drew attention to the increasing stranglehold of British Cabinet rule over the Houses of Parliament.

LONDON.

It has now reached the point where there are 86 members of Parliament who are paid Government officials in one office or another, and there are another 40 or so "Parliamentary Private Secretaries" who are unpaid, but who regard their positions as stepping stones to higher posts. All these 126 can be counted on to vote with the Government. The bulk of them could be shed by the Government without any inconvenience or loss of popularity to itself : there are plenty of others ready and waiting to take their places.

Many of these members are at the beginning of their political careers, hoping for a rise; without resigning they cannot give an independent vote, and to resign would, in most cases be fatal to their future political prospects. By this increase in departmental appointments the Government has in its pocket a much larger number of its supporters than formerly; and in the same proportion the independence of the House of Commons is weakened, and the power of the Government is strengthened. Thirty years ago it was still necessary for members accepting certain Government appointments to stand for re-election. That is no longer the case; and a member, no matter how precarious his hold upon his seat may be, can now enter the Government without any fear of losing his seat.

Nor is the Government's hold over the political lives of its members limited to its own supporters Its power to decree an election (even if an alternative Government is possible without one) affects the Opposition just as much as the party in power, and in very much the same way. If the party funds of the Opposition happen to be low at the time when the Government threatens to call for a general election, the power of the purse may have a decisive effect in preserving the Government from defeat on a vote of confidence

It is worth noting that, in the American Constitution, this power to penalize the legislative branch for an honest vote has been withheld from the Executive, which in certain other respects has wider powers. And there is still a further safeguard. No member of Congress may accept a Government appointment; if he wishes to do so, he must first resign his seat in Congress. In the United States an adverse vote of the House or the Senate cannot dismiss the Executive, but neither can the Executive dismiss Congress for having

defeated its legislative proposals. Its power to do so in this country has undoubtedly sapped the independence of Parliament.—*Worldover Press*

The English Language for Mutual Understanding

Maurice Cranston writes in the *Worldover Press*:

Whatever else we may or may not share, there can be no doubt that one common heritage of England and America is the English language. Hence the importance of the spoken and written word in bringing our two peoples toward mutual understanding. There is a small organization in London and New York which has seized upon this fact and is actually doing something to put it into practice. It is called "Books Across the Sea," and its function is to arrange for the exchange of printed material between groups of people in England and America. The group in London has a library and reading room where books and publications which are not circulated commercially may be seen by any interested person. I, myself, should know scarcely anything of the contemporary American scene if it were not for the existence of this reading room. There is, I believe, a similar reading room stocked with books about England at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City.

Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany

David Rhys Williams observes in *The Christian Register*:

What difference does it make whether Soviet Russia goes down to defeat or Nazi-Germany? Both are equally illiberal in being actuated by the dubious principle that the end justifies the means. What hope for the liberal world in the triumph of either side? There are at least four big differences which I see—differences having to do with race, war, democracy, and religion.

In the first place, the supremacy of one race of people is a cardinal doctrine of the Nazi philosophy. The Nazis would discriminate against and make slaves not only of the Jews but also of all so-called inferior races; whereas in Soviet Russia the equality of all races is not only a cardinal Communist doctrine, but an actual practice. No critic of Soviet Russia has been able to point to a single instance of racial discrimination. There, one hundred sixty different groups live together on the basis of complete equality—political, economic, and social. The Jew, the Georgian, the Tartar, the Mongolian, the Negro, the Armenian, as well as the Russian, have the same chance in life. In this respect, Soviet Russia holds a position, it seems to me, above that of any other nation in the world today.

In the second place, the Nazi philosophy looks upon *war* as a good thing for the human spirit. War is glorified as an end in itself. An order of society where the soldier would no longer be needed is not the goal of the Nazis. They believe that such an order of affairs would be stagnant and destructive of heroic values.

The Communists, on the other hand, look upon war as a terrible evil—a necessary evil under present circumstances—but still an evil to be got rid of as soon as possible. What they covet most is a world of peace.

When Mr. Litvinoff was Commissar of Foreign Affairs, he worked consistently and persistently for collective security as long as there was any hope for it. When he failed, the Soviet regime reluctantly reverted to looking out for its own security. But its philosophy and its leaders contemplate a time when swords shall be beaten into plow-shares, and spears into pruning hooks—when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor learn

to make war any more. The vast literature of Communism looks upon war regretfully and upon peace wistfully.

In the third place, the Nazi philosophy sneers at democracy. It has no use for democratic methods. It holds that they are hopelessly inefficient. In the New Order of Society which the Nazis are planning for the world, there is going to be no place for those values which we associate with the freedom and the sovereign rights of individuals. No, government will not arise from the consent of the governed, but will be handed down from the top. Dictatorship is not only the present practice; it is also the ideal for the future. Whereas in Soviet Russia, while dictatorship is the present practice, democracy, political and industrial, is the avowed goal. In the Soviet Constitution there is a Bill of Rights comparable to our own (and it even lists additional rights which are not in ours), but as yet it is pretty much observed in the breach. Nevertheless, this Constitution, including its Bill of Rights, is a required subject in the public schools of Russia. It is being taught to the children. They are learning to think and speak in terms of democracy.

When we consider how our own democracy was not born fully developed, and how we had to struggle to make real the dreams of our founding fathers, it is not unreasonable to hope that the seeds of democracy which are being planted today in Russia may eventually bring forth a harvest of democratic achievement.

A fourth difference has to do with religion. The real quarrel of the Communists is not with ethical religion, but with unethical religion. It is not with the Judeo-Christian ideals, but with the failure of organized religion to implement these ideals. Their criticism is directed, not against the goals of the great prophets, but against priestcraft, Ecclesiasticism, and obscurantism. The Communists are antichurch, not fundamentally antireligious. It is religion as "the opium of the people" that they challenge, not religion as "the inspiration of human progress"; whereas, the quarrel of the Nazis is with the basic principles of the Judeo-Christian ethics, which they repudiate as wholly unfit for a people who expect to be masters of others.

It is for these four reasons that I cannot look with moral indifference on the outcome of the present life and death struggle on the plains of Russia. I see more hope for the brotherhood of all races, for the ultimate security of all nations, and the preservation of the democratic way of life in the heroic resistance of the Russians than in the efficient aggression of the Nazis.

One of the ten books which James Luther Adams recommends for Lenten reading in *The Christian Register* is the following:

Toward Freedom by Jawaharlal Nehru. (John Day Co. $4.00). The autobiography of one of the greatest religious liberals of our century. Nehru, who has suffered much for democracy, wrote most of this book in prison. He has here given to Western liberals a new vision of the audacity, the courage, and the sagacity required if the principles of a prophetic religious liberalism are to be translated into political and social realities.

Ten Books for Lenten Reading

Books can help to strengthen and implement this faith, for books can give us access to those "bright shoots of everlastingness" which invigorate and transform, which inspire and strengthen. Books can pry open the crust of callous inertia and cramping convention and thus make it possible for us to strike our roots down into the subsoil that nourishes new life; they can help us to discover or to envisage anew ever widening areas of fellowship and responsibility.

Here are ten books that are especially appropriate for reading in this year of war and of world-wide suffering, and that are also appropriate for reading during these coming weeks when we commemorate again the life and passion of a Man who came and saw and overcame the conflicts and the tragedies to which humanity is heir. (The author then gives a list of these books).

Indian Dances Widely Acclaimed by U. S. Audiences

NEW YORK CITY, June 16 (By Cable).

La Meri and her Natya dancers recently presented their 54th consecutive performance here. La Meri, American-born exponent of the Indian art, spent much of her life in India studying and performing in the principal cities.

Since her return to America, she has trained a group of American students in the Natya school and toured the United States with them. Her custom is to precede her presentations with an illustrated lecture on Indian drama and dance. An outstanding feature is her nation-wide presentations of the famous Hindu dance-drama, "Krishna Gopala," which has been widely acclaimed by American audiences.

Commenting on the work of La Meri in disseminating knowledge of Indian culture in the United States, Irving Deakin, well-known American dance critic, said:

"No more potent force for mutual understanding between peoples exists than appreciation of their arts. La Meri, an American woman who has devoted her life to the study of ethnologic dances treating of races and peoples, has specialised in Indian dances. For long periods she has lived in India and has absorbed the dance culture of the Indian peoples first-hand. She not only knows the theory and technique of her art, but, having studied under the Indian savant, Coomeraswamy, she understands its religious and philosophic base as well.

Appearing throughout the American continent, she has been instrumental in bringing to the American people a knowledge of Indian Natya.

"La Meri has made known in this country two outstanding types of Natya which are practised in India today—both on the peninsula and in northern India. In Tanjore she studied the rich religious dance; in Delhi and Lucknow she steeped herself in the more austere secular dance. She has also made known here the dances of Ceylon and of Bengal and is helping Americans to understand them exactly as they strove to understand the dances of Shankar.

"Eschewing any theatricalism, La Meri has succeeded in teaching the American people that the Indian dance does not concern itself with the sensationalism of climax in movement as does that of the western school; that the art aims not to astonish but to sooth; that it avoids the realistic and seeks, by the simplest outlines, to portray the spiritual.

"Perhaps the finest influence for mutual understanding between the American and Indian peoples lies in the work done by La Meri's making clear the fact that the essence of the Indian dance is spiritual. Americans have been taught to understand the legends which form the better part of the subject-matter of a group of solo dances taken from the endless loves of Gods. Were the legends interpreted literally, they might well give the impression to the Occidental world that the Gods were hardly godly; but La Meri realises that the legends are purely allegorical, and as such they are presented.

"Thus Americans have learned that the dance art of India and the beauty of Natya lies in perfect knowledge and that it is an art of deep and deliberate study, the result of long and conscious discipline; in short, an art in which, for full appreciation and understanding, the watcher must be as learned as the artist."—USOWI.

Exhibit of Oriental Art in New York

The endurance and stoicism of the Orient are conveyed in the recent New York showing at the Associated American Artists Gallery of a group of water colours by Sarkis Katchadourian, Persian artist best known for his Indian cave paintings and his copies of Persian frescoes. In a style both poetical and realistic, he interprets Hindu ceremonies and the life of India and her people. Typical is his "Holy Benares," which sparkles and glows like stained glass.

Also on view at the gallery are eight statues dedicated to war mothers. These are the work of Bernard Sopher, a sculptor born in Syria and now working in California. In the Russian mother he typifies the spirit of defiance shown at Stalingrad. The Chinese mother is portrayed as expressing the magnificent endurance of her race. His other subjects are Slavish and Jewish mothers, the mothers of Lidice, of Greece, of Java and of Poland. The medium used is terra cotta.

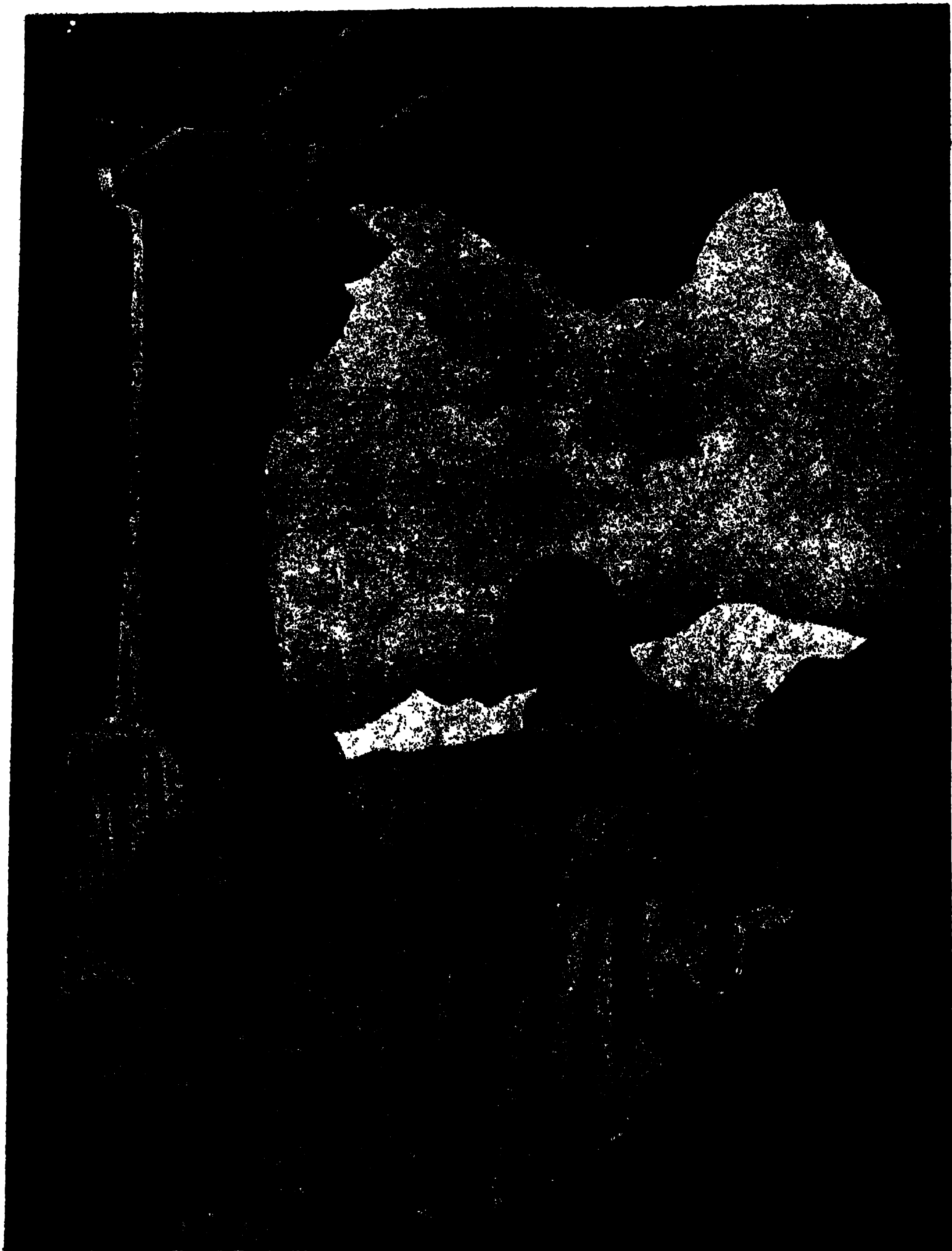
Mr. Sopher has interpreted the groups with free simplification of form and with spiritual dignity befitting his subject. It is his thesis that mothers and children have suffered more and shown greater heroism in this war than in any other in history.—USOWI.

Boy Prodigy from Cleveland

Kenneth Wolf, an 11-year-old boy who attends Western Reserve University at Cleveland, Ohio, in the American Midwest, has an I. Q. rating of 182, which means that his mental age is twenty. He leads his class in mathematics and organic chemistry, although the other pupils are years older than he. He expects to have his Ph.D. in chemistry before he is 16.

Kenneth could play intelligibly on the piano at the age of 22 months. His interest in music exceeds his interest in chemistry. He is now the only outsider allowed to attend rehearsals of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra. He hopes to study with composer Paul Hindemith.—USOWI.

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



UMA'S PENANCE
By Manindrabhusan Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER  1943

VOL. LXXIV, No. 3 WHOLE No. 441

NOTES

Lord Linlithgow's Parting Address

The Viceroy has delivered his valedictory address to a joint session of the Central Legislature in which he had reviewed the "achievements and fulfilments" of seven and a half years of his rule. No Viceroy of India, other than Lord Linlithgow, had ever enjoyed such unrestricted power and control over all aspects of human life comprising 400 million souls in the subcontinent of India.

After referring to the nation-building activities including agriculture, Lord Linlithgow mentioned the expansion of war production, which he said had been achieved without material sacrifice of goods ordinarily available to agriculturists and to the townsmen. The net result, however, has been famine and starvation in Bengal, the granary of India; lower productivity of agricultural commodities all over India; continuous dearth of the chief domestic fuel, coal; soaring high prices of cloth; and a general economic distress all over the country due to a large number of rules and restrictions imposed upon normal trade and transport.

The principal political achievement of Lord Linlithgow's regime is the complete and successful suppression of all vestiges of democracy in India. The Legislature which had the proud privilege of listening to his valedictory address, was elected more than a year before he set his foot on the Indian soil. The normal tenure of life of the Central Legislature was three years, but after seven and a half years of Viceroyalty, Lord Linlithgow delivered his parting address to the same set of Legislators elected before his assumption of office. In the provinces, the same story is told. Elections due in 1942 in four of the provinces enjoying provincial autonomy has been postponed *sine die*, on the pretext of war. Two more provinces have been brought within the fold of "constitutional government" by taking advantage of the imprisonment of a large number of Congress legislators. Five of the major provinces still continue to be ruled under the Governors' Proclamations which began in 1940. In India general elections during the war have been tabooed, but in other parts of the British Empire, general elections have been held in the thick of the war and amidst the most acute controversies regarding the policies to be followed for the prosecution of the war. General elections have been held in Ireland, in South Africa and in Australia. In America too, general elections had not been held up on account of the war. Both the Presidential election and the Congress elections have been held in due time and another Presidential election is drawing near.

India is fighting a war with blood and money for the cause of "freedom and democracy" but with freedom and democracy completely suppressed in her own home with little prospect of revival after this war.

Linlithgow's "Achievement" in the Communal Sphere

In the same address, Lord Linlithgow said·

"From the very beginning of the war I have done everything a man could do to bring the parties and their leaders together, to remove doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government, to achieve that sufficiency of common agreement between the parties and communities of this country and that necessary preliminary acceptance of the legitimate claims of all that must be the precondition of any constitutional advance that is worth having or that can hope for permanence.

"It will always be a sharp disappointment to me that these four years of war should for all that effort have seen us no nearer our goal and that as I speak today these internal divisions and these communal rivalries and that reluctance to place India first and subordinate sectional ambitions and jealousies to the common interest of the country, should still stand in the way of progress."

Instead of expressing his disappointment, Lord Linlithgow had every right to take upon himself the credit of keeping the two major communities apart throughout the war. All attempts at communal settlement, particularly since the Delhi resolution of the Congress Working Committee, have been successfully nullified during his regime. Any recognition to the progressive Muslim, progressive Christian and progressive scheduled caste parties was studiously avoided. In Sind, the ascendance of progressive Muslims under the able leadership of Allah Bux being none too palatable to the Imperial policy the Governor of Sind seized upon a fimsy pretext for ousting him from the office of Chief Minister in gross violation of constitutional propriety; again in Bengal the Governor resorted to doubtful methods in dislodging a progressive coalition from office for installing a reactionary League-European coalition in the ministry. Lord Linlithgow did not intervene. Both the Governors had acted in their own discretion apparently with the concurrence of the Governor-General as required under the Government of India Act.

During the Linlithgow regime, Congress has been sent to jail just for the passing of a resolution which had merely envisaged something like in direct action of a vague nature. The greatest and the most organised political party of India, which had successfully run administrations in eight provinces had been alienated. The Muslim League never joined him, but went so far as to expel one of its stalwarts from the party for having accepted a seat on the Viceroy's Council. The Liberals have also left him in bitter disgust. These are the achievements of a Viceroy who did "everything a man could do to bring the parties and their leaders together." "Internal divisions and communal rivalries" are nothing new in the modern political society. Even the arsenal of democracy on the new continent has differences between the white and the black not infrequently resulting into blows. But in India, composition of such rivalries and divisions was made impossible under a political atmosphere maintained during the seven and a half years of the Linlithgow regime.

Truth versus Assertion

Lord Linlithgow said, "Nor during all that time has a single constructive proposition—and I deeply regret to say it—been put forward by any Indian party." This is a most amazing statement. The National Government formula put forward by the Congress was a definite constructive proposal, and there was nothing in it that could not be conceded if Britain's professions of her willingness to part with power were genuine. The No-Party Conference had also put forward definite constructive proposals. It cannot be said by any stretching of facts that no constructive proposals had been *put forward* by any party in India. The most that could be said is that they were not acceptable to the Government whom Lord Linlithgow represented.

Congress Strength in the Frontier

Six bye-elections to the Frontier Legislative Assembly have recently been held, and these six seats have been equally shared by the Congress and the Muslim League. This result brought out the strength of the Congress in the Frontier Province in a clear perspective. The Congress is banned, it cannot function now as a political body and had no opportunity to utilise its propaganda machinery for the purpose of these elections. Contrary to this, the Muslim League fought with all its strengh adequately backed by the Government. In spite of this, the Congress has been able to score a victory in respect of one constituency, the other two members being returned unopposed.

Ignorance of University Graduates

Addressing the Nagpur University Convocation, Sir Mirza Ismail made the following observation :

"I think no one will deny that in India the ignorance of university graduates is appalling, and this applies with great emphasis to a large proportion of

those who can become teachers, even in high schools. Their job is to teach particular subjects in their classes, and they have nothing else at all to tell or give to their pupils, because their university has given them no more. In general, the only aim and desire is to pass the examination and get away. It is impossible for us to blame students for this. They are not in themselves less curious and adventurous and responsive than students of other lands; but neither in our system nor in our atmosphere is there the opportunity and stimulus they need."

The present education system is primarily responsible for this ignorance. No real knowledge about the history of the country and its economic, social and administrative systems is imparted to the students. The inevitable result is that a graduate comes out of the university with fixed ideas about specified subjects,—an easy prey to claptrap slogans.

British Shipping Dominates Indian Waters

BOMBAY, Aug. 13.

"While the Government of India have been doing all they can to help even today the domination of British shipping in Indian waters it is a matter of deep regret that this very Government not only accord step-motherly treatment to Indian shipping but raise false hopes in that shipping by giving it promises and assurances which they will not or cannot fulfil." Thus observed Mr. Shantikumar Morarjee, Managing Agent, Scindia Steam Navigation Company commenting on the answer given by the Commerce Member in the Assembly yesterday that the Government had not been able to secure any additional shipping for Scindia Company to enable it to maintain its quota in trade.

The Government, Mr. Morarjee added, first appointed a Scotchman previously connected with British shipping as the controller of shipping in India. This was followed by the appointment of another European as Indian Shipping Adviser. The entire commercial community protesetd against these appointments but the Government completely ignored these protests. In justifying the appointment of the Indian Shipping Adviser the Government of India advanced the special plea that they would thereby enable the Indian shipping to maintain its position and carry its quota in coastal trade. While the Government of India have failed to stand by Indian shipping, as it was made to believe that they would, the British Government have helped and encouraged British shipping not only to maintain its position in Indian trade but even to dominate it much more vigorously in times of war than in times of peace. While the Government of India did not give a single ship to the Indian shipping the British Ministry of War Transport gave over fairly a large number of steamers to British shipping companies even in 1942 alone to maintain their quota of coastal trade. While the Government of India, Mr. Shantikumar continued, had never hesitated to compel Indian shipping companies to place their steamers at the disposal of the British Ministry of War Transport even during the peak of season they have not been able to secure for Indian shipping even a single ship from that Ministry which in all fairness and justice they ought to have done to enable Indian shipping to maintain its position in Indian trade.—*U. P.*

The story of the struggle of Indian shipping against the rival British interests is a long and woeful tale. At the beginning of the war, a Shipping Controller had been appointed who had axes to grind. The appointment of such controllers who have present as well as potential interests in the industries placed in their charge had been greatly resented in England with some effect, but in India the same practice goes on not only unabated, but sometimes with the addition of fresh "Advisers".

Peril in the Present Deadlock

An appeal by nearly a hundred representative men and women of England has been addressed to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery, Lord Linlithgow and Viscount Wavell. It declares:

"A year has now elapsed since the arrest of Congress leaders. At this moment thousands of Indian men and women are either imprisoned or detained without trial. The political deadlock has remained unbroken throughout the year and the resultant situation is one of mistrust and frustration; the continuance of which must imperil the future good relations between Britain and India.

We believe that the time is opportune for a review of the situation and for fresh efforts by British and Indian leaders to find a solution that will be honourable and acceptable to both."

The appeal is signed, among others, by Prof. Harold Laski, Prof. C. E. M. Joad, Mr. Clement Davis, M.P., the Archdeacon of Westminster, Sir Ernest Bennett, M.P., the Bishops of Birmingham and Bradford, Lord Strabolgi, Prof. G. D. H. Cole, Dr. A. D. Lindsey, Commander King-Hall, M.P., and Viscountess Snowden.

Political circles in London lag behind its cultured people in visualising the peril in the present deadlock.

Lord Clive is Dead but Lord of Clive Street Lives

On the occasion of the Food Debate in the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. K. C. Neogy, in his speech, observed:

My Honourable Friend, Mr. Griffiths, contented himself with saying that the situation is unprecedented. I wonder if he had in view the great famine of 1770 to which brief reference has already been made, and which I am told led to the death of millions in Bengal. When Lord Cornwallis made a detailed enquiry he found that this famine had led to the devastation and depopulation of one-third of Bengal. Sir, when I went into certain historical accounts left by admitted authorities, I was struck by the resemblance of some of the factors that have led to the present situation, with the facts that led to the famine of 1770. I read, for instance, in Hunter that "The whole administration was accused of dealing in grain for their private advantage. It was in vain that the Court of Directors wrote one indignant letter after another, demanding the names of the culprits."

No satisfactory investigation was ever made: and the native agents of the governing body remain to this day under the charge of carrying off the husbandman's scanty stock at arbitrary prices, stopping and emptying boats that were importing rice from other provinces, and "compelling the poor ryots to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest." Not without reason does the Court express its suspicion that the guilty parties "could be no other than persons of some rank" in its own service; and curious to relate, the only high official who was brought to trial for the offence was the native Minister of Finance who had stood forth, to expose the malpractices of the English administration. It is fair to add that he was acquitted."

The famine policy pursued since 1770 till 1943 has not undergone any visible material change. What is worse, the same spirit of profiteering in food-grains pervades the whole administration today. The following facts, supplied from a reliable source, will be illuminating:

The purchase price of wheat paid by Central Government in the Punjab markets is not more than Rs. 9-8 to Rs. 10-4 per maund (82 lbs.). As against this purchase price, the Central Government charges Rs. 11-10 per md. to the Bengal Government, Railway freight being borne entirely by Bengal Government. The difference between the selling prices of the Government of India and the purchase price of the Government of Bengal is from Rs. 1-6 to Rs. 2-2 per md.

Bengal Government releases this wheat to Bengal stockists at the rate of Rs. 15-8 per maund. It is said that lately this rate has been reduced to Rs. 14-4. In any case, this rate is exorbitant, because the only charge paid by Bengal Government is Railway freight and perhaps some cartage on Bengal side. Freight charges should not be more than Re. 1-2 per maund—on an average from the Punjab markets to Bengal stations. The difference between the selling price of the Government of Bengal and purchase price of Bengal stockists is Rs. 2-12 or Re. 1-8.

It is said that the Bengal Government in addition to freight, also takes into account such items as wastage, godown hire, demurrage—the last item alone accounting for annas 8 per maund as an over-all charge. The consumer in Bengal is thus being made to pay for the incompetence of some Governmental Department, annas 8 per maund on demurrage account alone for a serious mishandling of supplies on Bengal side. In normal trade, no one would brook such charges.

The difference between the prices of wheat and *atta* in Bengal for the consumer is Rs. 5-12 per maund. (Rs. 20 which is the price of *atta*, less Rs. 14-4 which is the official Bengal price for wheat). This high difference seems to benefit either Bengal stockists or Bengal Mills.

Over and above this big difference in price, it is understood that Bengal Government allows two per cent. to the Mills for loss of grain and in addition another five per cent. for wastage in milling. Thus for 105 maunds delivered to the mills, the available *atta* is but 98 maunds. This is a huge wastage—a hidden subsidy in fact to stockists and milling interests in addition to the profit already allowed.

Enquiries from Mill interests in the Punjab show that after milling the weight of *atta* in fact increases somewhat due to moisture, etc., and production is 100 per cent. There is no reason to expect different results from Bengal Mills.

Mr. Neogy was perfectly justified when he remarked that the East India Company was still with us, though not in its original shape. Lord Clive was no longer with us, but a lord of Clive Street had been installed in the Government front bench.

What is more, the Lords of Clive Street have succeeded, after the strenuous efforts of Sir John Herbert, in gaining once again the balance of power in the Bengal Legislature.

Who are the Congenital Idiots and Consummate Knaves?

The Roy's Weekly, in its issue dated 22 August last, publishes a digest of "How Central Assembly behaves" in which it states, "It appears Mr. Neogy called the Executive Councillors congenital idiots and consummate knaves. That appears to have provoked the Leader of the House....Sir Sultan can have his revenge by abusing Mr. Neogy soundly next he is on the air, feeling sure that Mr. Neogy will never get a chance of paying him back on the Air, at any rate, so long as he is in charge of Broadcasting."

The exact words used by Mr. Neogy, in the speech which he had made in reply to the Food Member, are:

"Sir, I should now like to come to some of the observations which my Honourable friend, the Food Member, made. His speech is a confession of abject incompetence and failure on the part of the Government to rise to the height of the occasion, as has been observed by other speakers. I mean no disrespect to any individual member occupying the Government front bench when I say that our affairs, so far as the food situation is concerned, could not have been more mismanaged had they been entrusted to a corporation of congenital idiots and consummate knaves. Sir, I am not here to decry any particular Provincial Government or any particular Ministry in a Provincial Government. But I should like to point out that so far as the Government of India are concerned, they did not realise the seriousness of the situation, when they were about to lose their hold in the Far East."

It is indeed a serious reflection on the intelligence of Sir Sultan Ahmed to suggest, as has been done by the Roy's Weekly, that he has taken this part of Mr. Neogy's speech as an insult to the Executive Councillors. The "Roys Weekly" should further send out reliable reporters to Bengal to see the sights that have provoked such remarks before making such comments. At a modest estimate at least five million persons are facing a horrible death now in Bengal. Contorted bodies of the dead and dying and the wailing of helpless mothers over dying children are common and every day sights and sounds in the streets of Calcutta.

Mr. Thakkar's Letter

Terrible as the conditions are in Calcutta, the state in which the districts are is far worse. Midnapore district is receiving some aid, though miserably inadequate, but even there the misery of the people is heart-rending as the following letter of Mr. A. V. Thakkar, of the Servants of India Society, that appeared in the *Times of India* on the 4th August, will show :

I have read with very great interest your leader entitled "A Food Member."

I returned only yesterday from Calcutta and the famine-affected parts of the Midnapore and Balasore districts of Bengal and Orissa respectively, where I had been to take a rapid survey of the relief measures in progress.

People in Bombay cannot imagine the state of things that exists in the eastern parts of the country, of the starvation among the lower classes of people and of the mortality caused thereby. Bombay city and suburbs are very well rationed in spite of petty complaints. Calcutta is not rationed, and thousands and perhaps lakhs of poor people from the adjoining districts flock to Calcutta in search of food. Members of the Calcutta Corporation have openly declared that a large number of deaths have occurred in the streets of Calcutta from amongst the starving immigrants. Free gruel kitchens were started by the Bengal Government in the district of Chittagong and public-spirited people in Calcutta will soon start free and cheap kitchens to feed about half a lakh of poor and middle-class people. But the state of people in the districts is still much worse, with rice selling at a seer or a seer and a half at the most per rupee ! It is impossible for poor people to subsist for long on very scanty food. The Contai sub-division of Midnapore district, which was very badly affected by the cyclone of October, 1942, and the consequent misery, is suffering very acutely at present. In spite of Government having put 70,000 persons on the free dole list with the very meagre of ration of 24 tolas per day per adult, scores of deaths are taking place daily in Contai town and villages. During my 110 mile tramp by river-boat and *palki* in the interior of North Balasore District I witnessed hundreds and thousands of naked children with their ribs exposed. Deaths due to starvation as well as cholera have been very common in those villages.

The food situation is fast deteriorating and unless some drastic and immediate measures are taken to remedy this state of things, the mortality in the country on account of starvation is bound to be very heavy. Merely looking after a few industrial cities will not ease the situation. The Government at the Centre must take the food situation of the whole country in its own hands like the defence of India and as a part thereof. If it merely relies upon the mercies of the surplus provinces, there is bound to be a catastrophe. Bengal legislators are quite justified in crying for the declaration of the whole of Bengal as a famine area. If rice can be sold in some parts of the country at Rs. 8 to 15 per maund but in Bengal at the rate of Rs. 30 to 35 per maund, evidently there is something seriously wrong about the communications as well as the administration in the country.—A. V. Thakkar, Vice-President, Servants of India Society.

Red Tape on Foodstuffs

We give below an account of how red tape is working in the Food Departments of the Central and Provincial Governments. The statement comes from a merchant who speaks from personal knowledge and experience :

A few days past a person from Ondal (Bengal station) came to me and related the woeful plight of people in that province. He is a grain dealer there. He begged wheat of the Central Government and had to be refused. He begged wheat from Punjab and was refused. But if he would (I don't know if he had or had not) have begged wheat from Bengal Government the procedure would have been as follows :

(*i*) An application to District authority which ordinarily will take *four to seven days* for disposal and despatch to provincial headquarters.

(*ii*) Examination of the application by the provincial authority who is very likely to ask his establishment to put up the application before him with remarks, etc., and this is to take up another *ten or fifteen days* normally speaking.

(*iii*) The provincial authority agrees to the requirement (let us take the optimistic view) and the draft is prepared, signed and sent to the issue branch to be despatched to the Central Government. This means another *seven days*.

(*iv*) There must be some examination, verification, remarks, etc., before action is taken at New Delhi. At least *seven days* for it.

(*v*) Again after approval the orders are sent to the Director, Food Supply (for instance at Lahore). The requisition is received, scrutinized, entered and in the usual course of things an order is placed with the Central purchasing agent. This must take at least two days. The time spent for the above process is about *thirty-three days*.

The Central purchasing agent is a businessman and a trader middleman, who in his own way tries to finish his job. The seller within two or three days sends the goods to the Railway station and awaits the usual permit from the Central purchasing agent so that he may be able to register the goods for allotment of wagons. This permit usually appears *earliest after twenty to thirty days* of the transaction having been done. Allotment is registered. But no wagon.

The wagon position is not known to the Director, Food Stuff much less to the purchasing agents. Even if the stuff is railed on immediately the time spent in supervision, sorting, reassembling and clearing out wagons at different stations is not less than ten days. Add to it ten days in transit and four days for release at destination; *the number of days from beginning to end is eighty-three.*

In the meantime, famine-stricken people continue to starve and die in tens of thousands.

Gross Abuse of Executive Authority

BOMBAY, Aug. 21.

Declaring that the result on the whole case "is that it discloses a very gross abuse of executive authority" and that it afforded a remarkable illustration of "confusion that exists in this country between the Executive and the Judicial Authority of the District Magistrate," the Chief Justice Sir John Beaumont, sitting with Justice Rajdhyaksha in the Bombay High Court, ordered the immediate release of Sadashiv Shan-

ker and Govindlal Parisk, two undertrial prisoners on whose behalf *habeas corpus* petitions had been filed by their relatives. Both the cases were identical and both accused had been detained in prison following their arrest in Poona on December 8, 1942. When their petitions came up for hearing on Tuesday last, Their Lordships directed the Government to produce all orders made in those cases and produce prisoners in Court. The hearing of the case revealed that in remanding the accused on December 6, 1942. the City Magistrate of Poona ignored the provisions of Section 344 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which required him to state his reasons in writing for remanding the accused in custody but merely endorsed the application of the police with one word "yes." Subsequently, after one month when another Magistrate took cognisance of the case and the District Magistrate asked the Public Prosecutor not to proceed with the case until investigations in another case were over. The Public Prosecutor merely wrote a note to the City Magistrate conveying instructions of the District Magistrate instead of applying judicially for an adjournment as was his duty in the presence of the accused or his legal advisors and the City Magistrate meekly made an order of adjournment. It was not apparent, added the Chief Justice, whether that order was to be regarded as judicial administrative order. Their Lordships held their detention illegal and ordered an immediate release.—*A. P. I.*

This is only another instance of the subservience of the magisterial judiciary to the Executive, which to all intents and purposes means the police.

Slavery has no Bill of Rights

Mr. Henry Wallace, Vice-President of the United States of America, has earned a reputation for plain-speaking. In a recent speech he has said :

> We seek a peace that is more than just a breathing space between the death of the old tyranny and the birth of a new one. We will not be satisfied with a peace which will merely lead us from the concentration camps and the mass murder of Fascism into the international jungle of gangster governments operated behind the scenes by power-crazed, money-mad imperialists.
>
> "Starvation has no Bill of Rights; slavery no Magna Carta. Wherever the hopes of the human family are throttled, there we find the makings of revolt.
>
> "Hunger and unemployment spawned the criminal freebooters of Fascism. Their only remedy against insecurity was war. Their only answer to poverty and the denial of opportunity became the First Commandment of the Nazis : 'Loot Thy Neighbour.'
>
> "Ours is a just generation that will distill stamina and provide the skills to create a war-proof world. We must not bequeath a second blood-bath to our children.
>
> "World leadership must be more concerned with the welfare of politics, and less with power politics—more attentive to equalising the use of raw materials between nations than to condoning policies of 'grab and barter' that freeze international markets—more interested in opening channels of commerce than in closing them by prohibitive tariffs—more mindful of the need for stable currency in all countries than for high interest rates on loans. World leadership must be more occupied with preventing political house-burners from setting fires of revolt than stopping them after they start.
>
> "And in that to-morrow, when peace comes, education for tolerance will be just as important as the production of television. The creation of a decent diet for every family will take just as much planning as building new cars, refrigerators and washing machines. The world is a neighbourhood. We have learned that starvation in China affects our own security, and that the jobless in India are related to unemployment here."

There will be no end of war until the people of the world transcend the geographical and racial barriers placed against the path of progress, and come to realise that the world is one family with one common future for all. Sympathy and kindness will then replace chains to bind the entire human family all over the globe. With Wallace we believe that the day of victory for humanity will come but only after the subject people of Asia and Africa have been freed from Imperial bondage.

Milk Problem in Bengal

Milk problem in Bengal is becoming increasingly acute. Price of milk is steadily going up everyday and the Department of Civil Supply does not appear to have any concern about it. Want of milk for a prolonged period will make today's children grow up as a generation of weaklings. This is a serious matter and deserves due attention of the authorities. In many quarters in Calcutta, the price of milk has gone up to 2 seers in the rupee, and in some 1¾ seers in the rupee is being charged. We consider this to be profiteering.

Production of milk in Bengal is already seriously defective. The daily consumption of milk in this Province is only 6 ounces as compared with 40 in Britain and 45 in Australia. The annual production of milk per cattle in India is 30 gallons as compared to 387 in Denmark and 380 in Switzerland.

The Government of Bengal are not being asked to increase production of milk here and now, but the people have a right to demand check of profiteering in this commodity of primary nourishment for children.

Food Problem in India and Abroad

Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, who was one of the representatives from India to the International Food Conference at the Hot Springs, America, said in a statement on returning to India that they were not concerned with feeding India at the present juncture. They were considering post-war feeding and that with an emphasis on Europe. Last year in the Indian Journal of Social Welfare, this Dr. Aykroyd had pointed

out that even in normal times India's food supply with imports from abroad did not cover the requirements of the population. The diet of large sections was deficient in quality and quantity and below generally accepted standards of adequacy. There was little margin of safety to allow for further restriction. According to him, the food situation in India is thoroughly unsatisfactory even in normal times, and that the majority of India's population lives on a diet far remote from the most moderate standards of adequate nutrition. If imports are not to be relied on, a very large increase in the production of various foods is necessary to raise existing standards to a satisfactory level: Cereals 30%; pulses 100%; milk and milk products 300 or 400%; meat, fish and eggs several hundred per cent; vegetables, particularly green leafy vegetables, 100%. Britain took courageous steps at the very beginning of the war to increase her food production and efforts have been largely successful. But in India, the Government did not move while her own experts remained content with the mere expression of their ideas with no corresponding efforts to translate those ideas into action.

In Britain, prices of daily necessities have risen only by 25%, while in Calcutta the rise in the retail prices of essential commodities has been of the order of 800%. In America the rising prices have been effectively checked by President Roosevelt. The following table, taken from the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics for January 1943, issued by the League of Nations, will illustrate how other countries have ensured the normal consumer at least a good standard of nutrition even in the thick of the war.

FOOD RATIONS IN THE LAST QUARTER OF 1942

Grammes per week per head
(1 Gramme=1/11th of a Tola, Approx.)

Country	Bread Flour	Cereals	Potatoes	Sugar	Meat	Milk
Canada	Free	Free	Free	225	Free	Free
U. S. A.	Free	Free	Free	225	Free	Free
Britain	Free	Free	Free	225	550	1,420
Italy	1,050	500-625	1,000	125	100-200	1,990
Germany	2,250	150	4,500	225	350	Nil

This table shows that in Britain, flour, cereals and potatoes are free so that there is no restriction on the chief sources of carbohydrates. The rise in price being merely 25%, they are within the reach of all. There is therefore no shortage of calories for the British people.

Food in Britain and India Compared

Science and Culture for August writes in the editorial article entitled "Famine?":

The United Kingdom normally produces only about a third of the foodstuffs that she requires and imports the rest. Even so her food situation is heaven compared with that in India which produces the vast bulk of her foodstuffs. The British Government has built up food stocks in their country to last for a considerable period. A few months back when owing to German submarine activity the British food stocks had to be drawn upon to a small extent there were angry and anxious questions in Parliament. Lord Woolton, the Minister of Food, tried to allay the alarm by pointing out that the small depletion of the stock of foodstuffs was only temporary. British Government spokesmen have said that foodships are still regularly reaching England avoiding submarines from America and Australia. Apparently the British Government is taking and discharging full responsibility with regard to the feeding of *their* own population.

Who is doing the same in India? Bread flour, rice and other cereals are, of course, also free in India, but the Himalayan prices have produced a condition far worse than even a severe rationing could do. The situation is so bad in Bengal that the Government is reported to be working in terms of a ration of 6 chattacks of rice per day per head for the people including the peasants. Considering that rice is almost the sole source of calories to the vast majority of our people who are unutterably poor, this ration would supply less than 1,500 calories per head per day. A man of normal active habits would require about 2,500 calories a day and a peasant would probably require at least 3,500 calories a day owing to his occupation of fairly hard work. . .

We read, however, in the latest United States Office of War Information—Scientific News Letter, Medical No. 2—that "three Swedish vessels loaded with 15,000 tons of American grain recently left New York Harbour for Greece to off-set starvation conditions." To send food to an enemy-occupied country requires much negotiation with the enemy through the International Red Cross and the use of neutral vessels. *To send food to India from America and Australia would require neither negotiation nor the use of neutral vessels.* Are those foodships being sent? If not, why not?

The reason for this differential treatment has already been explained by Mr. Amery, who professes to know everything about India, when he spoke of "a larger consumption of food per head in India as a result of increased family income." Mr. Amery did not enlighten the world by revealing the source from which he garnered this shining bit of "white truth."

Damodar River Embankment

The river Damoder has become a source of constant anxiety to the people of the localities through which it passes. The recent floods have been of a greater magnitude than is usually the case. This year, the defective embankments erected apparently without any scientific plan and foresight have come in for a good deal of

criticism. The following letter from an Engineer, having scientific knowledge and requisite experience, and published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for August 6, 1943, deserves special attention. A retired Executive Engineer, Irrigation, in the Government of Bengal, says in it :

On the 17th July last, the great embankment yielded to the rush of waters and yawned out a gap of 1,000/-, letting loose all the furies, to submerge miles of the country. The closing of the embankment with a fresh rise in the river would be difficult. The water has been following an easterly course towards Memari, but after that we may ask it *Quo Vadis,* whither are you going ?

With my intimate experience of the locality for three decades, and having saved the embankment during the long period of my incumbency, I beg to offer a few remarks for consideration of the authorities if they are thinking of "Post-Flood Planning" against such unwelcome crises.

During the 1830 Flood, when the Damodar used to spill all round, boats plied between Burdwan and Calcutta across country. Since 1850, the left bank has received complete protection, while the right has been given over to flood spill, with these results :

(1) The right side people suffered and still do so, but they are 4 times healthier than people on the left.

(2) The ground levels on the right have risen 8 feet above those on the left; there are live channels to carry the flood water away and boats are available, which are unknown to the protected people.

(3) The reservoir capacity for floods on the right is fast decreasing; the construction and maintenance of the embankment has shifted the head of the Damodar Delta 20 miles above Burdwan, whereas the head of the Delta on the right bank is 30 miles below Burdwan, at the Begua offtake.

Hence in years to come, the embankment would be subjected to more and more flood pressure. Breaches occurred in 1888, 1913, 1935, 1940, 1943 : the period between successive breaches is reducing. The Embankment at Amirpore (mile 26) was never breached during the last 100 years. Unless the embankment has been neglected here, it presages the attempt of the river to build its Delta on the left.

To my mind, an escape on the left bank from near about the present breach site through the capacious railway cause-way and other so-called dead channels (many of which are quite capacious) into the Hooghly is badly needed. The escape can be made automatic and controlled and need not carry so much as one lac cusecs or so little as 17,000 cusecs or so required for extensive irrigation. The left bank lands must take some share of the floods and help in the "General War Effort Against Floods." It would benefit them. It may be noted that the Nile Basins absorb 40 per cent. of the floods of that river. The bogey of Calcutta being swamped by the Escape Waters is unbelievable.

One may think that as soon as the breach is closed, one may go to sleep ! The trend of events does not warrant it and action is required.

A similar problem confronts the 25 crore Sukkar Barrage Project and diversion of the Indus waters from West to East is required to save the situation.

The need for an adequate scheme of river training has been felt in Bengal for some time past. A few years ago, Dr. N. K. Basu of the Punjab Irrigation Department, had delivered a course of lectures in the Science College, Calcutta in which he had emphasised the need for river training in Bengal and pleaded for the immediate establishment of a Research Laboratory for the purpose. Maharaja S. C. Nandy, during his tenure of office as Minister for Works, had done a contour survey of the Bengal rivers along with the then Chief Engineer, Irrigation, but nothing came out of it as he had to vacate office soon after except some attempts made by Maulvi Samsuddin Ahmed.

Closing of Damodar Breach

In the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 16th August, 1943, another retired Executive Engineer of the Tirhoot Waterways Division, Bihar P.W.D. has pointed out the inefficacy and the potential danger involved in the Government proposal to stop the breach by a solid embankment. He writes :

It appears from a Press report that instead of providing controlled flood escapes through natural channels (the so-called dead channels) as suggested, a few days ago, in your esteemed journal by Mr. A. N. Mitra I.S.E. (retired)—the Government engineers now propose to close up the breach by a solid embankment. As stated by Mr. Mitra, who had experience of the Damodar embankment over three decades, the unprotected country on the right bank has been built up to an extent of eight feet in average whereas in the so-called protected area in the left, the frequency of breaches has increased. The evil effects of leveeing rivers have been recognised by modern engineers all over the world. Pursuance of the ill-fated policy of the past will simply render the so-called protected area into a vast cesspool where a future breach in the Bundh will cause unprecedented damage and untold-of miseries to the future generation.

Instead of such stop-gap methods, the posterity needs inauguration of a bold policy for even distribution of spill on both banks over as large an area as possible and quick dispersal of the same by revival of all old natural channels irrespective of the vested interests involved.

The day before, a graphic account of the causes and secret influences that have made the Damodar a river of sorrow instead of a giver of life was given by Dr. Meghnad Saha in an article contributed to the same newspaper.

The following extract from Dr. Saha's article speaks for itself :

After the floods of 1913 and 1919, the Bengal Government was roused to action and ordered its irrigation officers to undertake a complete scientific investigation of the river-course and suggest measures for a permanent remedy. The survey of the river-course was started by Mr. Subarwal, the present Chief Engineer (Irrigation) and supervised by Mr. Adams-Williams, for long Chief Irrigation Engineer of Bengal but then Superintending Engineer, on special duty. The services of Mr. E. L. Glass who had experience of

construction of reservoirs and dams in the Central Provinces were requisitioned as Special Officer. The investigations extended over eight years (1913-1920) and were as thorough as could be under the then conditions.

The final scheme submitted by Mr. Glass to the Bengal Government was a proposal for the construction of reservoir Dams, one at Parjori (twelve miles up the Bhujidih Station) on the Upper Damodar for storing 15,000 million cubic feet of water, another at Palkia on the Barakar of about the same storage capacity and a third of smaller size (about 7,000 million cubic feet) on the Usri, a tributary of the Barakar. The total cost for the construction of reservoirs was estimated to be Rs. 2 crores. The proposals were somewhat modified by Mr. Adams-Williams, who recommended in addition certain other measures for the plain areas.

Opposition from Coal Magnates

We consider that the work done by the Irrigation Department was very thorough, and the measures recommended by them were entitled to serious consideration by the Government. It appears that the Government was almost persuaded to implement the recommendations, and preliminary works were actually started for the construction of a dam at Parjori. This and other measures recommended would have converted the Damodar from a hill torrent to a perennial stream delivering nearly 1,000 cusecs of water throughout the year, would have curbed the fury of the floods, made the river-courses in the lower basin permanent, and restored Western Bengal to its pre-and early British period of prosperity by enabling the peasant to raise two to three crops on their fields annually. The threatened diversion of the Damodar course north of Calcutta, endangering the very life of the city, would not have taken place, and the arterial lines of communication, *viz.*, the railways and roads would have been safeguarded against any breach. But alas, the Government of Bengal and the unsuspecting public had not taken into account another party which ultimately proved stronger than both combined. These were the Coal Magnates of Calcutta (The Indian Mining Association). When the work of survey was in progress, a little sparrow appears to have whispered into their ears that if a dam impounding 15,000 million cubic feet of water were constructed at Parjori, the water would percolate down along the faults of the rock strata, and spoil many of the coalfields in the Upper Damodar Valley. So the services of the Geological Survey of India were requisitioned and an Officer of the Geological Survey was deputed to investigate the matter. The findings of this officer appeared to confirm the fears of the Indian Mining Association, though according to Mr. Glass, another officer of the Geological Survey, Dr. Pascoe, is said to have expressed just the contrary opinion. The Irrigation Department (both Mr. Adams-Williams and Mr. Glass) were not convinced of the arguments offered by the Geological Survey and the matter was ultimately referred to Mr. Hayden, the then Director of Geological Survey. The Director of course upheld the findings of his own officer, but in a language which contained too many 'mays' and 'mights' and 'probables,' which clearly showed that the opinion expressed left room for a further and more thorough scientific scrutiny of the project. Anyhow, the Government to whom the question of ultimate decision was referred, appears to have read in Mr. Hayden's report that the construction of a dam at Parjori would probably cause more water to percolate to the coal mines and spoil them in the immediate neighbourhood, and gave the proposals a most "undeserved" burial. The interests of the rural population as well as those of the Railways and the Calcutta Port Trust were thus sacrificed to those of the coal magnates.

The Superintending Engineer of the Irrigation Department, Mr. Adams-Williams, to whose enterprise the schemes were due, must have felt awfully chagrined when he found that the patient labours of himself and his officers extending over years were torpedoed by the expression of a vague and unconfirmed fear.

In his final note (dated June 1, 1920) he records his apprehension that the course of the Damodar may, in course of a future catastrophic flood, be diverted eastwards, as the banks on the right unembanked side were getting higher due to deposits of silt. This would cause the Damodar to discharge its flood waters above Calcutta as it used to do a hundred years ago. What would be the consequences ? To quote Mr. Adams-Williams :

> ". . . . it is clear that the Hooghly could not carry this (*i.e.*, the flood) volume and much of it would therefore pass through Calcutta itself, and the towns on the banks of the river would suffer in the same way as Hamilton, Dayton, etc., in 1913 in the great Miami flood. It is this aspect of the question which makes matters urgent, knowing, as we do, that flood levels near Burdwan are rapidly rising and I do not think the Mining Association and the Geological experts have fully grasped this side of the question : I believe that by constructing the Hazaribag and Usri reservoirs, as proposed, flood heights at Burdwan will be reduced for a few years within manageable limits, and that deltaic action will be retarded at the head of the delta : we may also expect an improvement in the narrower portions of the rivers at and below Jamalpore; but in time the same difficulties will arise as the delta fills up, and it will then be imperative to construct a further dam in the Damodar, and probably the Parjori site will have to be selected; the Damodar catchment is particularly wanting in good sites, and we shall have to make use of any that can be found."

After the memories of the floods of 1913 and 1919 died down, the Government as well as the public have been living in an atmosphere of self-complacency. Just to give some sop to the agricultural population, the Anderson Canal was completed at a cost of a crore and a half in 1934. This has been a very ill-projected scheme as subsequent history has shown, and this has left all the problems of the Damodar unsolved and untackled.

As regards Government of Bengal's Damodar river policy, the people have been misled. Great decisions have to be taken and the people know that they can be taken only when the desire of the people is effectively represented in a legislature which would maintain adequate control over the Executive.

To Govern India by Force is Beyond Britain's Power

A book entitled *My dear Churchill* which contains a series of open letters to the prominent members of the British Cabinet by an anonymous writer under the pen-name *Populus*, has reached us recently. We give below a summary, in the words of his letter to Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, which may be of

special interest in this country. The book was first published in March 1941 by Victor Gollancz.

To go on governing India by force is both inconsistent with Great Britain's professions about this war being fought for democracy, and beyond Great Britain's power. I do not suggest that armed insurrection in India is imminent; for except for the small native army, British India is one of the most disarmed countries in the world. It has been a part of British policy to keep it so, and to handpick the Indian Army so as to reduce to 'a minimum the risk of another Sepoy revolt.' Such other arms as there are in India are to be found much more in the native States than in British India proper; and the rulers of these States are for the most part supporters of British Imperialism as a bulwark against Indian democracy. Armed revolt is hardly to be expected, yet awhile, on any significant scale. It would come only if we were so weakened by war elsewhere as to have to withdraw our garrisons and leave the native soldiers to choose between joining the people and perishing in defence of a cause in which they could have no faith.

But short of armed revolt, an immense spread of civil disobedience is likely, unless we change our policy; and mass civil disobedience can hardly occur without incidents, which will embitter opinion, and make authoritative Government much mere difficult. India will slip from under British control, until the day comes when, perhaps aided by 'another Power,' revolt does become possible, and the peoples of India rise and drive their rulers into the sea—unless those rulers have been wise in time.

There is the conflict between Hindu and Mahometan elements to be taken into account with the certainty that, as long as we make disagreement between the Congress and the Moslem League an excuse for doing nothing, the disagreement will continue, and the blame be rightly put on us.

There are all sorts of cross-currents, among which it is easy enough to discover excuses for inaction. But inaction is fatal, because it means turning India into an enemy, when we badly need friends.

What is most keenly resented throughout India is that the country has been brought into the war without any consent of its own. It has been forced into the war as a dependency of the British Empire. This is, of course, freely in accordance with Imperialist tradition; and it was done in 1914 without provoking any thing like the same resentment. But much has happened since 1914; India has been promised, but not given, Dominion Status, and Indian Nationalism has developed a long way further. It is no longer possible to order the Indians about, and expect them to show resentment.

Can we be surprised when Indians, even when it has been explained to them that they would be much worse off under the Nazis, or under Japan (as they would), still then feel only resentment as being dragged, by the scruffs of their necks, into Great Britian's war?

You can do nothing about all this, unless you can talk the War Cabinet round to acting a long way in advance of British opinion. To talk them round to what? To offering the Indians, not Dominion Status at some uncertain future date—when maybe there won't be any British Empire for them to be a Dominion of—but something tangible, here and now.

What shadow of right has Great Britain to rule India against the Indians' will, that Hitler has not to rule Norway, or Holland, or occupied France, or Great Britain, if he can occupy that too? If we stand for the right of the Sword in India, what right have we to pose as Champions of freedom and democracy, or to expect help as the Champions of these causes? Or are freedom and democracy good only for men whose skins are white?

It is not mere injustice; it is height of folly that you are gaoling by hundreds the very leaders of Indian opinion who are most favourable to a friendly settlement of the Indian question.

You can't—you or Churchill, or whoever is responsible for the present deadlock in India—have it both ways. You can't appeal to the spirit of democracy in England and America, and expect it to stay asleep in Asia. You can't go in ruling India as your predecessors ruled it in the 19th century. If you mean to try ruling India by the sword you will have to sharpen your sword upto the 20th century, Nazi standards. You will have to shut up all the Indian leaders in concentration camps; and shoot at sight. But you can't do it, my dear Amery; and what is more, you know you can't.

The writer's confidence in the innate good sense of Mr. Amery has been misplaced. The gallant Secretary of State has shut up all the Indian leaders in concentration camps and shootings at sight have actually happened in India including machine-gunning from the air. For the past one year, India has seen the most repressive regime after 1857.

The Pollard Case

Judgment has been delivered by the Calcutta High Court in what has been well-known as the Pollard Case. This case had attracted wide attention in the country and the judgment of the Chief Justice has come in for some amount of criticism. The fundamental principle in the administration of justice is that justice should not only be done but it must also appear to have been done. Some doubts have been expressed, whether this fundamental principle has been upheld in the judgment delivered by the Chief Justice.

The case arose out of a complaint by a pleader filed against Pollard who was the Superintendent of Police of Berhampore and whom he had approached in his professional robes in connection with the moving of a bail petition. Pollard assaulted him and turned him out. Pollard was convicted and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 200 by a Berhampore Magistrate, The Session Court of Nadia, which had become the forum of justice out of Pollard's own choice, heard his appeal and dismissed it. Then upon grounds of alleged interference with the administration of justice by the then Chief Minister Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the petitioner obtained a rule from the Calcutta High Court. A Special Bench constituted for the purpose with the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Khundkar and Mr. Justice Lodge has now delivered judgment setting aside the conviction and fine imposed on Pollard.

The judgment of the Special Bench has been principally based on the Huq-Chatterji correspondence regarding the Jiagunj Rice Looting Case which has been considered irrelevant in the present proceedings by the public to whom justice should appear to have been done.

The issues involved in the case were mainly two—first, whether in behaving as he was alleged to have done, towards the complainant Mr. Satya Gopal Majumdar, the Superintendent of Police acted in the discharge of his legitimate official functions; second, whether the charges brought about by the complainants had been substantiated on evidence produced in the trial courts. To the uninitiated the Special Bench seem to have ignored both these vital issues and to have placed an over-emphasis on the Huq-Chatterji correspondence which related to an entirely different case.

The judgment of the Chief Justice is given below in part:

In course of the judgment the Chief Justice observed that it was a very serious matter for all times for the course of justice to be interfered with or for even an attempt to be made to interfere with the course of justice. It was very serious indeed when such an attempt was made by the Chief Minister of the Province who possessed great power and influence. In this case it was clear that Mr. Huq who at all material times was, until April of this year, the Chief Minister, used his position to influence the course or justice in the Jiaganj Case for political considerations. When Mr. Fazlul Huq took office as Chief Minister on December 12, 1941, he took the usual oath of office as prescribed by the Instrument of Instructions issued by the Crown to the Governor of this province. . . . .

The Chief Justice continued that in writing those letters to Mr. Chatterjee and sending Mr. Badruddoja with two of them to instruct Mr. Chatterjee, Mr. Fazlul Huq broke his oath. It was not as if he were an ignorant man, who did not know the nature of the oath he took. . . .

His Lordship proceeded that Mr. S. K. Chatterjee, District Magistrate, on one occasion at least carried out Mr. Huq's wishes; he knew fully well that he was doing wrong in so doing. Mr. Chatterjee ought to have prevented all attempts at interference with the magistracy under his control. In his Lordship's view he was not fit to exercise supervision over judicial officers and he should be transferred to some other branch of the public service where plasticity might possibly be an advantage and not a danger to the community.

His Lordship continued that the production of the letters referred to had raised entirely a new situation,—one which as far as his Lordship was concerned was unique. The letters were written in connexion with the Jiaganj Case pending at the same time in the same district. These letters were four in number, 3 of them purporting to have been written by Mr. Huq who was then the Chief Minister but resigned his office in March, 1943. These letters were reproduced in the Calcutta newspapers and they must inevitably have been seen by Mr. Huq. He had not come forward to disclaim them. The first letter was dated September 29, 1942, written to Mr. S. K. Chatterjee asking for the adjournment of the Jaiganj Case. His wishes were granted and the case was postponed.

His Lordship then referred to the two explanations sent up by the District Magistrate in the Jiaganj Case and with regard to two points the Chief Justice observed that he could regard Mr. Chatterjee's explanation as disingenuous. Nor was his Lordship able to accept the explanation of the District Magistrate that judicial determination of issues in the Jiaganj Case was insisted upon. In the Jiaganj Case Pollard was the protagonist of the Crown. When one found that the case for the Crown was disposed of in favour of the defence and one found at the same time that the Magistrate was trying the case brought against Pollard, who was disliked and threatened by the same Minister, one could not avoid the suspicion, and a strong one, that the same influence that was brought to bear in the Jiaganj Case, might also have been brought to bear or at any rate have operated in Pollard's case.

His Lordship then continued to deal with the argument of the defence in the Jiaganj Case where the contention was that whatever Mr. Fazlul Huq might have done it had no bearing upon the result in the Jiaganj Case and there was no evidence of it. His Lordship said that it was not necessary that it should be proved that that interference was the cause of the verdict. The position had been stated by Chief Justice Lord Hewart in 1 K. B. 1924, p. 236, when he said *inter alia* that it was of fundamental importance that justice should not only be done but should manifestly and undoubtedly be seen to be done. Also, nothing was to be done which created even a suspicion that there had been an improper interference of the course of justice.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq was not asked to appear before the Court and defend himself although Mr. Martin, the Divisional Commissioner who had brought the letters was summoned to appear. The District Magistrate, Mr. S. K. Chatterji also was not summoned. Without granting them the elementary right to self-defence, the Chief Justice has passed severe strictures against both, and that even after he expressed his desire that justice should not only be done but should also appear to have been done. Mr. Justice Lodge, who was reported to have felt embarrassed in issuing the Rule and who, according to the assertion of Mr. S. N. Banerjee (Sr.), Counsel, was heard to say that Pollard was his friend, was retained on the Bench. Mr. Banerjee has been roundly disbelieved by the Chief Justice.

The Huq-Chatterji correspondence is given below:

In the first letter Mr. Huq stated *inter alia* that he "would very much like that the case (Jiaganj Rice Looting Case) be adjourned to some later date, say, after the Pujahs, so that I can go through the papers (of the case) and decide whether Government should have any say in the matter."

The next letter written by Mr. Huq from Calcutta, dated the 28th October, 1942, addressed the District Magistrate as "My dear Chatterji" in which he introduced to him Mr. Syed Badruddoja, M.A., B.L., M.L.A., Secretary of the Progressive Coalition Party. In that letter Mr. Huq wrote *inter alia*: "There is one parti-

cular matter regarding which he (Mr. Badruddoja) will speak to you, and I hope you will hear him fully and help him to the best possible extent. I am referring to the case with regard to which that "Imperial Officer" has made those stupid remarks and objectionable comments. You have done well to tell him that it was I who is responsible for the step that has been taken. I have told the I.-G. of Police everything, and let us hope that when the time comes, I will be able to give him a good ducking.

"I do not wish to say much in detail, because Mr. Badruddoja will be able to put our case completely before you. I trust you are keeping well. My Bijoya greetings to you."

The next letter written by Mr. Huq to the District Magistrate was dated November 3rd, 1942 and marked "Personal and Confidential" in which he said; "I am again sending Mr. Syed Badruddoja to you. I am told that the S. P. is adopting most autocratic methods in order to bring about the conviction of the accused. The police are at liberty to collect as much evidence as possible in support of the charges, but this must be done legitimately and dishonest attempts to pile up facts and circumstances against the accused must be severely condemned. In the case of this particular officer, nothing seems to be strange. I will not say much about him because all his doings may form the subject-matter of departmental proceedings. I am somewhat concerned about the manner in which he is alleged to be persecuting the accused in this case. This should not be allowed. The S. D. O. should assert himself and not yield to threats. After all the S. P. is not the Government, nor is the S. P. the repository of all power. So long as the S. D. O. does his duties honestly and uprightly, he has got nothing to fear. As a matter of fact, if he thinks that the evidence does not justify the commitment and that the facts and the circumstances justify a discharge of the accused, he should not hesitate to do so, because of the consequences which his orders might have on the S. P. I can give him this assurance through you that Government will stand by him and support him in what he does. I have asked Mr. Syed Badruddoja to explain to you what I would very much wish to see should be done. I do not like to put those things on paper.

"This letter is meant for you only and I hope you will destroy it after perusal."

These letters will appear to a person of average intelligence, not acquainted with the intricacies of law, like those who form the basis of the British jury system, as an endeavour on the part of the Chief Minister to uphold the administration of justice and not an example of an interference with it. Mr. Huq had taken the I. G. of Police into confidence in respect of the complaints he had received against the S. P. and was even contemplating departmental proceedings against him.

The Standing Counsel for the Crown had drawn attention of the Special Bench to the explanation of the District Magistrate where he had said that no extra judicial influence was brought to bear upon the trial Court and that judicial determination of the issues was insisted upon. From the facts it appeared to the Crown that what the District Magistrate said was right and that he did not in any way attempt to interfere with the administration of justice. The Standing Counsel clearly said, that so far as the facts of the case were concerned, they were considered and the Crown's view was that on the facts adequate justice had been done.

Sec. 197 of the Cr. P. C. has finally been invoked by Khundkar and Lodge JJ. against any further proceedings to be taken against the petitioner.

Extent of Damage by Burdwan Floods

The extent of damage done by the devastating floods at Burdwan has not yet been authoritatively announced. Unless the public have an idea of the damages, the help rendered may not be proportionate. We, therefore, give below an account of the damage compiled by the Burdwan District Flood Relief Committee.

	Sadar Sub-divn.	Katwa Sub-divn.	Kalna Sub-divn.	Total
Unions affected	19	24/28*	16	59/63*
Villages affected	265	213/300*	77	545/642*
People affected	80,000	1,20,000	30,000	2,30,000
Damage to *Aus* Crop	20%	50%	20%	
Damage to *Aman* Crop	40%	60%	30%	
Huts destroyed	10,000	18,000	1,300	29,300

Required amount of gratuitious relief on weekly basis—6,000 mds. of rice or food-grains per week.

Cloth required—50,000 pairs.

Rebuilding of Houses—Rs. 15,00,000 @ Rs. 100 each for at least 15,000 houses.

Quantity of food-grains already distributed during four weeks upto the third week of August—5,500 mds. This relief has covered only 23% of the flood-stricken people.

The appeal issued by the Bengal Central Flood Relief Committee is reproduced below and we hope it will find adequate response from the generous public :

Many parts of Burdwan, Midnapore, Murshidabad and Birbhum are in the grip of flood once again. Many unions in the districts have been severely affected by the devastating flood and thousands of people have been rendered homeless and destitute. With the present scarcity of food the miseries of the flood and famine-stricken people in the affected areas may only be imagined. The *Aus* crop is gone and the *Aman* seedlings have been washed away. The loss of cattle is feared to be great. Many houses have collapsed. Immediate and extensive relief measures are urgently called for. I appeal to our generous countrymen to come forward with contributions in cash or kind. All contributions will be thankfully accepted by the Secretary or the Treasurer at the office of the Committee, 4/3B, College Square or they may be kindly forwarded to the Hooghly Bank Ltd., 43, Dharmatolla Street.

* Denotes Unions and Villages partially affected.

Deaths on the Calcutta Streets

The famine-stricken starving people continue to collapse and die on the streets. Public demands have compelled the Government to open a new hospital and make arrangements in an existing one for their treatment. The order that was issued in this connection was no departure from the established policy of the Government to avoid responsibility. The initiative of lodging informations about these cases was placed on the busy public. This is just the reverse of what should have been done. The A. R. P. is maintained out of funds from the public exchequer and it is only meet that they should be asked to make the first move, go round and pick up cases for treatment. They have nothing to do till the bombs come if at all.

The Indian Red Cross has appealed for a donation of Rs. 40 lakhs and has succeeded in collecting a good amount for alleviating the suffering of the wounded soldiers at the battle front. In this totalitarian war, the dividing line between the battle front and the home front has melted away, and it is only proper that equal attention should be paid to both the fronts. The Red Cross has a clear duty to discharge in regard to the sufferers at the home front, to whom, in our opinion, the entire collections of this organisation should go.

The Response of Indian India to the Famine-stricken of Bengal

The manner in which other provincials have hastened to do what they can in order to alleviate the suffering of the hunger-tortured masses in Bengal has been gratifying in the extreme. Our faith in the hearts of our countrymen has been fully justified.

Maximum Price of Rice

Mr. Suhrawardy has taken a really bold step in fixing the maximum prices of paddy and rice. The following are the prices :

Date	Paddy	Rice
28th August	Rs. 15/0	Rs. 30/0
10th September	Rs. 12/8	Rs. 24/0
25th September onwards	Rs. 10/0	Rs. 20/0

These are wholesale prices and retail price of rice will be Rs. 2/- higher.

This is courageous action no doubt but the Minister of Civil Supplies has courted defeat in the first round of his fight with the hoarders. All stocks have practically evaporated from the market. Mr. Suhrawardy has given them stern warning. The hoarders had similar warnings before and smiled behind their sleeves. No better result is expected this time as well, unless the threats of the Government are backed by action. The surest way to bring them down on their knees is to open the 400 shops immediately and to start selling rice through them at scheduled prices freely to the consuming public.

Another aspect of the price fixation demands attention. In the last food drive in the districts, some stocks of the agriculturists were sealed. These will be sold at the fixed prices when they are released now. The following account illustrates the loss these people will have to bear unless the Civil Supply Department takes steps to do justice to them.

Presuming a family of Agriculturists have :

8 Male Adults was allowed per head 10 chittacks. Total 80 chittacks per day.

4 Female Adults was allowed per head 7 chittacks. Total 28 chittacks per day.

4 Children under 14 was allowed per head 5 chittacks. Total 20 chittacks per day.

Total 128 chittacks equivalent to 8 seers per day.

For seven months from June to December, 1943—42 maunds.

(Per months 8 × 30 seers = 240 seers = 6 mds. For 7 months 7 × 6 mds. = 42 mds.).

Presuming the aforesaid Agriculturist had a stock of 200 mds. of paddy as per *arbitrary* estimation of the Food-Census Officer—the family was allowed use of 63 mds. of paddy and the balance 137 mds. was sealed. The calculation was made on the basis of 3 to 2 ratio, *i.e.*, 3 mds. of paddy yielding 2 mds. of rice.

Now, the ratio adopted in fixing the present prices is 2 to 1. The price of sealed 137 mds. of paddy at the June ratio of 3 to 2, even at the price that would be operative from August 28, 1943, ⅔ of Rs. 30 = Rs. 20 would work out at Rs. 2,740.

But he will be compelled to sell at present ratio 2 to 1 at Rs. 15—2,055 loss of 25%

" " " at Rs. 12-8 from 10-9-43—1,712-8 loss of 37½%

" " " at Rs. 10-0 from 25-9-43—1,370-0 loss of 50%

Preservation of Historical Sites Near Comilla

At the invitation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Mr. T. N. Ramachandran of the Archaeological Survey of India gave an address at the Society's monthly meeting, held early in August, on the discovery of an ancient site of great historical importance near Mynamati, Comilla. He is inclined to identify the site with the capital city of Pattikera, a kingdom of East Bengal which was so intimately connected with the Burmese Royal dynasties. From somewhere near the site, was discovered a copperplate which was issued near about 1200 A.D. by a king named Ranabankamalla Hari Kaladeva, from the city of Pattikera. Several coins recovered by Mr. Ramachandran,

bear, according to his reading, the name of this city thus strengthening still further the indentification of the capital city. The antiquities discovered in recent diggings by the contractors since March 1943, include numerous specimens of terra cotta stone and bronze sculpture of about 9th or 10th century, together with several hoards of coins. The structures that have been exposed belonged both to religious and secular establishments and the configuration of some of the mounds that have been exposed resembles to a great extent the terraced form of the great Paharpur temple in the district of Rajshahi.

The ruins cover an area of 20 sq. miles and the structures, though massively designed and constructed, were being spoliated to get readymade bricks by contractors.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, pointed out the vastness of spoliation, which amounted to the taking away of 100 to 200 lorry loads of bricks everyday for the last few months. As a result about half a dozen mounds have by this time been completely swept away leaving the Archaeologists no chance whatsoever of reconstructing the plan of these historical structures. He appealed to the Archaeological Survey of India, the Royal Asiatic Society, University of Calcutta and other learned Societies to arrange for a scientific excavation of this memorable site, so that an important chapter in the history of Bengal may be brought to light in all its significance. He appealed to the Archaeological Survey of India to take the lead in this matter.

Aspects of Ancient Indian Dharma and Social Polity

Dr. Hem Chandra Raychaudhury, Carmichael Professor of the Calcutta University, delivered a brilliant address on Dharma and Social Polity in Ancient India at the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture.

Dealing with the antiquity of Indian Culture Prof. Raychaudhury regretted that the Pictographs found at Mahenjodaro had not yet been deciphered and thus it has not been possible as yet to determine conclusively the nature of Mahenjodaro Culture. But according to available evidences it would not be wrong to assume that it represented some form of culture which is not exactly what we find portrayed in the Vedic hymns. The learned professor said that there was nothing wrong in attributing a high degree of civilisation even to certain non-Aryan peoples, for example, the ancient civilisations of Egypt and China were founded by the non-Aryans. He explained that Mahenjodaro indicated a well-developed city life with which the earliest Vedic Aryans did not seem to be acquainted in their own homeland. The Mahenjodaro people again paid special devotion to the Mother Goddess while the early Vedic Aryans laid emphasis on the worship of the male deities, including Agni, the Fire God. There are many other striking differences all of which tend to show that the attempts to identify the two cultures in the present state of our knowledge cannot be said to be very successful.

Prof. Raychaudhuri invited the attention to the influence of the physical environment on the development of Dharma, particularly on the perception of divine Majesty and the unity in diversity to which the Rigveda and the latter literature bear witness. He also explained the conception of Rita, physical and moral order, which lies at the basis of many of our religious and social concepts.

Dealing with the rituals of ancient India Professor Raychaudhuri pointed out that the Upanishads and the Epics envisaged truth, rectitude, self-restraint, charity, kindness and faith and not mere rituals as the real Dharma. Doubts are expressed in these works regarding the efficacy of ceremonies like the Asvamedha, *etc.* The Mundakopanishad, for instance, clearly states that "frail are the boats, the sacrifices." These are praised as the highest good by men of lesser intelligence.

Prof. Raychaudhuri described the Varna system of ancient India and said that the higher thought of the country meant it to be a code of social discipline. Its basis, according to this view, was *Guna-karma* and not birth or ceremonial correctitude. A man born in a higher caste could be degraded even to the status of a Sudra when his unrighteous acts demanded this punishment. Similarly a man born in a lower caste was raised through his virtues to a higher social status. That flexible code of social discipline which brought unity out of diversity tended to degenerate in the hands of certain writers into a water-tight set of rules based on birth and not character and conduct, thus sapping the dynamic force of Indian society and reducing it to a stagnate state. The speaker made it clear that it was wrong to invoke the authority of one principal Dharmasastra writer as the last word as there were other authorities of equal or even greater weight whose point of view was different.

He concluded by saying that according to the Great Epic, the one Holy Majesty that re-

quires to be remembered, is "there is nothing nobler than humanity."

A. R. P. and the Muhammadans

When the A. R. P. was first organised on honorary basis, it was the Hindus alone who volunteered. Hardly a Muhammadan came forward. It was after the conversion of the organisation on a salary basis that the Muhammadans began to come forward. Naturally those who served the A. R. P. as honorary workers were absorbed first. This explains the preponderance of the Hindus. Mr. Suhrawardy last year, then in opposition, raised the cry that the Muhammadans are not having their proportional to population *hissya* or share in the A. R. P., and the Ministry of Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq agreed to enlarge the A. R. P. and employ larger number of Muhammadans; and this was done. What the effect was we shall try to show by the following quotation from Memo. No. 223 dated 20th January 1943 from the Office of the A. R. P. Controller.

"We have found that advertising widely for personnel is not a success. Under Government orders issued in October and November 1942 for the recruitment of Muslims and Scheduled Castes only, in the proportion of 10/13ths and 3/13ths, 1039 vacancies of different kinds were advertised; 4921 applications were received and an immense amount of the time of officers was wasted in interviewing these candidates; 821 of these were found qualified and were asked to join the service, leaving 218 vacancies still unfilled in spite of wide advertisements; of the 821 who were selected, 325 failed to join, or having joined, *deserted when the raids began*" (italics ours).

Yet Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq, now in opposition, had the temerity to complain of the official (?) attitude in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Will some M.L.A. put the following questions for eliciting information at the next session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly in the interest of efficiency and truth :

(*a*) How many Hindus and how many Muhammadans joined the A. R. P. when it was organised on honorary basis ?

(*b*) How many Hindus of Scheduled Caste, and how many Muhammadans were recruited after September 1942 and before 15th December 1942 ?

(*c*) How many Hindus (scheduled caste) and how many Muhammadans failed to join the A. R. P. ?

(*d*) How many caste Hindus, Hindus (scheduled caste) and how many Muhammadans deserted during the raids ?

(*e*) How many Hindus, and how many Muhammadans have been appointed to the A. R. P. since then *i.e.*, since the 15th December 1942.

J. M. Datta

The 1944 'Art in Industry' Exhibition

The fourth 'Art in Industry' Exhibition is to be held in Calcutta in January next year. The first exhibition which took place in Calcutta in February, 1941, contained only six sections and the prize money aggregated Rs. 4,000. Whereas, the forthcoming 'Art in Industry' Exhibition will contain 39 sections and the prize money offered is over Rs. 20,000. The list of donors is a most representative one. There are on the one hand the Governments of India, Bengal, Bombay and Kashmir, and the Railway Board and on the other, organizations representing some of the major industries; a large number of Indian and European industrial concerns and newspaper organizations, as well as several prominent personalities.

British Experts in the Food Department

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* reports :

> The Food Department of the Government of India has come as a blessing—not to the people of India but to a number of Englishmen who are mostly occupying the topmost places in the Department. The previous Secretary to the Food Department was Major-General Wood. He has now been succeeded by a countryman of his, Mr. Hutchings, who must be drawing the pay of the Departmental Secretary. The Regional Food Commissioner for Calcutta is getting Rs. 4,000 a month, while his confreres in the Punjab and Bombay are each getting a little above Rs. 2,500. The Deputy Regional Commissioner for Calcutta, who also is of the same nationality, is drawing Rs. 1,400 per month. The Rationing Adviser at the Secretariat gets a salary of Rs. 2,500 while the Deputy Director-General (Grains) the Assistant Director-General (Purchase) and the Director of Grains have salaries over Rs. 2,000. Needless to say, all these offices are held by members of the ruling race. The food problem is at present the biggest problem in this country. Solution of such a big problem must certainly require big salaries, and that to Europeans !

The Food Department has successfully solved the food problem so far as it related to a few experts of the ruling race, although it has not been able to touch even a fringe of the problem where the Indians are concerned. In Bengal alone thousands are roaming about in the streets in search of food only to drop down dead. But so long as they maintain their existence on earth, they continue to pay for the salaries and allowances of the "Experts."

An Authoritative Biography of Sir P. C. Ray

The Editorial Board of *Science and Culture,* (published under the auspices of the Indian Science News Association at 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) proposes to undertake the publication of an authoritative biography of Sir P. C. Ray. Within the active period of life extending up to sixty years he was connected with numerous educational institutions, relief organisations, industrial concerns and nation-building works and public bodies. He has delivered addresses on education, industry and on different aspects of national problems and nation-building. He has written illuminating letters to private persons which have an abiding interest. These materials are of great value in the compilation of the biography, and the Editorial Board of *Science and Culture* will be thankful to those possessing the materials if the copies of Sir P. C. Ray's addresses, lectures and other relevant information are kindly sent to them at the above address. Due acknowledgment will be made of them in the biography.

These will be returned after the publication of the biography is over.

India's Trade with South Africa

The following table indicates the trade between India and South Africa during the last four years, which would be interesting in view of the recent talks in the legislatures.

Statement showing India's export and import trades with the Union of South Africa during the four years ending with 1942-43, relating to certain specified articles :

Articles		Quantity 1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	Value (Rs. 000) 1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43
		Exports thereto (Indian merchandise)							
Jute—									
Raw	tons	100	—	12	—	29	—	4	—
Twist & yarn	lbs. (000)	580	673	1,590	657	122	1,47	3,33	1,63
Manufactures—									
Canvas	yds. (000)	15	103	187	218	6	66	92	113
Gunny bags	Nos. (000)	38,496	35,918	53.251	79,659	1,48,63	1,27,88	1,76,45	2,95,23
Gunny cloth	yds. (000)	19,259	13,362	170,019	22,493	34,63	29,09	37,36	52,39
Rope & twine	cwt.	7,488	4,803	5,302	12,563	1,68	1,10	1,37	3,48
Other kinds	Value	—	—	—	—	58	58	73	55
Vegetable, non-essential oils	Gals. (000)	295	643	1,216	843	593	15,23	28,15	23,45
Paraffin wax	tons	347	—	—	765	121	—	—	6,07
Provisions & oilman's stores	Value	—	—	—	—	42	66	2,27	1,51
Rice (not in the husk)	tons	31,498	24,293	41,193	8,515	38,82	34,43	70,89	16,43
Textiles other than cotton piecegoods & jute manufactures	Value	—	—	—	—	4.21	16,50	60.50	1,53,41
Other articles						66,11	75,21	2,06,48	4,79,71
Total exports Value						3,03,79	3,02,81	5,88,49	10,34,99
		Imports therefrom							
Barks for tanning	Cwt.	698,231	658,238	665,229	718,793	44,38	44,23	46,48	51,95
All other articles	Value					16,12	33,42	77,39	1,73,02
Total imports Value						60,50	77,65	1,23,87	2,24,97

THE CONTROL OF ALIEN CAPITAL

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

II

Where There is A Will There is A Way

While it is true enough that the imposition of restrictions on alien capital seeking unimpeded entry into India is not easy, it is maintained that the difficulties have somehow to be surmounted once we admit their necessity for our economic welfare. In this connection one might well remember what Mr. (later on Sir) C. Y. Chintamony, the well-known Moderate, veteran journalist and ex-Minister under dyarchy in the United Provinces said at the Franchise Sub-Committee at its second meeting held in London on the 22nd December, 1930.

Referring to the desirability of granting franchise to every Indian adult, male and female, and the administrative difficulties involved in arranging and recording the votes of the many millions of voters involved in such broadening of the franchise, Mr. Chintamony observed :

"Administrative difficulties exist in order to be overcome, and not to baffle us. If administrative difficulties were to be put forward as an extinguishing reason against a political and social (why not economic ?) advance, I do not think there would have been any progress in any country in the world; because the permanent officials who are engaged in that administration come to believe in the perfection of things that are and in the undesirability of things that are suggested."

If the opinion expressed above is correct, all that the Indian would say is that here too, such difficulties as may be encountered, and these surely are not so extensive as those incidental to the acceptance of adult franchise, will have to be overcome, that it is possible to do so always provided that the will to do so is there and lastly that the proverbial lion in the way exists only for those who lack this will.

Restraints No Discrimination

British capital should not regard either the restriction of its activities to certain spheres or the restraints on its unimpeded entry as a grievance for Indians hold that, in matters such as these, their interests should always have the first preference. That the fairness of this claim has been admitted by British officials and British statesmen is proved by the pronouncements of such men as Sir William Clarke, Member of Commerce when the Royal Industrial Commission was appointed and Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India.

Speaking on the resolution which led to the appointment of the Industrial Commission, Sir William Clarke assured the Indian members of the Central Legislature that Government did not contemplate the taking of any steps which might

"merely mean that the manufacturer (or the business-man by implication) who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your own boundaries."

Replying to a deputation from Lancashire on the Indian Import duties on cotton goods, Mr. Montagu said :

"It was absolutely impossible for me to interfere with the right which I believe was wisely given and which I am determined to maintain—to give to the Government of India the right to consider the interests of India first, just as we, without any complaint from any other parts of the Empire, and the other parts of the Empire without any complaint from us, have always chosen the tariff arrangements (and by implications other economic safeguards) which they think best fitted for their needs; thinking of their own citizens first."

The Indian position was very clearly expressed by Sir Pheroze Sethna, industrialist and financier and, from the political point of view, a Liberal, at the Second Round Table Conference where he said that it was not so much a matter of discrimination as of equalisation and in that connection observed :

"Essentially, the question is not of discrimination but of safeguarding of national interests; and if some kind of differentiation between nationals and non-nationals is needed for economic development, the interests of India and India alone must be the supreme consideration."

Acceptance of the Fiscal Commission Recommendation and Its Results

The British administration accepted the principle laid down by the Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee. The result was that only three of the conditions which Indians irrespective of caste, creed and political affiliations had desired to impose on the entry of foreign capital were made applicable to both Indian and non-Indian concerns where certain concessions were granted to them. This is proved by what the spokesman of the

India Government stated in the course of a debate in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 2nd March, 1922, when he is reported to have said :

"The settled policy of the Government of India is that no concession should be given to any firms in regard to industries in India unless such firms have a rupee capital, unless such firms have a proportion, at any rate, of Indian Directors, and unless such firms allow facilities for Indian apprentices to be trained in their works."

The net result was that the more powerful non-Indian concerns which had such large financial backing that they had no need of any concessions and which therefore, from the Indian point of view, were more formidable, were allowed to go their own way and to exploit Indian resources and our industrial and commercial backwardness to earn profits and, occasionally in doing so, to seriously hinder such feeble efforts at entering industry and commerce as the people of this country were capable of.

That the decision of the British administration was welcomed by British manufacturing and commercial concerns then operating in India as well as by British capital in its home land is clearly proved by a reference to the editorial comments, correspondence, etc., which appeared in the Anglo-Indian periodicals and their counterparts in England. And it was so because the interests concerned felt confident regarding the security of their privileged position.

THE INDIAN ATTITUDE IN THE NEHRU REPORT

Political India always desirous of giving a square deal to the non-Indian made its position clear in the Nehru Report which stated :

"As regards European commerce, we cannot see why men who have put great sums of money into India should at all be nervous. It is inconceivable that there can be any discriminating legislation against any community doing business lawfully in India....If there are any special interests of European commerce which require special treatment in future, it is only fair that in regard to the protection of these interests Europeans should formulate their proposals, and we have no doubt that they will receive proper consideration from those who are anxious for a peaceful settlement."

The Nehru Report was accepted by the Congress in 1928 and became part of its programme though it is admitted that, owing to the very cold if not positively discouraging attitude of the British official and non-official, it was shelved at Lahore the next year. It had been meant as a basis for friendly discussion but their condemnation of it *in toto* showed that the nature and amount of the political advancement achieved by India would be determined without consulting Indian opinion. The Congress, however, has never formally repudiated its formula on commercial discrimination and, whatever might be said to the contrary, there cannot be any doubt that, at least here, it has been voicing the sane opinion of India.

It is noteworthy that the above pronouncement in no way goes against the Indian demands referred to previously which were sought to be made applicable to non-Indian concerns seeking to engage in commerce and industry *after* the proposals had been accepted with of course the proviso that no further enlargement of existing non-Indian vested interests would be permitted without the imposition of these conditions on them.

SIMON COMMISSION AND BRITISH BUSINESS

Section 84A of the Government of India Act, 1919, envisaged the appointment of a commission to enquire into the working of dyarchy, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions in India. It was also to be entrusted with the task of reporting as "to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government" actually existing at the time of its enquiry. In response to Indian public opinion, the Simon Commission was appointed about two years before the normal time.

Anticipating the inevitability of further political advancement and desirous of strengthening the position it was already occupying in the economic life of India, British businessmen did not make any delay in entering their demands for economic safeguards. Accordingly, in July, 1928, the (European) Associated Chambers of Commerce submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission which was circulated among the Members of Parliament and commercial organisations in Britain insisting on "a definite and clear provision for the protection of European trade and commerce against discrimination."

The Federation of Indian Chambers and Industry in criticising this in October, 1939, observed :

"There can be no self-government in India if she is to be denied the power to devise and follow a national economic policy, including the right, if her interests require it, for making economic discrimination against non-national interests."

In July, 1930, the (European) Associated Chambers of Commerce issued a circular protesting vehemently against discrimination in trade and commerce. Then came drafts providing

against discrimination submitted to the Simon Commission by the (European) Associated Chambers of Commerce and the All-India European Association which these two organisations desired to be incorporated in the constitution.

The proposals for preventing discrimination by defining it in a constitutional instrument were rejected by the Simon Commission and caused dismay but, at the same time, made British capital determined to put forth fresh and more vigorous efforts to ensure the stability of the position already held by the incorporation of economic safeguards in its behalf in such legislation as might follow. This takes us to the activities of the representatives of British capital at the three Round Table Conferences.

It was between the above events and the First Round Table Conference that Mahatma Gandhi launched his Civil Disobedience Movement which lasted to practically the end of 1932. About this time, certain irresponsible elements in our public life permitted themselves to indulge in uncalled-for utterances about the acceptance of India's financial obligations and of existing British rights and interests after proper examination. What was still more regrettable was that some even went so far as to talk of expropriation. This, naturally enough, created alarm among the interests concerned.

It was again during this period that the first two Round Table Conferences were held and it is probable that European interests by reason of the situation then prevailing in India obtained more favourable consideration for their claims than could have been looked for in normal times. We shall now proceed to consider what the representatives of British capital did at these conferences and what concessions they succeeded in securing for the European community.

British Business at the Round Table Conferences

Sir Hubert Carr who was representing the European community at the First Round Table Conference demanded separate electorate for it thereby proving that communalism is not the monopoly of Indians, safeguards against discriminatory legislation and the maintenance of the rights and privileges in criminal law it had hitherto enjoyed.

The following extract from the speech delivered by Sir Hubert Carr in the Minorities Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference shows the attitude of the European community as regards the second of the matters referred to above :

> "We are not asking for any rights or privileges for our own community; we simply want to be recognised to have exactly the same rights—when I say 'we' I refer to those of us from Great Britain and Northern Ireland—as any of His Majesty's subjects in India with regard to commerce and industry. That is a point which we do not attempt to make on behalf of all citizens of the British Empire. We recognise the position of India, and we feel that it should be open to the Indian Government to make such arrangements as it wishes to make with other parts of the Empire who may discriminate against India. Therefore, my claims are made on behalf of those from Great Britain and Northern Ireland."

The present writer apologises to his readers in advance for the digression which follows but he is sure he will be forgiven. Mr. G. Tyson who is said to be connected with the largest and most influential periodical in Eastern India devoted to commerce and industry and which is recognised as the mouthpiece of European business in this part of our motherland published his *Danger in India* in 1932, after the First but before the Second Round Table Conference. In this book he warned British businessmen that one of the aims of Indian nationalism was expropriation of British investments and exhorted them to take more interest than they had done in the past in Indian politics. On page 99 of this book he has found fault with Sir Hubert Carr for the qualification the latter had suggested as regards India's competency in the matter of discrimination between the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland on the one hand and those self-governing Dominions on the other which have excluded Indians as such from their citizenship. In that connection he observed :

> "I venture to suggest that it is a very dangerous qualification to make, for it implies the right of an autonomous Indian Government to vary the process of the ordinary criminal and civil law, against a citizen of any other part of the Empire other than Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The principle, if accepted, is fraught with danger and could at once be turned into a very unwholesome method of retaliation for the wrongs, whether real or imaginary, which are done to Indian nationals in South and East Africa."

What Indians would regard as a shameless suggestion is that they should submit patiently to the restrictions imposed on their countrymen in Dominions like Canada, South and East Africa and Australia without taking any retaliatory measures and that in order to prevent all chances of their doing so, this particular power should be withheld from them in the legislative measures then under consideration. Pronouncements like these as objectionable in their own way as those coming from Indian extremists are

responsible for much of the misunderstanding between Britain and India.

To continue the story, the claim of British capital to carry on its activities behind the tariff wall so as to secure all the advantages contingent on it and which implied Indian sacrifice for the development of indigenous industries, was put by Sir Hubert in the following terms :

"We are not wishing in any way to attempt to put any restrictions upon Indian fiscal policy. If India wishes to go in for a tariff wall, she must be allowed to decide her own destiny, but behind that wall we would expect to be allowed to work in exactly the same way as Indians."

Sir Hubert Carr even went so far as to criticise the recommendation of the External Capital Committee that, under certain well-defined and specific conditions which have been mentioned previously, the Government of India should insist on a certain percentage of Indian directors, rupee capital, etc., and in that connection said :

"We could not possibly accept that as any basis whatever for the treatment of British commerce in India. . . . To start with, we do not believe it is really practical to insist upon a certain number of Indian directors. . . . As regards capital, we claim absolutely equal rights for sterling and rupee companies except when Government makes a specific financial assistance to some concern : then we recognise obviously the right to demand that that capital shall be rupee capital; but indiscriminate instances of this point would only militate against the standing of various useful institutions such as Banks, Insurance Companies, etc., and would achieve no good object in our opinion."

The whole Conference accepted the views of Sir Hubert Carr as conveyed to it by the Minorities Sub-Committee in the following words :

"At the instance of the British commercial community, the principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies trading in India and the rights of Indian-born subjects, and that an appropriate Convention based on reciprocity should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights. It was agreed that the existing rights of the European community in India in regard to criminal trials should be maintained."

Then came the pronouncement of the Premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who at the final plenary session of the First Round Table Conference said on the 19th January, 1931 :

"The view of His Majesty's Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations, and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights."

This pronouncement could not be regarded as a satisfactory one as, according to it, the "political liberties and rights" of Indian minorities among whom British capital had placed itself had been specifically mentioned. There was, however, no mention of the special safeguards it had demanded.

British vested interests were aware that however distant the time, India could no longer be denied Dominion Status and that if this was of the same type as that enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions, nobody could prevent India from enjoying commercial freedom with its implication of imposing whatever restrictions she pleased on the entry of foreign capital. It was remembered that Canada had won the victory in her controversy with Britain in 1867, when she had vindicated her right to impose tariffs on even British imports in order to build up her industries and that, as a result, absolute freedom in the commercial sphere had been tacitly accorded by Britain to the Irish Free State, Australia and to the other Dominions.

The loss of the privileged position British capital enjoyed was a certainty if and when India acquired Dominion Status. It was aware that the way in which it had conducted its operations, the treatment it had accorded to its Indian rivals, its attitude towards the political aspirations of India had alienated Indians if not antagonised them. It therefore felt that unless precautions were taken in time, it was bound to lose the advantages it had enjoyed so long that they had come to be regarded as its natural dues.

Under these circumstances, British capital felt called upon to make further and still more strenuous efforts to secure the special privileges it had demanded and it attained its object by seeking its allies from among the more grasping and foolish minorities. There was much running to and fro and wheels within wheels were set working at the Second Round Table Conference as the result of which a combination of the reactionary elements torpedoed all the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi to present a united front to Britain in the matter of our political and economic freedom. The Minorities Pact was accepted on the 13th November, 1931, under which the special claims of the European community were laid down in the following terms :

"Equal rights and privileges to those enjoyed by Indian-born subjects in all industrial and commercial activities.

"The maintenance of existing rights in regard to procedure of criminal trials, and any measure or bill to amend, alter, or modify such a procedure cannot be

introduced except with the previous consent of the Governor-General."

It was thus that the principle of the protection of the political liberties and rights of the minorities was extended in the case of the British community so as to include protection against so-called economic discrimination thus maintaining its *status quo*, a matter which had hitherto been a source of grave anxiety to it.

The Third Round Table Conference, where Indian nationalism of the militant type went unrepresented, dealt with the question of commercial safeguards in detail and with thoroughness. The Joint Select Committee, partly due to the very natural concern it felt over the anticipated difficulties to which British capital might be exposed and partly to the apprehensions felt in England on account of the loose talk of foolish Indians, accepted the views of the Third Round Table Conference on this matter and the results we see in the so-called anti-discrimination clauses (Sections 111-121) of the Government of India Act, 1935.

British Capital Under the Act of 1935

Indians maintain that the India Government distinctly failed in its very obvious duty of giving the first place to Indian interests when it accepted the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission with regard to the conditions to be imposed on the entry of foreign capital into our economic life and that when, with the appointment of the External Capital Committee, it had an opportunity of revising its attitude, it persisted in maintaining it.

Indians also believe that owing to various reasons, to only some of which reference has been made elsewhere, the British Government failed in taking any effective steps to safeguard Indian commercial and industrial interests when the Government of India Act, 1935, was on the legislative anvil.

Coming to the anti-discrimination clauses which have a direct bearing on the subject under discussion here, we find that they are Sections 113 to 116 of the Act of 1935, referring to which the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1935, said :

> "It is suggested in India that, in seeking to clarify the fiscal relations between India and themselves, His Majesty's Government are seeking to impose unreasonable fetters upon the future Indian Legislature for the purpose of securing exceptional advantages for British, at the expense of Indian trade. The suggestion is without foundation."

We shall try to ascertain how far this contention is borne out by facts. The professed object of Sections 113 and 114 is to guarantee equality of treatment to British and Indian companies in such matters as the places of incorporation, the situation of their registered offices, the currency in which their capital or loan capital is expressed, the place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, domicile, residence or duration of residence of the directors, shareholders, agents, etc.

It is also provided that no person or concern is to benefit from Section 114 if, and so long as, similar restrictions are imposed by or under the law of the United Kingdom in regard to companies incorporated in and persons domiciled in India which of course is merely giving effect to the policy of reciprocity.

The real effect, from the legal point of view, is that companies incorporated and registered in Britain and companies incorporated and registered in India with British capital and British directors are placed on the same basis so far as safeguards are concerned. Further, as a general rule, Section 114 does not permit any preferential treatment either through legislation or executive action for Indian concerns incorporated and registered in India with Indian directors which would prejudicially affect the two classes of British companies referred to above. The protection contemplated here applies not only to the British companies already incorporated but also to such companies as may be incorporated after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935.

That the real motive for the inclusion of Section 114 was to afford protection to British concerns incorporated and registered in India becomes clear when we remember what the Attorney-General said in the course of the Commons Committee Debates in 1935. Here he is reported to have stated that the intention underlying Section 114 was

> "to do for companies incorporated in India but with British capital and British directors, precisely the same as is done by Clause 113 for companies registered in the United Kingdom carrying on business in India."

Under Section 115, no ship registered in Britain is liable to any treatment affecting the ship herself, her master, officers, crew, passengers or cargo which discriminates against such ships, except in so far as ships registered in India are, for the time being, subjected by or under a law of the United Kingdom to treatment of a similar character.

Section 116 deals with subsidies for the encouragement of industry and trade and lays down that British and Indian companies shall

be equally eligible so long as there is reciprocity. An exception is made where a Federal or a Provincial law inaugurating the system of direct financial assistance is passed in the case of companies not engaged in trade and industry the encouragement of which is sought by the giving of grant, bounty or subsidy. In such a case, the company may be required to be incorporated by or under the laws of British India or of a Federated State, a percentage of the directors not exceeding one-half must be British subjects of Indian domicile or of a Federated State and reasonable facilities must be provided for the training of apprentices who must be British subjects of Indian domicile or of a Federated State.

Besides safeguarding British companies in the ways mentioned just now, we have, in addition, the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General. This requires him to "prevent" measures calculated to subject British goods imported into India from the United Kingdom, "to discriminatory or penal treatment." Here the Governor-General will act in his discretion.

It was at the Second Round Table Conference only that the Indian National Congress had been represented by Mahatma Gandhi. Here he had appealed to the British "to cease to be rulers and become friends." In developing this idea, he had observed that "as friends they cannot claim privileges" adding that "one gives guarantees to enemies, not to friends."

Sir Pheroze Sethna, industrial and commercial magnate of Bombay and a Liberal and therefore acceptable to the administration, had pointed out that

"The future of the European community in India really depends on the extent to which the community is prepared to identify itself with India's interests, and to the extent to which Europeans in India are prepared to regard themselves as partners."

Sir Pheroze underlined this statement by saying that

"There can be only one safeguard against discrimination for all times; that safeguard is goodwill and co-operation."

The reply to this appeal was, in the language of Mr. G. Tyson (*Danger in India*, p. 71) :

"The British community in India cannot and will not place its future at the mercy of so uncertain and nebulous a thing as Indian goodwill."

The Indian can only throw up his hands in despair and regret that judgment is passed on him without giving him an opportunity of proving his *bona fides*.

(To be continued)

THERE IS NONE GREATER THAN MAN

By Prof. SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA,
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"The sentient being is the God," "the living creature is none else but *Siva*," the Hindus are familiar with such expressions. Perhaps, there is no nation except the Hindus who honoured even the puniest creature of the universe so greatly. And yet, it is a tragic fact that it is the Hindus who have hurled the greatest insult on man, the most perfect of all creatures. However, that black spot in the character of our people is not the subject-matter of this essay. I shall discuss here how our ancestors regarded love, service and compassion (maitrī, karunā) for animate beings.

In order to serve living beings, first of all, one must practise *Ahimsā* (non-violence). What a high place the ancient Indians gave to *Ahimsā*, in their religion, will be seen in the following quotations :

"*Ahimsā* is the greatest virtue, *Ahimsā* is the greatest self-restraint. It is the greatest charity, the greatest austerity, the greatest sacrifice, the greatest power. It is the greatest friend, the greatest happiness, the greatest truth, the greatest knowledge. Offerings in all sacrificial ceremonies, bathing in all sacred places, merits of all charities, are not equal to *Ahimsā*. The merit of one practising *Ahimsā* never comes to an end, he is ever performing sacrifices. He is like the father and mother of all living creatures."—*Mahābhārata, anuśāsana*, 116. 37-41.

"All the Vedas, all the sacrifices, all the austerities, all the charities, together, cannot be compared even to a part of 'Giving assurance of safety' to the living beings."—*Bhāgavata*, iii. 7. 41.

Compassion for the sentient beings, service

to living creatures are considered to be the very life of all the religious practices of India. Without these all good actions, prayers, and worship are in vain.

"Ill-will for living creatures cancels out one's good actions, such as charity, worship of the Buddhas, etc., accumulated in course of many aeons."—*Bodhicaryāvatāra*, vi. 1.

The Blessed One said: "I dwell always as the soul in every one. Disregarding every manifestation of mine, man mocks at me, by worshipping stocks and stones, as my images.

"Abandoning me, the God who dwells in every one, the deluded devotee who worships stocks and stones, his worship is wasted as the clarified butter is wasted, when sacrificed in the ashes (of sacrificial fire)."—*Bhāgavata*, iii. 29. 21-22.

"Worship of the incomparable leaders, the Buddhas, even if it is immeasurable, and performed in various ways, in millions of myriads of worlds, is not equal to a heart full of 'universal love'."—*Sikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 157.

"Just as, even by fulfilling all desires, one cannot give any happiness to him whose body is all ablaze, likewise the compassionate Buddhas cannot be propitiated by any means, if any suffering is caused to living creatures."—*Ibid*, p. 156.

"If you desire to worship me truly, then look at every one, with an equal eye, look at every one with the eye of a friend. Give unto Life, reverence Life; my dwelling place is the heart of every creature."—*Bhāgavata*, iii. 29. 27.

"The body is a temple in which dwells none else but Siva."—*Maitreyopanisad*, ii. 1.

The same God dwells in different forms in different temples, "in some as woman, in others as man, in some as youth, in others as maiden, while in some others as a decrepit tottering old man, wandering about with the aid of a staff. In the entire universe in every direction, it is He who has come into being. It is the selfsame God who has manifested Himself as father, as well as son, as an elder, as well as a youngster. It is He who has entered into the heart and mind. The same Being who was born at the beginning of creation, also exists now in the embryo."—*Atharva-Veda*, X. 8. 27-28.

How to worship this God? Where to find flowers for his worship? "That which enters into the heart of great souls, that which is known as soothing as the Moon, by that sweet compassion, one should worship God, who lives within man."—*Yogavāsistha, nirvānaprakarana, pūrvabhāga*, 38-39.

"Knowledge, peace, equality, are the best flowers for His worship."—*Ibid.* 29-27.

"By sympathy, tolerance and compassion, by the power to control lust, anger, etc., and by knowledge, one should worship God. This is the correct way of worshipping Him."—*Ibid.* 39-40.

"It is so often seen, that great men suffer in the suffering of all sentient beings. To suffer so (in suffering of all), is the greatest worship of the great Lord of the universe."—*Vhāgavata*, VIII, 7. 44.

In every living creature there is God, therefore every one is to be worshipped as God. How to create this great idea in our heart? How to honour even the most untouchable *Chandāla* as God? How to think that even the dogs and donkeys are God? Is it possible? How is it possible?

The Blessed One said: "I dwell always in every manifestation of life, as long as this truth is not realised, so long, O man, thou must prostrate thyself in salutation before the *Chandāla*, the dog, the cow, the donkey, and such other creatures. That thou art superior and they are inferior, destroying this vanity of thine, disregarding the mockery of friends, and relations, and giving up all shame and hatred of self, thou shalt worship me, in this way, with thy body, mind and heart. Realising this, with thy whole being, that I dwell in every manifestation of life, is the highest of all spiritual disciplines.—*Ibid.* XI. 29. 16-19.

When the high and low, great and small, superior and inferior, beautiful and horrible, honourable and untouchable, all such distinctions vanish, when all sentient beings are seen with an equal eye, only then, and not before, liberation can be attained.

"God is in all living beings, and all living beings are in God, one who sees this, with an equal eye, attains to liberation."—*Manu-smriti*, XII. 91.

"He who sees the Immortal One in all mortal beings, equally, is the real seer."—*Gitā*, 13. 27.

"When all creatures have become one with the Supreme One, then where is sorrow, where is delusion, for the wise one who sees unity?"—*Vājasaneyi-samhitā*, 40-7.

"God exists equally in all sentient beings, one who sees Him thus, attains the highest state, *i.e.*, liberation."—*Gitā*, 13-28.

How love and service to living beings are essential in religion, can be realized from the

statement in the various scriptures of the Hindus, that liberation cannot be attained, until and unless one sees God equally in all creatures.

For those who have attained this "even-eye," an equal love for all creatures becomes easy and natural. They say:

"The deer, the camel, the donkey, the monkey, mice, snakes, and other reptiles, birds, bees and flies, one should look upon these creatures, as his sons. How slight is the difference between these and one's sons."—*Bhāgavata*, VII. 14-9.

"These 'even-eyed' persons protected even the life of the venomous snake which killed their only child."—*Mahābhārata, anu. ch.* 1.

"Friends and enemies are equal to them. They are friendly equally to enemies and friends."—*Ibid.* 141-116.

"Having been insulted or beaten, they show friendliness, and never think ill of others."—*Ibid. Sānti,* 235-34.

They say: "He who strikes me and he who praises me, both of them are equal to me." *Ibid.* 261-55.

He who massages my right hand, with sandal paste, and he who hacks my left hand, with an axe, both of them are equal to me."-*Ibid.* 321-36.

"Those who attempted to murder me, those who poisoned me, those who put me into fire, those who caused me hurt by elephants, and had me bitten by snakes, I am friendly equally to all of them. Never did I have ill-will against anybody." *Vishnu-purāna*, 1st part, XVIII 39-40.

"They conquer anger by angerlessness, evil by good, a miser by charity, and untruth by truth."—*Mahābhārata, Udyoga,* 39-73. *Dhammapada*, 17-3.

They say: "Whatever conflicts arise amongst living creatures, the sense of possession is the cause. For this, let a man leave any place where desire may arise. For the world is at his feet who is rid of desire.

"The thing that is given, one has not to guard any longer, whereas, what is in one's house, has to be guarded. What is given, is for the destruction of desire, what is at home, increases desire.

"The giver is the true hero, the miser the coward; thus to give, makes us gain a hero's heart, to keep a coward's. By giving we gain appreciations of the Buddhas, by keeping that of foolish folks."—*Siksā*, pp. 18-19.

"For which the ordinary mortals accumulate wealth, that (*i.e.*, the body) they sacrifice again and again, in their manifold existences." —*Mahayanasutralamkara*, XVI. 58.

Though they themselves are hungry and thirsty, they appease others' hunger by sacrificing their own food, and quench others' thirst by the water brought for their own drink.

By doing so, even when they are at the point of death, because of hunger and thirst, they say:

"My hunger and thirst, my fatigue and penury, all are now at an end; by offering the water, given to me to one, who longed for life, the shaking of my body, weariness, despondency, perplexity and sorrow, all have at once vanished.

"I do not desire the highest state which is endowed with supernatural psychic powers. Nor do I desire liberation. I desire (to take on) the suffering, penury, and misery of others. I shall stay behind until the last creature of the universe attains to liberation. I desire to be born again and again in the universe and again and again in this way, willingly taking on the sufferings of all creatures, make them happy."—*Bhāgavata*, IX, 21, 12-13.

There are many in Europe, who think that the aim of all spiritual disciplines, of all good actions, of the Indians, is to attain one's own liberation. Love, service, compassion for living beings, the act of seeing all sentient beings with an equal eye, all these are practised by them, because these are but the means for attaining liberation. So all the religious practices of India are tainted with selfishness.

In all times, in all countries, among all nations, there had been and still is, a class of religious practitioners, who did or does practise spiritual disciplines for selfish ends.

But to say that *all* the religious practitioners of India were so, is betraying one's ignorance of Indian religious literatures. The above quotations, I hope, will remove such wrong and misleading ideas.

A few more passages may be added here to show the selflessness of such Indian saints who sacrifice all their material possessions, their beloved relations, their life itself, all the merit accumulated by such acts of sacrifice, for the well-being of all sentient beings. They cultivate the purity and spotlessness of their character, 'the root of all good' (*i.e.*, the good qualities, such as absence of anger, absence of greed and non-delusion) not for their own deliverance but for the deliverance of others.

"Their leading a holy life, their preserving the purity of their character, is not for the kingdom of heaven, nor is it for obtaining any

enjoyment, wealth, physical beauty, or fame, nor is it for fear of being reborn as animal, or descending into hell. They do all these things, for the sake of promoting the welfare, happiness, and well-being of all living creatures."—*Siksā-samuccaya*, p. 147.

They say :

"I have established myself in the incomparable wisdom, not for the desire of pleasure, not to indulge in five senses, not to follow the concerns of lust.

"The all-wisdom has been developed in me, for the deliverance of all the world."—*Siksā*, p. 281.

"I for the sake of all creatures, cultivate 'the root of all good' and apply the same, for the deliverance of all."—*Ibid.* p. 282.

"I must mature my 'root of all good,' in such a way, that all the creatures may obtain great happiness, unheard-of happiness, the happiness of all knowledge. I must be a charioteer, a pilot, a guide, a torch-bearer to all."—*Ibid.* p. 281.

"I undertake the service to the world, with my whole being. Let the multitude put their foot on my head or let them kill me.—*Ibid.* p. 156.

"It is better indeed that I alone be in pain, than that all the creatures fall into the state of misfortune. Therefore, I must offer myself to bondage, and in exchange, all the world must be redeemed from the wilderness of hell, from being born as an animal, and from the kingdom of Death. I, for the good of all creatures, would experience all the mass of pain, unhappiness in my own person. *Ibid.* p. 281. *Mahayana-sutralamkara,* XIII. 14.

"I have resolved to sacrifice my body for all creatures and so my outward possessions. I will offer my hand, foot, eye, flesh, blood, marrow, my head itself, to those who ask for them. I will sacrifice all outward things, such as, wealth, corn, silver, gold, gems, ornaments, horses, chariots, cars, villages, towns, kingdoms, servants, sons, daughters, etc.

"Without regret, without grudging, without waiting for merit to mature, I will abandon them, without any hope of recompense, out of compassion and sympathy for the living beings."—*Siksā*, p. 21.

"May there be in me, no such merit, that is not useful to all the living beings."—*Ibid.* p. 33.

"If merit arise from the sacrifice of merit, that too is not for me but for others."—*Ibid.* p. 147.

"To remove each single state of misfortune, of all creatures, of all the worlds, I am prepared to live for numberless ages."—*Ibid.* p. 281.

"I do not desire liberation alone, forsaking the wretched miserable ones."—*Bhāgavata,* VII. 9. 44.

These great personalities had no longing for liberation. In fact they mocked at it, when they said :

"All-sufficing is the contentment, the peace, the endless and overflowing joy which is experienced when the sufferers are seen set free, step by step, from the bondage of pain, of what use then is the dry-as-dust liberation."—*Bodhi,* VIII. 108; *Siksā*, p. 360.

And moved by this wonderful character of man, the poet of the *Mahābhārata* exclaimed : "There is none greater than man."[1]—*Mahābhārata, sānti,* 300-20.

Regarding some of the translations of the Sanskrit texts, the writer acknowledges his debt to Mr. Cecil Bendall and Mr. Gurdial Mullik.

1. *Na manusat sresthataram hi kincit.*



GANDHIJI'S FAST: ITS FUNDAMENTAL IMPLICATIONS

By Prof. N. A. MAVLANKAR, M.A., LL.B.

It is quite a few months now since Gandhiji broke his fast. It was a day of great rejoicing; the hearts of millions of Indian people went up in prayerful thankfulness to the Giver of all life for His great act of mercy.

Crises, catastrophes and revolutions have in these unfortunate times become our daily food; that was why perhaps the potent medicine which Gandhiji administered to the people failed of its effect. It was a mighty strange drug that would have killed the physician when it failed to cure the patient. We are grateful that such a tragedy has for the moment been averted. But it is one of those never-to-be-forgotten things in the life of a nation. A great French statesman is reported to have advised his countrymen in regard to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, 'Think of it always; never speak of it.' Lest we forget, let us too note the implications of Gandhiji's fast for our rulers, for ourselves, for Gandhiji himself and for civilized humanity in general.

I

For the powers that be it is a triumphant vindication of their policy. One can well imagine the great Mr. Churchill blowing his cheroot at you with a defiant air of 'didn't I tell you so'; and casting an appreciative look over the not inconsiderable expanse of his body, pronouncing in slow, measured accents, worthy, as Laski said, of Lord Clive, 'I am right; I have not become the king's First Minister in order to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire!' Well might Mr. Churchill gloat over his victory. For one thing he never made secret of his views regarding India. Long ago he had declared open war against Gandhism. 'The truth is that Gandhism and all it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed.' (Quoted in Louis Fischer's speech at San Francisco recently published). Quite naturally he is making the most of his first opportunity in high office to crush Gandhism. He was never known to be a believer in compromises, half-way houses and policies of appeasement. He is what they call a die-hard conservative; and the great advantage of such conservatism is that it progresses merely by your sitting tight upon it. After Gladstone's retirement, Balfour laid down 'Twenty years of resolute Government' as the cure for the Irish malady. The prescription still holds good for India. Well might Mr. Churchill smile the self-complacent smile and hug the phantom Empire to his bosom! Better than anyone else he had succeeded in 'sizing up' the Indian and events have proved him amply correct. They may be said to have given him a mandate to go on with his bold, bad policy of repression in India and professed liberation abroad.

II

The nation has been weighed and found wanting. It has suffered ignominiously the greatest humiliation of all her history. It literally bartered away its birth-right for a mess of pottage. The Devil threw down the challenge to the hapless, miserable crushed-out Indian people; and to their lasting disgrace they elected to be traitors to the spirit of India, to destroy her soul, in return for the right to eke out an existence of mean, ignoble ease, abject slavery and humiliation, as hewers of wood and drawers of water! The greatest son of India, the most truly representative Indian, symbol of the splendour and glory that was Ind, the man whom we most revered, loved and worshipped, the little man who is trying to raise a mighty force to stem the advancing tide of the barbaric civilization of the West,—him we shamefacedly denied; against him we committed the basest of crimes, the crime of Judas.

It is true, of course, that we feigned as if we were smitten with sudden, unassuageable sorrow. To all outward appearances life was robbed of its zest and men and women mechanically went about their daily routine. Markets of every kind were closed, shops, offices and establishment barred and bolted; but business as usual went on at the back door. Many of the professed followers and disciples of the Mahatma rushed pathetically from wherever they had been to Delhi and Poona, but in all their frenzied agony taking care to see that their businesses, their mills and factories continued normal working. No, not even for a day would the bourgeoisie desist from his worship of the golden calf. Yes, we held meetings and passed resolutions, we sent frantic wires for his release. We staged prayers for his life. But even God does not care for people of little faith and small sincerity. With the exception of the three brave sons of India—or rather two, for one only tried to retrieve lost glory—who refused to be accomplices in this great crime against humanity, not one among the thousands of individuals and institutions that wired and prayed had the courage to put any sanctions, never so ineffectual, behind the demand. How utterly had the

mendicant mentality seized us can be seen from the fact that one of our greatest legal luminaries could do no better than to advise his countrymen to prepare themselves calmly for the worst! So much in love with the appetites of the flesh, we gave up God and chose to be slaves to Satan for the privilege of being allowed to wallow in filth, to don ourselves in rags and to lead a dog's life on broken crumbs.

This is not all. To be weak is human but it is fiendish to rationalize weakness into strength. It is grievous to think that blinded by petty, political passions, leaders of considerable sections of our people could see nothing more in Gandhiji's fast than merely a political stunt. One self-appointed leader recently characterized Gandhiji's conduct during the past few months as the manifestation of supreme conceit on his part! Human blindness and perversity could go no further. The truth is, it simply did not matter what your political views were. You might be a Machiavellian, and count no cost too great for the seizure of political power; you might be a level-headed, practical-minded politician and believe in the straight, constitutional road to self-government, treating fasts and such like moral techniques as mere abracadabra; you might be a rank communalist, raising expediency to the level of a premier political principle, and giving to your community what was meant for the country or humanity at large; but so long as you were not a mere opportunist, believing 'after me, the deluge' as the only adage of wisdom, you could not have failed to realize that the issue which Gandhiji's fast created transcended all petty political objectives. It was not a question of the revival of Congress politics, Hindu-raj, or Muslim-raj, Akhanda-Hindustan or Pakistan. It was a great opportunity for leaders of diverse political creeds to close up their ranks, to call a truce to faction-fighting and enlist themselves on the side of the Good battling against the forces of Evil. For, suppose for a moment that judged by some absolute standard Gandhiji was proved wrong; but let us remember at the same time that he was prepared to answer with his life his persistence in error. So was Socrates, and so was Jesus Christ. Is it the path of wisdom to follow those who offered the poisoned chalice to the one and crucified the other?

We have reached the nadir, the zero-point in our self-respect. Life's night has begun; one despairs there is little prospect, at least in the near future of 'glad, confident morning again.'

III

Gandhiji has told us when a Satyagrahi takes to fasting and penance. When evil abounds and the good, wherever they turn, knock their heads against a dead wall of prejudice, self-seeking and faction-fighting, for the Satyagrahi there is no other alternative. He has been privileged to see the truth, illumined by the beauty of a thousand stars; and such is the compelling power of that vision that he must give up all and follow the gleam. Two thousand years ago Christ died on the cross for the sake of humanity. A true Satyagrahi must be prepared to do the same; for only so can he enter the regions of eternal peace and blessedness.

This is a purely personal aspect of the question which touches Gandhiji alone. But there is also another aspect which concerns the people at large and which he should deeply ponder. It is well that Gandhiji has placed Truth and Non-violence above political freedom. It is in perfect accord with the aspirations of the individual who seeks to live in accordance with the true law of his being. But if the people are told that the life of truth and non-violence cannot be lived without the attainment of political freedom, the latter becomes the people's immediate objective. They must concentrate all their energies on the attainment of independence from the foreign yoke first. If it is now preached to them that truth and non-violence is the only technique by which they can achieve independence, their attempt to do so is foredoomed to failure—not because as will be commonly thought the means are unequal to the task, but because they are far superior to it. They simply render the end superfluous. When I have learnt to live in tune with the Infinite, and hence attained perfect freedom, what care I for the doubtful advantages of pelf and power? The Marxists commit a similar fallacy when they hope to build up an equalitarian society on the foundations of Materialism.

IV

The last point is reinforced when we consider the implications of Gandhiji's fast for humanity in general. It is not for a moment suggested that we in India should not fight for political freedom. We may do so if we value it above all other things. It is only pointed out that the means proposed are bigger than the end, or rather they are on different plane altogether and so will defeat the end. Let us assume for a moment that Hitler's New Order, Japan's Co-prosperity League are the very incarnations of tyranny and despotism of the worst type; let us also assume that the United

Nations stand for undiluted freedom and democracy without a tinge of Imperialism, exploitation or colour prejudice. Nevertheless the Allies do not for a moment believe that the righteousness of their cause is by itself sufficient guarantee for ultimate victory. At bottom everyone believes that God is on the side of the big battalions. This shows clearly that they are fighting with the same means for the same ends though they call them by different names. From the point of view of humanity as a whole it is immaterial who wins, unless, indeed, after their victory the Allies discover the true meaning of freedom in the liquidation of the British Empire and in the abdication of her economic sovereignty by America for the sake of going, after the manner of the early Christians, in quest of spiritual values.

It seems, therefore, that progress will remain for humanity as a whole an illusion, a will-o-the wisp. So long as men continue to be in tone with the flesh and live only to indulge its appetites, conflict will be inevitable. By whatever fine names called, the objectives for which men fight and struggle, commit violence and shed innocent blood are at bottom resolvable into the one desire to secure what each mighty group considers a just and equitable distribution of the good things of this world. It is loudly proclaimed and even applauded as a realistic view of things that the attainment of spiritual values and culture is unthinkable without the satisfaction of material needs. It is only on a full belly that man can think of the spirit. It seems that so long as mankind is united in the pursuit of this ideal as the immediate goal of its endeavour, permanent peace and progress on earth is impossible. Paradoxical as it may seem, a fundamental difference in the ideals pursued is alone capable of bringing permanent peace and holding any promise of progress. It is only when the common ideal of human progress comes to mean, in terms of its concrete content, different things to different sections of humanity, that any large conflict in its pursuit can be avoided. To take a simple illustration, it is only when progress means to large groups of people an unlimited multiplication of their wants and a correspondingly great, ever-increasing command over the means to satisfy them; while at the same time, for equally large groups it consists in learning to glory in the name of God, and to count as naught physical privations and sufferings, that it will at all be possible to realize the dream of peace on earth and goodwill among men.

FLAX AND HEMP CLOTH IN INDIA

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I. History

In the present scarcity of cloth it may be useful to recall that our forefathers did not entirely depend on cotton for their cloth even as late as the 12th Cen. A.C. It is not generally known that flax fibre was the chief material of cloth in India in ancient times. The other material was hemp fibre. Cotton came into use at a later period. I shall give here a brief account of these cloths as found in Sanskrit literature.

The Amarakosha, the well-known Sanskrit lexicon (U. P. 300 A.C.) divides the different kinds of cloth into four classes according to their sources and gives an example of each. These sources are, (1) bark fibres, (2) fruit (seed) fibres, (3) cocoons of worms, and (4) animal hairs. As an example of the first class is mentioned Kshauma. The other example given by a commentator of the 11th Cent. is Sāna. The name Kshauma is derived from Kshumā. It is the name of a form of Atasi, the linseed plant, which is Tisi in Bengali and Alsi in Hindi. The name Sāna is derived from Sana, the true hemp. It is the same word as Gk. Kanna from which the Latin name of the plant, cannabis sativa is derived. The male and female plants of hemp are separate. The ancients considered the female plants, the seed-bearing plants, male, and the male plants which do not produce seed, female. The first was called Sana, and the second Bhangā.

Kshumā, the flax plant, was cultivated for its fibre, and Atasi, the linseed plant, for its only seed. Sana was cultivated for its oily seed as well as for its fibre and Bhangā for its fibre only. The leaves of Bhangā form the narcotic and hypnotic drug called Bhāng. The intoxicating Ganjā was never smoked in ancient times. Sometimes the distinction between Kshumā and Atasi, as well as between Sana and Bhangā was overlooked causing confusion in their identification.

The earliest mention of Kshauma meaning linen occurs in the Krishna Yajurveda, which

has been definitely established to be as old as 2450 B.C. The place of the Veda bordered on the Rajputana desert, which of course did not extend so far north as it does now. Both the names Sana and Bhanga occur in the Atharvaveda which was probably compiled in about 2000 B.C., somewhere on the north of upper India. In this Veda Sana is a wild fibrous plant and Bhanga (masculine) a food-crop. There is, however, reason to believe that the Rigvedic Aryans had hemp cloth. Probably the fibre was collected from wild plants.

The mention of cotton occurs for the first time in a Srauta Sutra of about 1000 B.C. It is there named Kārpāsa, which denoted the Tree-Cotton, the wool-bearing tree of Greek-writers. As examples of seed hairs as sources of cloth the Amarakosha mentions five varieties of cotton. One was Kārpāsa, another was a wild cotton. The third was the cotton of the western coast of India. There were two others, which with the second are cultivated even now in this district of Bankura in West Bengal.

Detailed information regarding linen is found in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya. It was compiled in Bihar in the 4th Cent. B.C. In this we learn that linseed plants were found wild from which strings were made, that the seeds of flax and linseed were sown after the rains were over, and that flax yarn and linen were sold in markets and customs-duties were levied on them according to their value. In this work we meet for the first time with the name Dukula. It was the finest linen as defined in the Amarakosha. As to the seats of manufacture of linens we read that "the Dukula of Vanga is white and lustrous, that of Pundra black or blue and as lustrous as a gem, and that of Suvarna-Kudya like the colour of the sun and as lustrous as a gem. Dukula is woven wet. It is square or of other shapes. Some are woven of one thread, some half a thread, others two, three or four threads. Such is also the Kshauma manufactured in Kāsi and Pundra." Now we know Vanga is the country lying between the Bhāgirathi and the Padmā, Pundra on the north of Vanga and Suvarna-Kudya the district of Kamarupa. We know it is not easy to dye linen, but we find that it used to be dyed black or blue, red or orange. It was also printed. There were special detergents for washing linen. Manu-Samhita prescribes ground paste of *Sveta Sarshapa* (white-mustard) for cleaning linen.

In the 12th century Dukula was known as *malla* in Bengali. It is a Sanskrit word, meaning 'excellent.' From this is derived the word *malmal* in Bengali and Hindi and *mull*, the trade-name in English though wrongly applied to cotton-fabrics.

After the 12th century the linen industry began to decline, and Dukula and Kshauma became so rare that in the course of two centuries Dukula was confounded with fine silk, and Kshauma included besides silk fabrics of all bark fibres. The name Kshauma was Khomā in Pali. In the 16th century it became Khunyā in Bengali and denoted stout fabrics of bark fibres. The name was current two centuries ago.

Now turning to hemp we find that it was chiefly confined to the northern part of Northern India. In the time of Pānini, the famous grammarian, there were fields under both Sana and Bhangā. Pali writers distinguished the two kinds of cloth obtained from the two forms. Kautilya collected wild plants for strings and cloth and did not think it necessary to grow the plant. Some of the Purans of Northern India, however, counted Sanā as one of the fourteen food-crops. In Assam Sana seed and Sana cloth were in common use even in the 10th century. In Bengal the plant was unknown. Hemp plant grows in moist climate and Sana string and cloth could not be found everywhere. A substitute was found in the fibre-yielding yellow-flowered weed (crotalaria juncea), the sunn-hemp of commerce which usurped the name to the confusion of later writers. I myself fell into the error and thought this Sana to have been the classic Sana in my pretty exhaustive account of the Textile Industry in Ancient India (Journal, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June 1917) to which the reader may refer for fuller information.

The clothing materials of our ancient ancestors may be easily known from the Manu-Samhita. There Manu prescribes hemp, flax and woollen cloth in order for the Brahamana, Kshatriya and Vaisya students. The mantle was of skins of antelope and deer. These were exactly the materials of cloth in the Vedic times and are therefore considered "pure" and fit to be worn during religious observances. Cotton cloth has not been able to take their place and people put on *tussur* and silk in the mistaken idea of these having been Sāna and Kshauma of old tradition.

In the time of Kautilya there were famous centres of cotton manufacture in all the provinces except Madras and the Panjab. But the best linen could be had only from the north-eastern Provinces. Even now Bengal and Bihar have the largest acreage under linseed, Central Provinces and Berar coming next.

II. Experiments

During the last European war cloth became scarce on account of paucity of cotton mills in India and of cessation of foreign imports and the people were at their wits' end to cover their persons. It occurred to me that we might supplement cotton by flax and hemp.

Accordingly, in the winter of 1916 at Cuttack I felt impelled to test the possibility of linseed plant as a source of fibre and though the sowing season had been over a small plot of the college-garden was thickly sown with the Bazar linseed, and on one side with the seed of Sunn-hemp for comparison. The soil was sandy and did not receive manure. The linseed plants grew to a height of 20 inches, and the Sunn 30 inches. A couple of cannabis plants happened to have been growing in the rainy season. Both of them were, however, female. In February the fibres were extracted by gently heating green stems cut into pieces without leaves, with ten per cent solution of Caustic Potash, washed in running water and dried in the sun for hours. The results of examination are quoted from my notes made at the time :—

Sunn (before flowering).—Fibre 2·3 per cent yellowish, coarse, stiff, strong, somewhat flat, twisted or bent, of unequal thickness, cell from 0·015 to 0·030 mm. thick. Encrusted with lignin.

Cannabis (before flowering).—Fibre 2 p.c. faintly red, lustrous like silk, soft, strong, slightly lignified cell for 0·006-0·015 mm. thick.

Cannabis (after seeding, seed not ripe).—Fibre 2·5 per cent more reddish, more lustrous, more lignified. Cell from 0·009-0·018 mm. thick.

Flax (before flowering).—Fibre 2·7 per cent. white, soft, weak, more or less bent. Almost wholly cellulose. Cell 0·012 mm. thick.

Flax (after seeding, seed not ripe).—Fibre 2·5 per cent white, soft, weak, lumpy or creasy at places. Cell 0·015 to 0·045 mm. thick.

The sampling was not properly done, and I am not sure of the percentage of fibre. The weakness of the fibre and want of lustre show that the Potash solution was too strong for it. It is, however, noteworthy that there was no change in the cellulose and on the whole the percentage of fibre was greater than in Sunn. If the stems were longer and thicker the yield of fibre would surely have been greatly increased. I had no opportunity of testing the effect of soil and season.

Ten years later at Bankura I had a bed of linseed plants as a garden variety for the beautiful sky-blue colour of its flowers. The soil consisted of barren coarse sand, and the plants were barely 15 inches in height. When the flowering was over, they were pulled out, tied in a bundle and retted in the water of a pond. The fibre was soft and strong but grey on account of the mud of the pond under which the bundle had been placed by my man. It was handspun and gave useful twine.

Having this experience, though the result of mere curiosity I believe that it is possible to evolve a race of flax from our linseed by cultivation and selection. The advantages will be two-fold, *viz.*, the soil, the climatic conditions and the habit of the plant are well-known to our cultivators and there will be no risk of failure as with foreign stock. Moreover, the indigenous stock is less liable to be attacked by pests.

Another important fact to be noted is that in case when the linseed crop fails on account of rains at the time of flowering, a substantial return may be obtained by separating the fibre by retting. A hand-breaker costing about Rs. 5 may be usefully introduced not only for the flax but also for Sunn.

It is said that no useful fibre can be profitably obtained from the stalks of linseed. I do not know how the cost of separation will be prohibitive. Fresh trials may be made to decide the point once for all. At any rate the whole bark which is thin may be employed for making cordage or paper.

Fresh trials should also be made to separate the fibre of the Ganjā crop which is extensively cultivated in Rajshahi in Bengal. These are female plants, the same as Sana of old.

There is, however, an untapped source of fibre in the wild growth of cannabis along the southern slope of the Himalayas from west to east. It extends in some parts far to the south specially along the banks of rivers. In Malda, I am told, and even so far south as Birbhum in Bengal, Ganjā plants form annual jungles of nauseating weed. All that is necessary is to collect and ret them. The cost of separation of fibre can not stand in the way of profit. A cottage industry of canvas sheeting will come into existence. It was not long ago that hemp garments were common in the hill districts of the Panjab. If Bengal and Bihar cannot grow cotton of the required quality in sufficient quantity, they offer extensive and tried field for flax, and linen industry may be revived in no time to clothe the people. If Sunn pays the cultivators, flax is sure to be more profitable.

INDIAN MONETARY POLICY IN RECENT TIMES

By Prof. P. C. THOMAS, M.A.

II

(As has been indicated in the foregoing paragraphs) The alternative object of monetary policy is stability of price-level. Central Banks now regard this as more important. Professor Jones, Mr. R. G. Hawtrey, Basil Blackett and Lord Stamp and others staged a debate under the auspices of Royal Statistical Society on exchange-stability *versus* price-stability. They unanimously agreed that exchange-stability in the pre-war sense of a fixed gold equivalent for every currency and the values of the currencies varying within the narrow limits of the gold points, is no longer desirable. The idea of stabilizing prices became a topic of international discussion even before World War I. Variations in the purchasing power of gold attracted considerable attention on account of their adverse effects on trade and industry as well as the inequalities of the exchange between creditors and debtors. Under a Gold Standard system, it is now regarded, internal stability is less possible than otherwise, as ultimately the quantity of "effective money" will have to be regulated according to the quantity of gold and not according to the demand for money. It must, however, be said that till a shortage in the world output of gold is proved this contention is not as valid as it looks. And so far, it has not been proved, though often conveniently assumed and sometimes attempted to establish but in vain. Again, with the Gold Circulation out of vogue in every country of importance and unlikely ever to return, gold shortage is a chimerical apprehension. In monetary history different devices were put forward from time to time to secure this objective of stable prices. As early as Adam Smith a wheat-standard was suggested.[1] But on the face of it, a wheat-standard is not preferable to gold standard, as wheat is liable to greater fluctuations than gold. The Multiple or Tabular Standard and the compensated Dollar were proposed with the same object but had to be rejected for one reason or other.

"There is reason to fear that Professor Irving Fisher's scheme would be a course of much bewilderment, and that if it were adopted by a large number of nations, it would make questions of exchange more difficult."[2]

While considering the means of stabilizing price-level, the question surely arises, how far is stability of price-level desirable? How far are fluctuations in price-level to be avoided? A violent rise in price-level inflicts a nation's financial burdens on a small section of it least equipped to bear them. It is a surreptitious and inequitous form of taxation and often encourages extravagance and speculation. The effects of violent changes in the value of money are seen not only in the manner of distribution of the produced wealth, but also threatens to undermine the basis of contract and business expectation on which our economic order rests and consequently affects adversely the creation of wealth itself.

"So long as reliance on the method of contract as we know it persists, so long are the vagaries of the value of money a potential cause of disaster.'[3]

Deflation is eqally to be deprecated. It brings in its trail economic disaster, aggravating unemployment and paralysing industry. It transfers wealth from borrowers to lenders.[4] But whilst violent and sudden fluctuations in price-level are undesirable and to be avoided, it is debatable whether absolute stability will conduce to social betterment. Absolute stability of price-level, though easily the natural one to desire,[5] would imply stagnation instead of economic growth. It also results in social injustice, penalising certain classes. In any long period of time, the real cost in human effort and inconvenience does not remain constant. The real cost is altered by three deep-seated tendencies in human affairs. As man's control over nature increases, as the conquest and exploitation of natural resources intensify, the real cost of production diminishes.[6] On the other hand, the growth of population and the frequency of destructive wars tend to increase the real cost of production. When the secular trend in the real cost is towards increase, if prices are kept stable fixed-income earners are benefited at the

1. Adam Smith : *Wealth of Nations*, Bk. I, Ch. II.
Lawrence Laughliw : *Principles of Money*, p. 59.

2. Hartley Withers : *Bankers and Credit*, p. 249.
3. Robertson : *Money*, p. 13.
4. Keynes : *Tract on Monetary Reforms*, p. 14[illegible].
5. Robertson : *Ibid.*, p. 134.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

expense of others. On the contrary, when the real cost decreases the natural course would be for the nominal cost to decrease too; but if it is bolstered up the fixed-income earners suffer an increasing penalty. A case can also be made out for a gently rising price-level. "A gently rising price-level pleases the businessman, and the businessmen are in the saddle and hold the reins of industry." What is stable price-level? By stable price-level is not meant an absolutely dead stable level, allowing no scope for enterprise and initiative, not one devoid of "a sufficient to and fro movement about a long period level to provide industry with all the impetuses, surprises and excitements it may need," but one which envisages "a sufficient movement in prices of raw materials due to changing harvests, discoveries and natural conditions, to give the wise and far-seeing, the efficient a pull over the short-sighted."[7] As observed by Prof. J. M. Clerk, even

"under perfectly steady prices there will be still great booms and depressions in the capital making industries, and resulting booms in industry at large."[8]

Dr. Hayek expresses the same idea:

"It follows particularly from the point of view of the monetary theory of the trade cycle, that it is by no means justifiable to expect the total disappearance of cyclical fluctuations to accompany a stable price-level."[9]

Whether stability of price-level could be achieved under Gold Standard or no has been hotly debated for some time. The experiences of the last war seem only to have confirmed each party to the debate in its differing opinion. According to the one, the experiences of the war weighed gold in the balance and found it wanting, to the other the only lesson of the war is that a gold link is indispensable for monetary stability, external and internal. Advocates of Gold Standard claim that it is a perfectly feasible mechanism, as under it inflation, a besetting sin of hard-pressed governments, would not be committed, because the total quantity of money has to be a definite multiple in value of the total stock of gold available for monetary purposes. Gold Standard is claimed to give sound moorings to the currency. It is not merely that the authorities charged with exercising the vast powers of creation and regulation of money might be tempted to take the easier course of inflation, but that they might lack the knowledge to make wise decisions in complex, obscure but highly important and consequential situations. The strength of the Gold Standard lies in the greater freedom it enjoys from political pressure and in the guard it gives against the dangers of inflation. Gold does afford the security of an objective restraint upon the practically unlimited power of manufacture of money. That inflations are possible and inflations may be excessive cannot be denied. That most of the grevious inflations of history have been war measures does not alter the argument. Inflations admittedly are resorted to only when governments are hard pressed for income. The last war was probably the worst-financed war in history frim the fiscal point of view. Less of the money costs of the war was met out of taxation and more by inflation of one form or other than any previous wars the financial operations of which we have record of. Hartley Withers estimates that $17\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the cost of the war to England was covered by taxation,[10] while the corresponding figure to the U.S.A. was 25%.[11] England's figure for the Napoleonic wars was 63%.[12] Sir Josiah Stamp says that England in this respect was better than most other European belligerents.[13] In the U.S.A. credit inflation of the Banks during and since the last war was on a very large scale and engendered diverse evil consequences and the capitalist system of the country came close on the verge of collapse. As Keynes said:

"It (inflation) is a process that engages all the hidden forces of economic law on the side of destruction, and does in a manner which not one man in a million is able to diagnose."[14]

(To be continued)

7. Sir Josiah Stamp: *Papers on Gold and the Price-level,* p. 26.

8. J. M. Clerk: *The Economics of Over-head Costs,"* p. 406.

9. Hayek: *Monetary Theory and the Trade Cycle,"* p. 188.
Ropke, W.: *Kredit und Konjunctur,"* p. 265, quoted by Hayek, "even if a stable price-level could be successfully imposed on the capitalist economy the causes making for cyclical fluctuations would not be removed."

10. Hartley Withers: *Bankers and Credit,* p. 59.

11. *American Economic Review,* Supplement, Nov., p. 119.

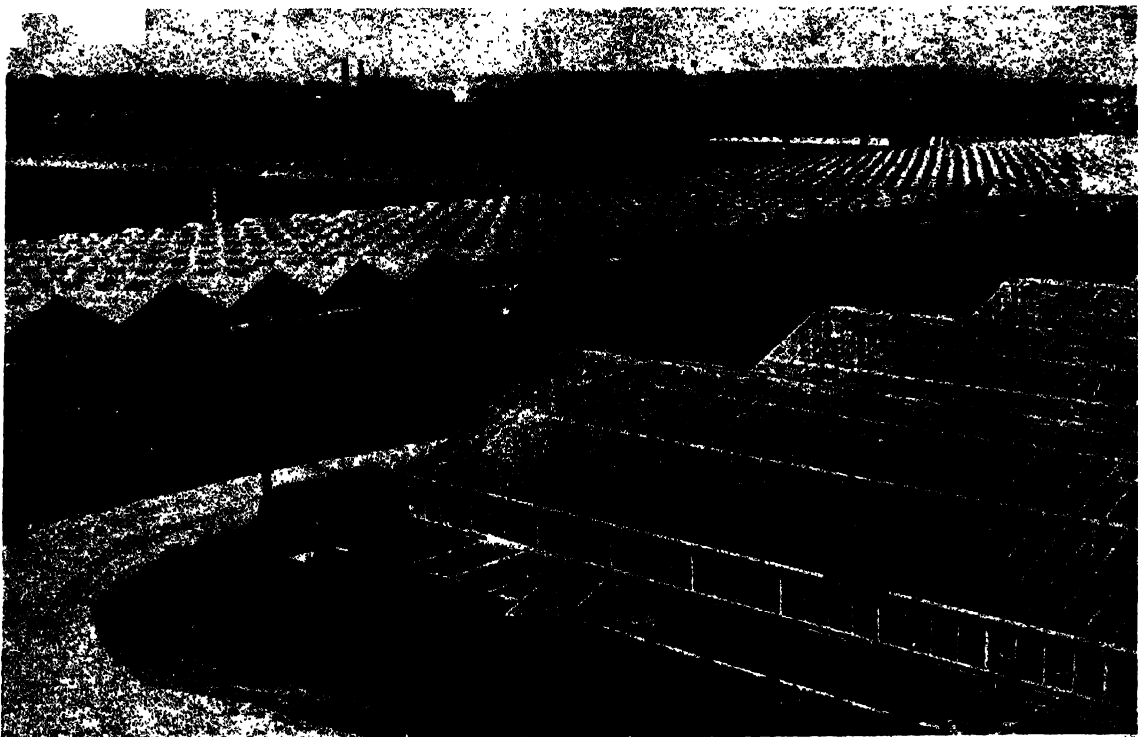
12. Sir Josiah Stamp: *Financial Aftermath of the War,"* p. 41.

13. Sir Josiah Stamp: *Taxation During the War,"* p. 133.

14. J. M. Keynes: *Essays in Persuasion,"* pp. 77-78.



The Lancaster is one of Britain's most successful heavy-weight bombers. The men who will fly this enormous machine towards Dusseldorf or Bremen are cycling from their quarters to the plane's dispersal point in order to save petrol



Britain's tomato-land. The photo shows part of the valley of the river Lea, near London, which is one of Britain's key tomato growing centres and produced some 6,000,000 baskets of the fruit



The photo shows the most up-to-date apparatus for filling trucks with coal as they pass on the modern railway system at the Comrie Colliery and illustrates the modern lighting of the fine, wide tunnels



The photo shows the hills and meadows surrounding the Comrie Colliery site—this general [illegible] and power-houses gives little to denote that coal-mining is

BRITAIN OPENS THE WORLD'S MOST MODERN COLLIERY

By X

Britain is trying to save as much fuel as possible this coming winter. Every day on the radio and by means of advertisements in the newspapers the Government are impressing upon the British people the necessity for saving every scrap of coal possible. We have just realised here, perhaps belatedly, that every form of fuel has its roots in the deep coal mines of Britain.



The photo shows a view of the huge ventilation shaft which supplies the mine with fresh air

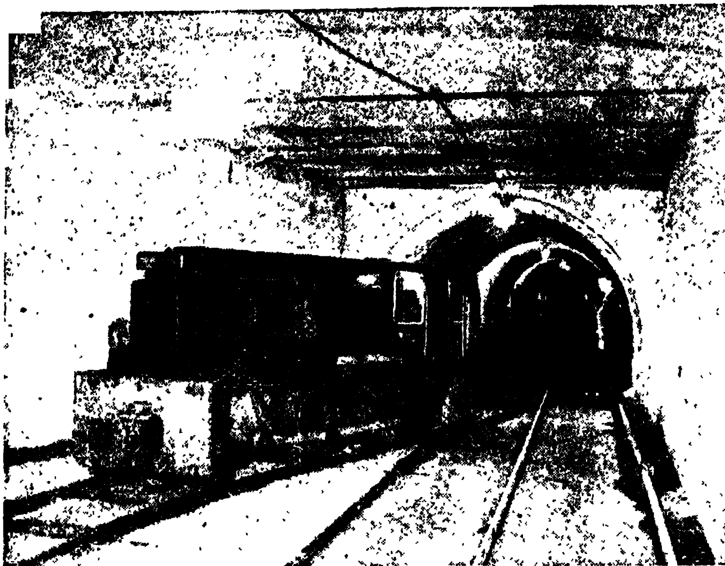
The power which drives the lift in a block of offices is drawn from an electrical generator and the generator in its turn is driven by coal. The gas that boils so many million cups of tea in Britain every morning is made from coal—and not enough of it is being produced.

There are two main reasons for this. Most immediate is the fact that many coal miners have been called up for service in the armed forces of the Crown. But the story of Britain's falling coal production goes back further than the present war. Mining is one of the most highly skilled and dangerous forms of labour and for many years now it has been under-paid. There was a glut of coal, and the wages of men-workers fell in consequence. Because fathers could not see for their sons a satisfactory career in the mines, they put them into other trades, and as the old miners retired, the youth did not come forward in the same numbers to take their places. That Britain is now realising the seriousness of this situation is evident, and nothing is more certain than that the country by all possible means will try to remedy it. Miners have just been given an increase in their basic rates of pay, and as an illustration of the fact that mining can be made a more pleasant occupation than it is, one of the most modern coal mines in the world has just been opened in Scotland. It has been planned to produce upwards of 4,000 tons of coal a day.

This is the result of years of careful planning, and the men who designed it visited mines



The photo shows how miners use a shoulder-drill to bore holes in rock, during the work of extending one of the tunnels at the Comrie Colliery



The photo shows high-powered Diesel engines which have now replaced the pit ponies which, in old-fashioned mines, hauled the trucks laden with hewn coal

which from the pithead conveys all debris to keep depressions about 1,000 yards from the pit, thus eliminating the usual unsightly slag heaps.

A luxury building contains a canteen, and has pithead baths and lockers for more than 1,000 men. Only the shaft winding gear above ground reveals that coal-mining is going on amidst the hills and meadows surrounding the colliery site.

It speaks well for the future of Britain that while she is still fighting the most bitter war in her history, she can find time, energy and hope to construct a modern industrial plant such as this.

all over the world to keep abreast with the latest developments in modern machine mining.

The most striking feature of the mine is the purity of the air circulation far below the earth's surface. It is equal to that circulating in a London Underground Railway tunnel.

It is possible to walk through the roads of the coal mine a distance of two miles, right up to the coal face where men are at work, and then return to the surface, nearly 1,300 feet above, as clean and as free from dust and grime as though one had only walked down the corridor of a modern factory.

At the official opening ceremony of the mine, Mr. Tom Smith, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Fuel and Power, said:

"This is the best pit I have ever seen in this country. It has most certainly removed the dismal, the dark and the dirt from mining."

Mr. Smith was talking from experience; he was a miner once himself, working in the old-fashioned pits amidst the gloom and dirt.

Among the unusual features of this mine, are mechanisation underground, which eliminates any handling of coal once it has left the coal face; surface plant which breaks down, grades and washes, by a special water treatment, every piece of coal which is raised to the surface in ten and a half ton skips; and aerial ropeway,



Mechanisation is a great feature of the Comrie Colliery; it eliminates any handling of coal once it has left the coal-face

THE RAJA-RAJESWARA TEMPLE OF TANJORE

A Gift of the Great Chola Dynasty to Posterity

By L. N. GUBIL

AMONG the many gifts of the great Chola Dynasty to posterity the Raja-Rajeswara Temple dedicated to Sri Brihadiswaraswami at Tanjore occupies a foremost place. It gives a visible expression not merely to the religious instincts of Raja Raja but also reflects the lofty political ambitions of the Great Chola Emperor. Constructed on a "well-defined and stately plan" the temple is verily a monument to the artistic genius of the craftsmen of the 10th century A.D. From a study of the large number of inscriptions that covers the work of the temple it is possible to glean an idea of the conditions which led to the erection of the temple and its various adjuncts. The temple was begun in the 19th year of his reign A.D. 1,003 and was completed 7 years later. It marks out the only longest period of peace during the reign of this warrior king, and probably indicates the occasion which enabled him to win the very title "Sri Raja Raja." Raja Raja, we learn from the inscriptions, endowed the temple with costly jewels and fertile lands. Provision was made for a regular and adequate supply of paddy, camphor, champaka-buds, khus-khus roots, etc., for worship and oblation. A wide variety of domestic animals was to be maintained from the income of the lands set apart for this purpose. Dancing girls and men skilled in singing Thevaram songs, were attached to the temple.

Apart from what one learns from the inscriptions what one actually sees to-day creates an abiding impression. An imposing gate-way leads us into an outer court-yard and from there another handsome gate-way takes us on to the Main Court, in which the temple is built. Paved with brick and stone and surrounded on all sides, by pillared corridors the spacious court, 500 feet by 250 feet, supplies an adequate background to the various shrines formed in this part of the temple. Almost at the western end of the courtyard the imposing shrine of Sri Brihadiswara rears its head. The tower and Vimana over this shrine rises to a height of over 200 feet. This tower of 14 storeys is "finely decorated with plaster and statues of various kinds." The Sikhara rests on a single block of granite 25 feet square and weighing about 80 tons and it never throws a shadow on the ground. The method of conveying the block of granite to the top of the Vimana is, from the point of view, rather crude. It was carried by an inclined plane from a village "Sara Paliam" four miles north-east of the city. Crude though the method is, still judging from the standard of the 11th century it was a model feat of engineering skill.



Sri Brihadiswara Temple. Tanjore

The most important smaller shrine in the part of the temple court is that of Sri Subrahmanya. It is said to be a perfect gem of carved stone work, an exquisite piece of decorative art as good as any other specimen found elsewhere in South India. It is not referred to in the inscriptions and is said to be a later addition, the pious contribution of the chief mason who built the Brihadiswara shrine. Saint Arunagiri has four invocatory verses on this Sri Subrahmanya in his *Tiruppugal*. The base of the temple is about 45 feet square and the



The Bull in Sri Brihadiswara Temple

tower rises majestically to the height of 55 feet. The carving on the walls and elsewhere is exquisite. The patterns are elaborate, clear and short. The tooling of the stone is "exquisitely delicate" and indicates the heights to which decorative art on stone reached in the early 11th century.

Like the Subrahmanya shrine, the Brihannayaki temple also is a later addition. It is not definitely known when it was built but it is likely that it owes its existence to a later Pandya King of the 13th century, Konerimaikundan by name. This, as well as other shrines in the enclosure, underwent elaborate repairs during the time of the Maharatta Ruler, Sarabhoji II, (A.D. 1801-1802). Sarabhoji seems to have built one or two mandapams, renovated the prakara walls, the temple kitchen and the flooring of the main courtyard.

The monolithic Nandi presents a striking appearance. It is a massive piece of granite, length being 12 feet, height 19½ feet, and nearly 9 feet in breadth. It is housed under a mandapam built in the Nayak style and is impressive.

The temple dedicated to Saint Karoorar is just behind the main temple and under the shade of a "Neem" tree and a "Mandharai" tree. According to the evidence of the Karur Purana, the Saint seems to have helped Raja Raja I, in the installation of the "Lingam" in the main temple. The grateful Chola King assigned him a place within the temple and the Saint's modern devotees constructed a temple for the Saint in the early years of this century. Though small in size, it attracts a large crowd every Thursday.

The Sivaganga Tank to the north-west of the temple and within the small fort, the shrine of Lokanatha Eswarar mentioned by Saint Appar in one of his hymns, the public garden which has been developed recently, deserve mention. The Raja Raja Chola-Museum located in a mandapam near Sri Subrahmanyaswami temple, is a recent addition and is well worth a visit. Paintings of the Maharatta Rulers at Tanjore adorn the walls while exhibits of religious and historical interest are arranged in the centre of the hall.

To the visitor interested in the study of the contribution of the Cholas to South Indian art and culture, there is no doubt, that the temple offers ample scope. The delicacy and superb workmanship of the sculptors of the period are praiseworthy.

The Chola fresco paintings on the walls on both sides of the circumbulatory corridor of the Artha Mandapa are of surpassing beauty. They are revealed only in places where the outer plaster covering laid by a workman in a later period, probably during the time of some Nayak King, is crumbling down. The painting on the upper layer executed during the Nayak period is comparatively of ordinary type. The great work of piety of Raja Raja seemed to have evoked the admiration of the people and during the time of Rajendra I, (1055 A.D.), provision was made for the reading of a Play *Raja Raja Vijayam*, and the enacting of a drama *Raja Rajeswara Nataka*. With the decline of the Chola Power in South India both were evidently given up. Instead a Sarabendra Bujla Kuravanchi Nataka, in honour of Sarabhoji I, is being enacted in the temple usually on the 9th day of the annual Chitra Festival.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN KASHMIR

By B. P. SHARMA

The Archaeological Department of Jammu and Kashmir Government has to its credit another discovery of an ancient temple which throws some light on the Hindu Kings of Kashmir.

Tapar, the village where the temple has been excavated, is situated at a distance of 22 miles from Srinagar. Tapar, as we know from Sir Aurel Stein's annotated edition of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, is ancient Pratapapura, a town built by Pratapaditya II otherwise known as Durlabhaka—the father of Lalitaditya (Muktapida).



Tapar Ruins after excavation. North-west side of the Temple

The excavations so far carried out have exposed the base of a temple, its court-yard and the plinth of the enclosure wall. A Sanskrit inscription in *Sharda* script incised on stones reads: "In the Saptarshi year 4233 on the 15th Day of the bright half of Har (June 1157 A.D.) in the reign of the glorious King Paramanda was built by Ghagga, the worthy son of a Brahmin Jagaraja by name who was a great teacher of Vaishnava cult."

The Persian chronicler Hasan in his *Twarikh* says that the temple at Tapar was built by Pratapaditya II, that it was destroyed by Sikandar *Butshikan* (1390-1414 A.D.) and that its material was used by Zain-ul-Abdin, his son, in constructing the embankment from Inderkot to Sopore. From this and the other historical evidence the Superintendent of Archaeology, Kashmir State, concludes that the temple was originally constructed by Pratapaditya II and like the temple at Bijbror (Kashmir) it had a wooden rampart which was burnt to ashes to be repaired with brick material in the time of Paramanda, who was the son and successor of Jayasinha and ruled over Kashmir from 1155 A.D. to 1165 A.D.

There are traces that this temple was a seat of learning and was used as a residential university for the teaching of Vedas.

THE WOMEN'S LAND ARMY IN BRITAIN

Three Years on the Land

By BARBARA STUART

Swinging across the furrowed fields of the British countryside is an army of over 40,000 women. This is the Women's Land Army, whose members are drawn from every walk of life, from shop and beauty parlour, from domestic work and art school. Many of these have now completed three years' work on the land, and would not change their jobs if the opportunity were given them.

In two years the Women's Land Army in Britain has more than trebled its strength. Recruits are still pouring in—in some districts at the rate of 1,000 a week.

This great wartime organisation has now so thoroughly proved its value that the farmers of Great Britain, always conservative in their ideas, and at one time suspicious of the capabilities of women as land workers, are now sending in more applications for labour than the Land Army organisation can fill.

Farmers have had plenty of opportunity to observe the work of these girls and women through nearly three years of war. They have watched them during seed-time and harvest, during summer heat, and through long, hard winters. They have seen them tackle heavy, dirty, and often very unpleasant jobs, hitherto undertaken only by men, and carry them through with courage, efficiency and good humour. These farmers are not only convinced of the value of the Women's Land Army workers; they are sincerely grateful to them, and have paid them many striking tributes, for they have now emerged as seasoned workers, capable, conscientious and reliable, worthy successors to the men whom they are freeing for service in the fighting forces.

These girls and women, of any age between 17 and 40 are drawn from all classes, types, and professions. Many of them have never left home before or experienced anything but town life, and find their new tasks a great contrast to the daily routine to which they have been accustomed.

A beauty-specialist, whose life for five years had been spent in the softly-lit, perfumed atmosphere of her salon, whose hands were accustomed to working with delicate creams and lotions, now rises at dawn to work in the far less agreeably scented air of the cowsheds on a large dairy farm. Her once beautifully kept hands are now roughened, and the heavy, tough work and long hours of her present job make her previous profession seem unreal. It took her a little time to get used to the change, but now she is very happy. "Cows are far better-tempered than my other clients," she said laughing. She also finds her work in the fresh air, even on cold days, much better for her health and looks than the over-heated rooms in which she used to spend her time.

On another farm, a tall good-looking girl, who used to be a mannequin, now sits for many hours a day on the seat of a tractor. She has always been interested in machinery, and her height and physical fitness make her particularly suitable for this rather heavy work. She, also, is very contented with her new job.

Working with her is a University student who hopes one day to be a doctor. Her present job is that of caring for a hundred and fifty pigs.

One could instance a hundred other similar cases: a children's nurse who runs a poultry farm; a factory worker tending sheep on an isolated farm.

Every type of land work is undertaken by this women's army. In addition to milking by hand and machine, dairy work and the care of livestock, pigs and poultry, thousands are now experienced tractor drivers, working either in gangs on land reclamation, or individually ploughing on farms. Thousands of others are engaged on heavy field work—hoeing, sowing and planting, much-spreading, hedging and ditching, and harvesting, while large gangs are employed on threshing, which is extremely hard and dirty work.

Many girls when they join the Land Army express a preference for horticulture, and these are doing valuable work all over the country in market gardens, where they learn the cultivation of vegetables and fruit, and work in glass houses..

Another very popular branch of work open

to Land Army members is that of forestry. This work falls into two main categories. Included in the first is all forestry work connected with the planting and care of young trees, forest clearance, and so on; the second covers all timber work, tree felling, measuring, and work in saw mills.

For the second type of employment, 100 girls, selected for their physical fitness and general suitability, are recruited and equipped each month by the Women's Land Army and seconded for service with the Women's Timber Corps of the Ministry of Supply. From here they are sent for one month's preliminary training to a timber camp, then they are allocated to the various gangs throughout the country.

When a new recruit is interviewed for the Land Army, either in London or at any of the organisation's County Offices (which are set up in all principal towns), she is allowed to choose in which particular branch of land work she wishes to specialise. If she then passes her medical test and is accepted for enrolment, the recruit is fully equipped with Land Army uniform and is either placed in immediate employment or sent for a month's training at an agricultural institute or college, or an approved farm, after which a job is found for her as a trained worker.

Land Army members live either in the house of their employer or are billeted in lodgings nearby. Both the job and the billet are always very carefully inspected by the Land Army welfare officer, to see that they conform to the organisation's standards of working conditions, comfort and cleanliness. Every employed girl is visited regularly by a Land Army District Representative, who is responsible for her welfare.

Where gangs of Land Army members are employed together on large-scale work, such as harvesting, threshing, planting, land reclamation, and so on, they lead a happy community life in Land Army hostels. There are over 200 of these open now in various parts of the country, with a total hostel population of 7,000

There is a steady stream of recruits eager to join this Service, while those who have been doing land work in all weathers for one or more years are as enthusiastic now as when they first joined, and loudly state their preference for this life over any other.



The Timber Corps is a special section of the Land Army. The photo shows a number of members of the Corps at work in a forest in north of England

The reason for this is, I think, perhaps best given in the actual words of one of these workers :

"I love being with animals and working on my own. I love being out of doors and have never felt so well in my life. But the best thing about it is that I feel we are all doing something constructive in the Land Army. Instead of helping to destroy things, we are helping them to grow, and *really* working for the future . . . . and that is a grand feeling."



CHIEF OF U. S. ARMY NURSES

COLONEL FLORENCE A. BLANCHFIELD

DIRECTING the activities of 23,000 U. S. Army nurses on United Nations battlefronts from Iceland to Panama, from Africa to New Guinea, is no simple task, but it does not baffle energetic Lieutenant Colonel Florence A. Blanchfield. The new superintendent of the U. S. Army Nurse Corps is determined to "provide the best nursing service possible for our fighting men." Long



Colonel Florence A. Blanchfield

years of experience in the U. S. Army ranks, including service on the front lines in France during the last war, make America's top-ranking Florence Nightingale well aware that her charges are an essential part of the U. S. fighting forces. It is her intention to see that they are thoroughly trained for their tasks, that they are available wherever they are needed, that they do their job well.

Short, stocky, and red-haired, Colonel Blanchfield has gained a reputation for thoroughness with her colleagues. Half-way measures are not for this 59-year-old woman who thinks that "things should not be done at all unless they are done well." As acting chief nurse for U. S. troops in the last war, she supervised the general medical and surgical needs of 15,000 troops with remarkable efficiency. As head of the ever-growing U. S. Army nurse corps, she is repeating her competent performance. Under her command are 68 assistant superintendents, three directors, 668 chief nurses, and the rank and file By the end of 1943 she expects to have 30,000 nurses ready to bring health, hygiene, first-aid, and good cheer to war-weary soldiers on every far-flung battlefield.

Colonel Blanchfield is proud of her 36 years as a nurse and still more so of the fact that 25 of those years have been spent in the service of her country.

Asked how she came to choose nursing for her career, her brown eyes twinkled behind her rimless eyeglasses, and a quick smile flashed across her round face.

"I didn't want to be a nurse at all," she confessed. "My one ambition was to become a school teacher."

An elder brother had promised to finance her normal school education, but when he died in 1902, she saw her plans shattered. During his illness she had helped take care of him. Afterwards, the attending doctor told her that she ought to become a nurse.

"I discovered that I could pay my own way as I went along," says Miss Blanchfield, "so I gave up the thought of teaching and started to learn nursing."

After a training course in a Pennsylvania hospital, and post-graduate work at the famed Johns Hopkins Hospital, in Baltimore, Maryland, Florence Blanchfield knew a great deal about nursing. Surgical technique and operating-room supervision were her specialities.

In 1907 she started her career as nurse supervisor of an operating room, and for the next ten years she was hardly ever out of her starched white uniform. She held supervising posts at several hospitals in various parts of the United States. For two years she was an industrial nurse at one of the loading U. S. steel companies. Then in the Panama Canal Zone

she acted as chief anesthetist at the Ancon Hospital there.

When the last war broke out, Miss Blanchfield eagerly sought a place in the U. S. Army Nurse Corps. September 1917 found her en route to Base Hospital Number 27 at Angers, France. Within a few weeks she was transferred to a hospital near Rennes, in Brittany. There she remained for the duration of the war, as acting chief nurse.

Not until March 1919 did she return to America and to her pre-war job at a Pennsylvania hospital where she organized a school for nursing. Her love for Army service was strong, however. Despite the financial sacrifice, she accepted reappointment to the Army Nurse Corps early in 1920. From then on her career reads like a travelogue. She served in Army hospitals and at Army posts all over the United States and even had a taste of foreign duty—assignments in the Philippines and at the American barracks in Tientsin, China. In 1935 she was assigned to the Office of the U. S. Surgeon General and served there for seven years.

A few months after the United States entered the war, Nurse Blanchfield was commissioned as a Lieutenant Colonel and made first assistant to Superintendent Julia O. Flikke, then head of the Army Nurse Corps. Raised to her present position early in February, 1943, Colonel Blanchfield brought with her more than long experience and an aptitude for administration. She brought abundant energy and determination as well.

"New equipment and new techniques in nursing the war-wounded demand hundreds of well-trained nurses," says Colonel Blanchfield, "I know that our American girls will respond just as generously to this need as they did in the last war. There's job waiting for every one of them."

When Colonel Blanchfield speaks of the young nurses in her corps, her eyes shine as brightly as the silver leaves on the shoulders of her trim blue uniform. She has trained hundreds of nurses and hospital corpsmen in the U. S. Army Medical Service and commends them for their eagerness to work, their ability to think quickly in emergencies.

A long-standing interest in Girl Scout activities has given Colonel Blanchfield an insight into the character and ability of young Americans, too. Although she has never married, she has a motherly interest in every youngster she meets, and likes nothing more than to talk about her 17-year-old grandniece who is training to be a nurse.

American girls who join the ranks of their sister-nurses in the U. S. Army Nurse Corps may be sure of one thing—no matter where they go or how difficult their wartime tasks, they will not be alone. The interest and even the envy of their chief will follow them. For though she may have to sit behind a desk in Washington and chart Corps movements instead of temperatures, Colonel Blanchfield wishes she "could see action." Before all else, she's a true Army nurse.

Courtesy : U. S. Office of War Information.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE FOOD MUDDLE

By K. C. NEOGY

For many years past, India has not been self-supporting in the matter of supply of foodgrains within her own borders, the annual deficit being met by imports primarily from Burma. According to an estimate published as a result of researches in 1920, about 50 million tons of foodgrains constituted, at that time, India's minimum requirement for human consumption alone, and 15 million tons more were required for purposes of seed and cattle food. The total out-turn of the principal foodgrains was about 63 million tons in 1917-18, which dropped to 42½ million tons in 1918-19. Subject to annual fluctuations, the position does not appear to have improved materially during the last 20 years. The latest official statement, based on two different standards of consumption, places the minimum food requirements between 50½ and 61 million tons and seed requirements at 4½ million tons. The normal production in India, according to this statement, is placed at about 50 or 51 million tons annually, the deficit being thus taken to be between 5 and 14 million tons.

If we take rice and wheat, the principal among these foodgrains, we find that the total acreage of these two cereals averaged at very nearly 99 million during the quinquennial period 1920-21 to 1924-25; and the average yield during

this period totalled about 35¼ million tons. During the next quinquennial period, *viz.*, that ending 1930-31, the acreage increased to a little more than 104 million; whereas the yield stood at 36 million tons. In the quinquennial period ending 1935-36, the average represented 107 million acres, with an yield of 36 million tons, between rice and wheat.

Taking the census figures for the last three decades, we find that there was an increase of 10·6% in India's population between 1921 and 1931, and 15% between 1931 and 1941, whereas the increase in yield of rice and wheat, referred to above, represents 2·33% in 1931 over 1921, and hardly 1% between 1931 and 1941. The increase in acreage between 1921 and 1931 has been 5·2%, and between 1931 and 1941 only 2·9%. If the corresponding figures of other foodgrains which occupy a minor position were examined, no considerable improvement would be seen. If we compare the yield per acre of these two foodgrains, we find that there has been no appreciable improvement ever since 1910. The shortage which was noticed on the basis of figures available in 1920, may be said not merely to continue, but to have aggravated by reason of the steady increase in population, which has not at all been accompanied by anything like equally progressive increase in the production of foodgrains in the country.

Despite rice being the largest single crop grown in India covering 36% of the entire acreage under food crops, India has long been obliged to import it on a large scale to supplement her domestic supply even in a year of bumper harvest. It is not unusual for India to import, on an average, 1½ million tons of rice annually; while in 1934-35 her total imports of rice by sea mounted to over 2½ million tons. According to the Rice Marketing Committee's survey report, our annual imports of rice are valued at 14 crores, whereas our exports of rice are valued at 2¾ crores. Imports of Burma rice increased from 1,267 thousand tons in 1937-38 to 1,475 thousand tons in 1938-39, against an average of about 700 thousand tons in the period following tht last Great War. According to the latest official statement, Bengal's average nett annual import of rice from Burma amounted to two lakh tons.

I do not propose to enter into the question of nutritional sufficiency of available foodstuffs as judged on the basis of recent researches. It may, however, be pointed out that the latest assumption of the Government of India, as stated recently in the Central Legislative Assembly, that one pound of cereal (or roughly about 8 chhataks) constitutes the "ideal requirement" per adult unit per day, falls short of previous official calculations on the subject. The Famine Code of 1913 lays down a wage scale allowing 16 chhataks to diggers, 12 to carriers and to adult male dependants, whereas working children and adult famale dependants are allowed at the rate of 10 chhataks per day and children between 10 and 14 at 8 chhataks a day. Children between 7 and 10 years are allowed 6 chhataks each per day and those under 7, 4 chhataks. In the case of children in arms, an additional allowance of 3 chhataks per day is made to the nursing mother. These allowances under the Famine Code are supposed to constitute the lowest quantity of food sufficient to maintain one in proper health. If an average could be struck, it would perhaps work out at about 10 chhataks per day per head of population of all ages. The refusal of the Government to declare the prevalence of famine in Bengal must partly be ascribed to the fact that the foodgrains available will not suffice for provision being made for their consumption on the scales laid down in the Famine Code. The regulation ration of 3 chhataks of cereals per day, constituting the principal ingredient of gruel under the free kitchen scheme now in operation in Bengal, is an indication of the straits in which the authorities find themselves. The relief thus granted may be sufficient for prolonging the starved existence of the destitute for a few days, but cannot suffice for the purpose of saving human lives..

Jute as a commercial crop competes largely with rice for acreage in the rice-growing provinces of Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa. The total acreage of jute in these four provinces stood at 5,669,000 in 1940-41. It shrank to 3,120,000 acres in 1941-42, representing virtually 55% of the acreage under jute in 1940-41. It may be presumed that rice has partly taken the place that jute thus lost. The reduction in the acreage of jute in Bengal has mainly been due to restriction of jute cultivation at the instance of Government. But, however salutary the measure of jute restriction be from the standpoint of increased cultivation of rice, the Government of Bengal have not always been a free agent in bringing about the substitution of rice for jute cultivation. It would appear from the reply of the then Chief Minister to an interpellation in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 10th March, 1942, that while the Bengal Government contemplated further

curtailment of jute acreage in December, 1941, the acreage was fixed at ten annas in terms of the acreage of the previous year at the instance of the Government of India. The Chief Minister referred to assurances given to him by the Commerce Member of the Government of India that the United States of America would be able to absorb jute even if the whole of the acreage was under it. Subsequently in view of the change in the situation caused by the entry of Japan into the war, the Chief Minister of Bengal came to Delhi, and the Government of India even then assured him that there would be no shortage in the demand for jute at all. The Chief Minister added that the Government of Bengal on their own responsibility could shorten the acreage in response to the popular demand, but if having done that, in spite of the advice of the Government of India, prices were to fall, the Government of Bengal could not expect any financial help from the Government of India about which he had obtained an assurance. Replying to a question in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 15th September, 1942, the Minister for Agriculture stated that of the eleven members of the Advisory Board on jute regulation present at its meeting on the 23rd September, 1941, six (being growers' representatives), favoured a reduction to 5 annas in terms of the 1940 crop, 4 representatives of the jute trade wanted a larger acreage varying from 8 to 12 annas, and the representative of the mill-owners desired to have a 12 annas acreage; and that the Government of Bengal after consultation with the Government of India, decided on a ten annas acreage or a hundred per cent excess over the figure approved by the growers. The Minister added that in view of the shipping difficulties which were being experienced "of late," Government had since decided to advise the growers to sow jute at less than their licensed acreage, "*but in no case at less than 8 annas of the acreage recorded in their names in 1940.*" In thus forcing the jute growers to grow more jute than they desired, the Government of Bengal were virtually a tool in the hands of the Government of India. In explaining the position, the Commerce Member of the Government of India made a statement in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 11th February, 1943, admitting that the acreage for the year 1942 was fixed at a higher figure than that recommended by the Jute Advisory Board, on the ground that an acceptance of the recommendation would have resulted in a shortage of raw materials which were intended to meet urgent and important demands for jute goods from abroad. It was further admitted by the Commerce Member that the attitude of the Government of Bengal in this matter was influenced by the advice and assurances given by the Government of India. It will be observed that the Government policy in this matter was being resolutely pursued even after Japan had invaded Burma and transport of rice from Burma had become difficult due to the insecurity of the Bay of Bengal. When at last in the third week of March, 1942, a fortnight after the fall of Rangoon, the acreage of jute was ordered to be reduced from 10 annas to 8 annas, the mischief had already been done and it was hardly possible to give effect to the reduction. The reduced figure was still in excess of the proposal of the jute growers' themselves by 60 per cent. It is noteworthy that 8 annas was decreed by the Government as an irreducible minimum in every case regardless of the critical situation about Bengal's supply of rice. Thus, while one Department of the Government of India was contemplating the initiation of the 'grow more food' movement, another Department of the same Government was encouraging the Government of Bengal to launch upon a 'grow more jute' campaign. It remains to be added that the prospects of absorption of large quantities of jute by America were not realised in practice.

The above indicates the organisation of the Food Front while India went to war. No account was taken of the normally deficient condition of the country and of the imperative necessity of making adequate arrangements for the supply of foodstuffs from abroad so as to be able to meet the stress and strain that would surely result from the war. The inevitability of increased consumption of foodstuffs due to the standard of feeding conditions of the fighting forces, represented by 20 lakhs of Indian soldiers and the ever-increasing number of white troops, and the wastage inseparable from conditions of large-scale purchases and storage on this account, do not seem to have received due consideration. The comparative extravagance of the living conditions of the white troops is a matter of common experience, and the standard of the comforts, notably in the matter of food supplies, allowed to foreign prisoners of war in India is also well-known. These and other factors, such as the influx of foreign evacuees and evacuees from Burma, have combined to put an unduly heavy strain on the already deficient food supply in India. Accurate information regarding purchases of foodgrains on behalf of the fighting

forces ever since the beginning of the war is lacking. Government are reluctant to furnish details of their transactions in this behalf on grounds of security. India has to feed such of her fighting troops as are stationed in countries overseas, but no parity of reasoning obviously applies to the case of non-Indian troops stationed in India whose supply of daily bread is of no concern to their mother countries. Reports are received on unimpeachable authority from time to time as regards rejection and destruction of large quantities of foodstuffs at the instance of the military on the ground of their unsuitability for consumption. Though the truth of such reports is sometimes officially denied, one cannot be expected to disbelieve the testimony of human senses in such cases. In one instance, large quantities of wheat are known to have been destroyed by the Military authorities on the ground of their unsuitability for consumption, in spite of non-official suggestions that they might be sold at a reduced rate in the market. The Departmental rules evidently provide for no alternative to destruction of such condemned stuff. The quantities of foodstuffs that had to be left behind in the Arakan area by the Allied troops during the recent campaign, will perhaps never be known. These are normal incidents of warfare, and it is hard to believe that in determining their policy regarding supplies of foodstuffs for the fighting forces, Government do not take account of the inevitable wastage involved in the feeding of an expanding Army and the uncertainties of the fortunes of war.

A Press note published on the 23rd August, 1943, states that the annual requirements of the Defence Services in India, in respect of wheat and rice, are 5 lakh tons and 1 lakh 44 thousand tons respectively. Sir Azizul Huq, the then Food Member, in his speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 9th August, 1943, stated that the total purchases of wheat and rice for Defence purposes from January to July, 1943, amounted to 279,000 tons and would feed two million men in the Army. Nowhere has any attempt been made to indicate the *actual* purchases made in the past for the Defence Services, year by year. I have reason to believe that enormous stocks of foodgrains were acquired and stored in the past for the use of the Defence Services, and that the figures given in the Press note and by Sir Azizul Huq do not give a true indication of the nature of such stocks. It is believed that the purchases on account of the Defence Services have lately been comparatively slackened due to the fact that there are large reserve stocks in existence. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that if the stocks of foodgrains are intended primarily for the 20 lakhs of Indian soldiers, the annual requirement as given in the Press note works out at a little over a pound and a half per head per day, or 50 per cent in excess of the figure that the Government of India have lately adopted as the basis of calculation of the annual requirement of the average adult person. In this connexion it must be remembered that the cereals are generously supplemented by other food materials so as to constitute a well-balanced diet in the case of troops.

The export policy of the Government since the outbreak of war has been marked by a recklessness unparalleled in the history of India, except perhaps during the latter part of the last Great War. Complete official statistics are not, however, available to the public to indicate the actual volume of India's exports abroad during the present war. In reply to a question in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 11th February, 1943, the Government Member declined to give figures of exports of foodgrains on Government account, on the ground that they were for the Army and it was not, therefore, "in the public interest" to reveal figures of such exports. The figures that were supplied on this occasion related to exports as well as imports of foodgrains on civil account. The difficulty in properly assessing the gravity of the situation arises largely from the refusal of Government to furnish detailed information on important points. Statements which are now and again made in official speeches and communiques do not permit anything like a comprehensive picture of the situation to be drawn and are sometimes conflicting in character. It is, therefore, not surprising that official statistical statements do not find ready acceptance at the hands of the public. The following is a typical answer given in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 2nd August, 1943:

"QUESTION: (*a*) With reference to the statement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons as reported in *Reuter's* message, dated the 21st January, 1943, to the effect that the question of shipping wheat to India from overseas to tide over before the crop was available in April, was being urgently considered, will the Honourable Member for Food be pleased to make a statement showing, month by month, the quantities of wheat or other food-grains that may have been imported into India from abroad since this statement was made, indicating the quantities thereof supplied to the different Provinces?

"(*b*) Was any part of the above-mentioned ship-

ments diverted for military purposes or earmarked for being utilised in any particular manner?

"ANSWER: (a) and (b)—It is not in the public interest to furnish this information."

We have had conflicting statistical accounts given of the export of rice from Bengal, as well as the extent of the deficit of food supplies in the Province. Statements made on behalf of the Government of India have been known to disagree with statements made sometimes by responsible Ministers in Bengal, and the public in their bewilderment are naturally inclined to draw conclusions altogether adverse to the Government. The fact remains, however, that while the export policy of the Government in respect of foodgrains of all kinds has so far taken no account of the minimum requirements of the civilian population, the export of rice, which was particularly in deficit, has been allowed to continue from Bengal and other areas even after the gravity of the food situation had become apparent. The following table indicates the excess of import over export of foodgrains in India:

	1938	1939	1940	1941
	Tons	Tons	Tons	Tons
All food-grains	463,646	2,155,940	1,230,844	503,863
Rice	820,442	2,011,547	1,263.120	793,415

Incidentally, the above table indicates the large preponderance of import over export in respect of rice as compared with the corresponding figures in respect of all foodgrains. The excess of the figures for Rice in three years out of four is explained by the excessive exports of foodgrains other than Rice in those years largely neutralizing the figures of the excess of imports of Rice.

The average annual excess of import of foodgrains over export during these years works out at 1,088,573 tons. This goes to show that in these four years, as generally in the past, India had to depend upon an excess of imports over exports for the purpose of supplying her needs. When, however, we come to the year 1942, the position is reversed altogether, and we find that there was an import of 190,174 tons (including 163,803 tons of rice) against an export of 354,450 tons (including 230,358 tons of rice), or an excess of 164,276 tons (including 66,582 tons of rice) of export over import. It is to be added that all these figures, which were supplied in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 11th February, 1943, relate only to the trade on civilian account, and do not include exports on Government account, as stated above.

An official *communique* dated New Delhi, the 22nd August, 1943, tries to refute the allegation that heavy exports of foodgrains from India, and from Bengal in particular, are continuing. It gives the figures of total export of foodgrains from India during 1942-43, and separately for seven months of 1943. It is mentioned that exports amounting to 92,173 tons of foodgrains, including 70,972 tons of rice, have been allowed between January and July, 1943, to Ceylon, the Persian Gulf or African ports and islands where there are Indian communities. It is not mentioned that the statistics of export furnished in this and other Press notes either include or exclude figures of exports of foodgrains on Government account which have been refused to the Central Legislative Assembly on grounds of public interest. One other point arising out of this *communique* deserves examination. It is stated that the total export of foodgrains from India during 1942-43 was 370,000 tons, representing a steady decrease from the 1937-38 figure of over 900,000 tons. I am afraid this gives a one-sided picture of the situation. An official statement of this character should not have omitted to mention that if exports represent a dwindling figure, imports of foodgrains into India, against which these exports have to be set off, represent a tremendous falling off in 1942-43 as compared with 1937-38. The total import of foodgrains in the year 1938 amounted to 1,236,851 tons. This figure was more than doubled in 1939 and came down to 1,644,479 tons in 1940, and 1,221,808 tons in 1941, whereas the import figure of all foodgrains stood at only 190,174 tons in the 11 months of 1942, representing a drop to roughly 11 per cent of the figure of annual imports in 1938 and 1941. A reduction in exports of 530 thousand tons is clearly not sufficient to counteract the effects of decrease in imports of over a million tons. With the import of foodgrains, on which India so largely depends even in normal years, thus severely cut down, there was no justification for allowing any export from India at all from 1942.

In a broadcast statement made by Major-General Wood, Secretary to the Food Department, on the 16th of April, 1943, it was announced that Government of India intended to buy foodgrains to the value of something over 100 crores of rupees during the next 12 months, that the amounts to be surrendered by Provinces and States which had more than they required, as well as amounts to be received by those in deficiency, had been determined, and that the Central Government was going to buy foodgrains, to move them from one place to

another and also to build up a reserve stock to establish and maintain an equilibrium of supplies and prices all over the country. This was flamboyantly described by the Major-General as the "blueprint for the future." In reply to a question in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 28th July, 1943, the Government stated that the provinces in deficiency were Assam, Bengal, Bombay, Baluchistan, Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, North-West Frontier Province, Orissa, Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi, and that it was not in the public interest to give the amounts of their estimated deficits. It appears from another statistical statement made in the Central Assembly that the total quantity of foodgrains purchased up to the 15th June, 1943, in pursuance of the policy announced on the 16th April. amounted to 997,400 tons, that the quantity despatched out of the above to provinces other than Bengal up to that date amounted to 649,400 tons, and that the quantity taken into reserve stock was *nil*, and further that Bengal got one lakh 22 thousand tons, or about 1/8th of the total quantity purchased. In a subsequent statement in the Central Assembly, however, the aggregate deficit for all these areas was shown as 4,743 thonsand tons, including Bengal's deficit of 2,198 thousand tons. Thus, while Bengal's deficit represented 46 per cent of the total deficit, her share in the foodgrains purchased at the instance of the Government of India up to the 15th June, 1943, was only about 12 per cent. On the 17th of May, that is just a month after the Major-General's "blueprint" was published, the Government policy was radically changed by the announcement of the withdrawal of restrictions on inter-provincial transfers of foodgrains within what was described as the "Eastern Zone" comprising the provinces of Assam, (excluding the Assam Valley), Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Eastern States, excluding the States of Kanker, Bastar, Patna, Kalahandi, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Chhuikhadan and Kawardha. This radical modification of the Major-General's "blueprint" so far as the "Eastern-Zone" is concerned, did not appreciably ease the situation in Bengal, though it had the effect of producing an immediate rise in the price of foodgrains in the other provinces and States due to the incursion of privileged speculators and profiteers. The "free trade" policy, however, had to be reversed as a result of a conference of representatives of provincial Governments and States held at Delhi within seven weeks of its inauguration.

At a Press conference held in Calcutta on the 13th May, 1943, Major-General Wood gave the assurance that foodgrains, including rice and its substitutes, wheat and gram, to the extent of 793,000 tons were being provided by the Central Government for Bengal, but only a very small fraction of this quantity had in fact been delivered to Bengal up to the 2nd August, 1943. The "blueprint" has long faded into the background, and Bengal is now virtually thrown on the mercy of the surplus provinces, notably the Punjab, and upon Sir Edward Benthall's fast-moving railway wagons. Sir Edward is counting his despatches in millions of pounds presumably for better effect. How efficiently the work of removal of foodgrains from the Punjab has so far been executed, appears from a recent Press statement issued by a Punjab Minister that the Government of India had been able to arrange for the removal of only 28 per cent of the foodgrains purchased in the months of May, June and July by the Punjab Government on their behalf.

The policy now supposed to be pursued by the Government of India, as a result of their latest somersault, contemplates a "basic quota" within the limits of which the deficit Provinces and States would be free to make direct approach to the surplus areas for the purchase of foodgrains. Asked in the Central Legislative Assembly, on the 2nd August, 1943, as to what the figures of the "basic quotas" were in respect of the different deficit areas, the Government replied that it was not in the public interest to give these figures. A further enquiry as to whether the "basic quota" for Bengal was in any way based upon the Provincial deficit in foodgrains for the current year, which was estimated by the Government of Bengal at over 20 lakhs of tons (*vide* statements in the Bengal Council on the 24th February, 1943, and 15th July, 1943), elicited the illuminating reply that the quota had been fixed on a consideration of the availability of supplies and the requirements stated by the Provincial authorities. It is obvious that the "availability of supplies," rather than requirements on the basis of actual deficit, has determined the "basic quota" for Bengal.

The Government of India policy from the very beginning consisted in denying that there was any shortage at all in the supply of foodstuffs in the country, and avoiding proper remedial measures. The whole situation was

repeatedly proclaimed to be due to mal-distribution and hoarding. If such propaganda alone could save the situation, there would be a plentiful supply of food in the country by now. Latterly, however, the shortage has been admitted, by the Government of India, as well as by the Government of Bengal whose anti-hoarding drives, undertaken with so much furore, have only served to reveal a ghastly picture of starvation and insufficiency of supplies everywhere. It will be beyond the scope of this article to attempt an examination of the steps taken by the Government of Bengal towards either aggravating or easing the situation. According to official statements, hoards are supposed to have been unearthed within the Province here and there, and yet the position has been steadily deteriorating in Bengal. On the 21st August, 1943, the Government of Bengal formally announced the fixing of ceiling prices for paddy and rice at certain figures to be gradually reduced in the course of a few months, obviously in view of the forthcoming *aus* crop. Supplies are claimed to be steadily rushed from outside the Province; and as if in direct response to all these heroic efforts, the price of rice in Calcutta as well as in the interior simultaneously shot up to record figures within a few days of these official pronouncements. The price at which small rations of rice had been sold in controlled shops in Calcutta for months past for the benefit of the poorer people has been raised by the Government of Bengal from 6 annas to 8 annas per seer with effect from the 23rd August. If supplies are really increasing and the prospects of the next crop are really encouraging, it is difficult to explain this phenomenon of steadily rising prices, particularly in the face of the Provincial Government's declared determination to control them. The steadily rising level of prices of foodgrains in Bengal has led the supplying Provinces and States to raise the issue as to whether they can be expected to supply the grains at the prices that they have been charging. In many cases, the price received in the supplying Provinces and States is less than 50 per cent of the prices these articles fetch in the markets of Bengal. No reasonable hypothesis can explain the enormously increased prices which are charged for these articles in the consuming centres. This unjustifiable disparity is almost on a par with that between the notified ceiling prices of paddy and of rice, for, according to ordinary experience, the price of rice is not near about double that of paddy as has been assumed in the Bengal Government Notification. Controlling authorities have been multiplied and the natural channels of trade have been choked. Agents and middlemen have been chosen on grounds of favouritism, racial, communal, or otherwise. In working out the cost, artificial discounts and allowances are given on perfectly flimsy considerations. Allegations even of a far worse character are also freely made by the public. The whole transaction from beginning to end has been of such a lamentably scandalous character that a thorough enquiry into all its aspects deserves to be immediately undertaken by a Committee consisting of men of high integrity and authority, including at least two High Court Judges, and one Accountant-General. Without some such authoritative and meticulous investigation into the working of the machinery of control, purchase and supply of foodstuffs, at every step, the evils that prevail will never be brought to light or effectively checked.

Whether it be the Secretary of State for India, or the Member for War Transport, or the Regional Food Commissioner, every one seems to be obsessed with the importance of supplying the needs of Calcutta and her neighbourhood. The uncontrolled operations of organised bodies of employers in Calcutta, notably British, have led to hoarding on tremendous scales, about the extent of which the public will perhaps never be allowed to have an adequate idea. Till the end of June, 1943, even the Provincial Government enjoyed no legal powers to require employers to take out licenses for the storage of foodgrains or to submit returns (*vide* answer to a question in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 2nd August, 1943). The anti-hoard drive of July, 1943, deliberately excluded Calcutta and Howrah areas, and thus facilitated the flight of a large proportion of available foodgrains from the interior to these excluded areas, benefiting directly or indirectly, once again, the privileged hoarders, whether they were employers of labour or othewise. Even now, Sir Edward Benthall does not seem to be aware of the tragic situation in rural Bengal, and in his generosity towards Calcutta, Howrah and their industrial neighbourhood, calculates the foodgrains transported by rail as being sufficient to feed 3 million people at the rate of 2½ pounds a day per head, adding that the population of Calcutta and Howrah is 2½ millions. Though the anti-hoard drive in the interior of the province has admittedly disclosed "deficits practically in all places"—to use the words of the Bengal Minister of Civil Supplies—the needs

of rural Bengal have never received adequate attention at the hands of the authorities; and the full extent of the grim tragedy that is being enacted in the mofussil districts will never perhaps be disclosed.

The serious shorage that actually prevails can no longer be a matter of speculation, and it is idle to expect the shortage to be removed unless large shiploads of foodgrains continuously pour in from abroad. A section of the food armadas kept ready by the Allied Powers for the relief of enemy-occupied Europe may well be diverted to India; and as an immediate masure of relief, the Military authorities, Railways, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Port Trust of Calcutta may be asked to spare a portion of their large stocks, held within the borders of Bengal, as a temporary loan to the Provincial authorities.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

Four years of war is coming to a close, the fifth year will begin in a few days time. The indications are that the fifth year may bring in the turn of the tide for the Allies. But in a war like the present one, with world-wide ramifications and complications, nothing can be regarded as a certainty. A missed opportunity, prolonged delay in action or action with insufficient force may throw the entire offensive plan out of gear even now. Delay there has been, without doubt. "Cassandra" of the *Daily Mirror*, London, wrote thus in *September 1941* :—" If our own military position does not permit of an assault on any single part of Hitler's 2000-mile western front, then Russian hopes should not have been raised by the joint telegram from President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill....Five hundred hours ago! France crumbled in less time than that. Five hundred hours! Plenty of time to lose hope. Plenty of time in which to die."

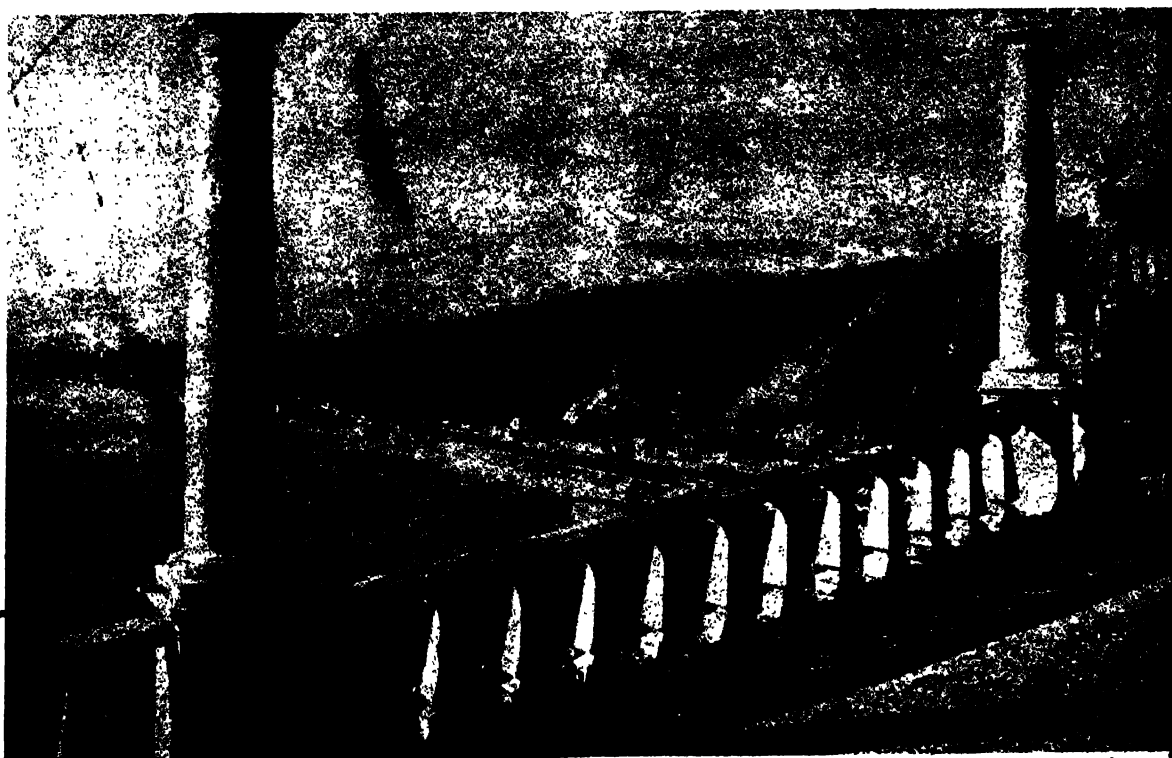
The five hundred hours have lengthened into over eighteen thousand hours and, though millions have died, Russia has not yet lost hope! Indeed she has staged a fighting " come-back" —which culminated into the storming of Kharkov —the like of which has not even been imagined in the history of human warfare. But there is no doubt that this great counter-offensive had its birth in the new hopes of mass action and mass aid from the rest of the Allies, in co-ordination with the tremendous assault *en masse* on the German lines in the Eastern front. The evacuation of Sicily by the Axis was a pointer that indicated beyond all doubt that the German High Command not only feared and expected such action but considered it so imperative to prepare for meeting the impending shock at the earliest hour that it was willing to sacrifice all considerations of " keeping face " before its own peoples, even though it meant a lowering of the civilian morale.

The Quebec deliberations are said to presage Great Events in the near future, in Asia as well as in Europe. New commanders have been nominated and a new orientation in the Allied war strategy has been enunciated for the Asiatic fronts. It now remains to be seen how soon all these plans are to be translated into action. China and Russia have been reduced to sore straits, specially where the needs of the civilian population are concerned. Here in India too things are fast deteriorating—thanks to the extreme incapacity of those who are in supreme control.

The original news-reports from Quebec regarding a full-scale offensive against Japan have been somewhat modified by the later semi-official press comments. There are no clear statements indicating anything definite beyond the appointment of Lord Mountbatten to the Supreme Command of the Allied forces operating in the proposed new theatre of war. Another conference of the Allied Supreme War-Council is said to be imminent, this time at Washington. No comments can be made until some more light is obtainable on the Allied plans. The campaigning season in Europe has about ten weeks more to run and that on the Indian frontier about eight weeks to start.



Naples with Vesuvius. The most bombed area in Italy now



Taormina and Mt. Etna. The scene of the last stand of the Axis in Sicily



"Lightning" fighter planes for the U. S. Army Air Forces receive finishing touches on an outdoor assembly line at an aircraft factory on the U. S. West Coast



A B-24 bomber flies away after a U. S. Air Force squadron scored hits on a Japanese cargo vessel off Kairiru Island on the northern coast of New Guinea

SOCIAL SECURITY

By SAMAR RANJAN SEN, M.A.
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It has long been recognised by all progressive people that social insecurity is a scandal which no civilised society should tolerate. This consciousness has deepened with the progress of civilisation. As our social life has become more and more complex, the problem has assumed rather a greater importance instead of disappearing. We are only too aware that citizens are subject to destitution in our social system through no fault of their own. Workers are subject to a variety of risks which include industrial accidents and occupational disease, sickness and old age, loss of market for want of their skill through technological changes, and above all unemployment.

Although due to ignorance, inertia and vested interests, not much has been done in many countries uptil now for eradicating this evil, "Freedom from Want" is an ideal which has stirred the civilised man's mind for a long time now. Of course, abolition of want by itself is not enough and is only one aspect of an attack upon the "five giant evils," namely, physical want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. But in so far as it is the condition precedent for the rest, it is the most urgent.

Years of experience and study have convinced all social thinkers that state provision is essential for doing the very least about social security. And there are many who hold that social security is an ideal which can be achieved only under socialism.

The British Poor Relief Act of 1601 which tried to deal with the relief of destitution can be regarded as the starting point of state provision for social security in modern times. But compulsory social insurance, which alone can be regarded as something approaching social security in the true sense of the term, began in 1883 with the passage of an accident insurance act in Germany under the influence of Bismarck, who sought to combat socialistic propaganda by developing a paternalistic state. The system was soon extended to sickness and old age dependency. Gradually other nations adopted similar measures and these were soon extended to cover losses from unemployment, particularly since 1911 when Britain adopted her National Insurance Act. Before the present War national social insurance in one form or another had become an established institution in several progressive countries. It was, however, left to the U. S. S. R. to initiate a scheme of comprehensive social security. While in all other countries existing schemes of social insurance are schemes for employees, in the U. S. S. R. there is provision for social security for all citizens.

As the result of a large number of piecemeal legislations, Britain now provides for widows', orphans' and old age pensions, industrial insurance, sickness benefit and unemployment insurance. These are partly contributory and partly non-contributory, but, not being comprehensive, are full of anomalies. Still, outside Russia, British provision for social security is not excelled by any other country except perhaps New Zealand. The development of British measures for social security may be briefly noticed as follows:

It has been already mentioned that the Poor Relief Act of 1601 was the first important statute to deal with the relief of destitution. For about 300 years after this not much was done in this direction. The next step was taken in 1897 when the Workmen's (Compensation for Accidents) Act provided for compensation for death or incapacity suffered due to an accident in certain specially dangerous industries. Agriculture was added three years later. In 1906 the scheme was extended to cover certain industrial diseases and practically all employees except relatively highly paid non-manual workers and out-workers.

In 1908 the Old Age Pensions Act was passed which enabled people to receive a pension of 1 to 5 shillings a week on reaching the age of 70 subject to a means test. This was non-contributory and was not subject to the stigma of poor relief.

In 1911 two important contributory schemes of insurance against ill health and unemployment were enacted. Firstly, provision was made for the payment of sickness, disablement and maternity cash benefits and for a general practitioner and certain other medical benefits for the insured person. The scheme was compulsory and contributory and covered almost all manual workers under contract service and low-paid non-manual workers between the ages of 16 and 70. Secondly, provision was made for a compulsory and contributory scheme of

insurance against unemployment in certain skilled industries. In 1920 the scope of unemployment insurance was considerably extended and covered over 11 million workers including low-paid non-manual workers. In 1936 a special scheme was started for agricultural workers. The main changes since 1920, however, have turned on the treatment of long-term unemployment. For example, in 1931 the responsibility for the needs of the long-term unemployed was placed directly on the exchequer subject to a means test. This test took account of the resources of the household upto 1941 but has become purely personal since that year.

In 1925 an Act was passed which provided the first national scheme of contributory pensions. Under this Act pensions @ 10 shillings a week (with allowances for young children) became payable to the widows of insured men, @ 7/6 a week to their orphans and @ 10 a week to all old persons over the age of 70 who had been insured under the Health Insurance scheme prior to attaining that age. From 1928 pensions @ 10 began to be paid to persons of ages 65-70. In 1929 the scope of pensions to widows was extended to include the widows aged 55 or more of men of the insurable class who died before January 1926. In 1937 the benefits of voluntary insurance for widows', orphans' and old age pensions were extended to persons with small incomes, who had not the requisite qualifications of insurable employment under the original scheme. For the first time married women were entitled to become voluntary contributors for pensions. From 1940 the old age pension of 10 a week was made payable as from the age of 60, instead of 65, to an insured woman and to the wife of an insured man who had himself attained the age of 65.

The scope of all these social insurance measures will be apparent from the fact that in 1938-39 their total estimated cost was £342 millions of which the National Exchequer paid £212 millions. Out of a total population of 46·5 millions, 15·4 millions were insured under the Unemployment Insurance scheme, 19·7 millions under the Health Insurance scheme and 20·6 millions under Widows', Orphans' and Old Age insurance schemes. The actual recipients in that year of all forms of benefit and assistance from the State numbered more than 5 million souls. Excluding Out-relief, Unemployment Assistance and Blind Persons Assistance, cash benefits paid under various social insurance schemes alone amounted to £55 millions for unemployment insurance, £18·6 millions for Health Insurance, £78·8 millions for contributory Widows', Orphans' and Old Age pensions, £15·3 millions for non-contributory Widows', Orphans' and Old Age pensions and £6·8 millions for Workmen's compensation. It should not be forgotten that in addition to these, the great expansion of the Health, Education, Housing and other social services in recent years has given considerable relief to the citizen without placing any cash in his pocket.

As the International Labour Office has pointed out:

> The existing British system "excels in point of (1) its scheme of unemployment insurance, embracing practically the entire employed population, including agricultural workers; (2) its contributory pensions, comparatively adequate as basic pensions, and granted after a comparatively short qualifying period, at comparatively small cost to insured person or employer; (3) its unemployment and old age assistance nationally financed, guaranteeing a tolerable standard of subsistence, and adjusted to the needs of each individual; (4) the continuity of its medical benefit, granted from the first day of insurance, during employment, sickness, unemployment, disablement and old age."

As regards other countries, it is not possible to give here details about social security measures. Suffice it to say that in one form or another there are provisions for compulsory *contributory unemployment insurance* in Australia,[1] Bulgaria, Canada,[2] Italy, New Zealand, Poland, South Africa and the U. S. A.;[3] for *contributory sickness insurance* in Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Equador, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Peru, Poland, Roumania and Yugoslavia; for *contributory pension insurance* in Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Equador, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, Peru, Poland, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay and the U. S. A.; and for *non-contributory pensions benefit with means test* in Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Norway, South Africa and Uruguay. In all the countries mentioned above there are provisions for relief and compensation in cases of occupational incapacity and death. In respect of the scope of provisions for social security only Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, Germany, New Zealand, South Africa and the U. S. A. can stand some comparison with Britain. Like Britain, in all these countries, except New Zealand and less completely Denmark, most

1. New South Wales and Queensland.
2. Ontario.
3. New York, Pennsylvania and California.

schemes of social insurance are limited in effect to employed persons only.

Unlike all the countries mentioned above, the U. S. S. R. has the unique distinction of having in force a novel and most comprehensive social security scheme. The salient points of difference between the practice in the U. S. S. R. and other countries are noted below :

(*i*) In the U. S. S. R. social insurance is extended to all citizens.

(*ii*) There are no contributions by insured persons and all contributions for social security measures are collected exclusively from the various undertakings.

(*iii*) All benefits are fixed as percentages of wages and the percentages vary with the nature of the work and with generally what might be regarded as the value of the worker to the community.

(*iv*) No benefit has been provided for unemployment since 1930, on the ground that there is no unemployment.

(*v*) Old age pensions are paid in proportion to wages to men at 60 after 25 years' service and to women at 55 after 20 years' service. Retirement from work is not a condition of pension.

(*vi*) Occupational incapacity is compensated at the same rate as non-occupational incapacity, though under easier conditions.

(*vii*) In respect of disability, pension is granted equal to full wages or to 75 per cent. of wages or to 50 per cent. of wages according to the degree of disability.

(*viii*) In sickness, benefits are payable from the first day of incapacity, without a waiting time as in other countries.

(*ix*) Free maternity and child welfare services are provided all over the country. Special care is taken of the expectant mother who is given a lighter job and receives 8 weeks' pregnancy leave with full pay.

(*x*) Every kind of medical benefit is provided free of charge and this includes specialist services, drugs, medicines and appliances, orthopædic treatment and artificial limbs, hospital and convalescent treatment and maintenance in sanatoria and rest homes. Medicine is designed to be preventive as well as curative through the establishment of a net-work of clinics and polyclinics all over the country.

It is obvious that provisions made in the U. S. S. R. are far in advance of those made in other countries. Nevertheless, other nations too are now acutely aware of the great need of providing a similar measure of social security for themselves and are anxious to devise means for doing so. But to most of them the real problem is whether it is possible to do so without throwing overboard the system of free enterprise and adopting communism.

The report recently submitted to the British Parliament by Sir William Beveridge seeks to solve this problem for Britain by methods which are little short of revolutionary.. If adopted, it will mean a great stride forward in the history of human progress. The fact that such an enquiry could be instituted and a report could be submitted in the midst of a great national travail is a glowing testimony to the great constructive genius of the British people.

The Beveridge plan for social security seeks to develop the existing British schemes, in four directions :

"It unifies them while providing for variety of benefit and administration where difference is justified; it extends the scope of insurance to all citizens; it raises benefits to subsistence level and makes them adequate in time, and it gives new benefits."

The main features of the scheme may be briefly explained as follows :

It provides for social insurance which ensures freedom from want and is compulsory and applicable to all persons without any regard for sex, age, income or job. It will be administered by a Minister of Social Security and will be conducted on contribution basis with employers and employees contributing. For the first time housewives are recognised as a social class performing special services and having special needs. The scheme ensures a basic minimum of income to every one in need irrespective of the cause of the need and provides a flat rate of benefit not varying with earnings which have been lost. This insurance is to be granted as a matter of right and for eligibility to the benefits of the scheme there is to be no means test, no income limit and no restriction as to people's productive status. Special provisions have been made with regard to children and old people. All other persons will be covered in respect of risks which threaten them with hardship and want, such as sickness, unemployment, maternity, widowhood and death. Free medical and hospital treatment of every kind will be provided for every citizen. There will be a "wives' charter" including marriage grant, increased maternity benefits and widows' pensions.

Coming to concrete proposals the plan considers the needs of the population in six main classes, *viz* :

I. Employed persons normally working under contract of service.

II. Other gainfully occupied persons.

III. House-wives (including those who follow a gainful occupation).

IV. Other persons of working age not gainfully occupied.

V. Children below working age.

VI. Persons who have attained pensionable age and have retired from work.

It assumes as necessary prior conditions that an adequate scheme of allowances for children (Class V) will be established, and that the whole population will be covered by a comprehensive scheme of medical treatment and health services.

It proposes that all persons who have attained the minimum pensionable age, *viz.*, 65 for men and 60 for women, and have retired from work (Class VI) will be entitled to retirement pension if the requisite contributions have been paid by them. Those who do not satisfy these conditions will be eligible for an assistance pension dependent on means.

All employed persons (Class I) will be insured for disability benefit, continuing so long as they are unable on account of incapacity to follow a gainful occupation, an industrial pension (of larger amount) being substituted therefor in the case of persons suffering from prolonged disability due to industrial accident or disease. They will be insured also for unemployment benefit, payable so long as they are available for, but unable to obtain, work.

Other gainfully occupied persons (Class II) will be insured for disability benefit commencing after the first 13 weeks of illness.

The other principal benefits are: a variety of special benefits for married women; benefit for widows; and a universal funeral grant.

The more important provisional rates of benefit suggested by Sir William are as follows:

Unemployment, Disability and Training Benefit.—	Shillings per week
Man and not gainfully occupied wife (jointly)	40/-
Man with gainfully occupied wife not on benefit	24/-
Single man or woman, aged 21 and upwards	24/-
Married woman gainfully occupied when herself on benefit ..	16/-
Retirement Pension.—	
Man and not gainfully occupied wife (jointly)	40/- basic
Single man or woman	24/- „
Maternity Benefit (13 weeks).—	
Married woman gainfully occupied, in addition to maternity grant ..	36/-
Widow's Benefit (13 weeks).— ..	36/-
Dependent Allowance.—	16/-
Children's Allowance (average).— ..	8/-
Industrial Pension.—	
For total disability ..	⅔rds of assessed weekly earnings subject to a maximum and minimum.
For partial disability ..	Proportionate to loss of earning power.
Marriage Grant.— ..	Up to a maximum of £10.
Maternity Grant [illegible]	£4.
Funeral Grant [illegible]	£20.

It should be noted that these rates mean [illegible] increases in the weekly payments to the unemployed and disabled people—56 shillings weekly for a man with a wife and two children, compared with the existing rates of 38 shillings for unemployment and only 18 shillings for disability.

With certain exceptions, all persons in Classes I, II and IV, and gainfully occupied housewives in Class III, must pay contributions related to the benefits for which they are covered. A person in Class II or IV whose total income is less than £75 a year and a gainfully occupied housewife may elect to be exempt from payment of contributions, with the loss of benefit rights resulting from such contributions.

Certain rates of contribution proposed to be charged for contributors in the various classes are set out below:

WEEKLY RATES OF CONTRIBUTION

	Class I			Class II	Class IV
	Insured person	Employer	Joint contribution		
Men.—Aged 21 & over	4/3	3/3	7/6	4/3	3/9
Women.—Aged 21 & over	3/6	2/6	6/-	3/9	3/-

For the purpose of these contributions housewives come under Class I or Class II according to the nature of their occupation.

The total cost of the new scheme is estimated to be £697 millions in 1945 rising to £858 millions in 1965. It should be noted that the aggregate expenditure is estimated to be £415 millions in 1945 under existing social insurance schemes and allied services. The new scheme is expected to cost the Exchequer something like £500 millions a year and impose a permanent load of income tax of about 7 shillings to 8 shillings in the pound.

In view of the fact that the scheme challenges vested interests in a hundred ways it is not strange that it should raise a host of controversies. To some pursuit of security appears to be a wrong aim, as something inconsistent with initiative, adventure and personal responsibility. To others income security as envisaged by the Beveridge scheme is a wholly inadequate aim. There are some who would not look at it before victory is won or would prefer security from aggression to social security. There are yet others who plead caution and are afraid that the cost of the plan will fall on industry and

will break the camel's back in a competitive world. But none of these should prove an insuperable difficulty. The 'national minimum income' which the scheme proposes is rather intended to encourage individual initiative to earn more than the minimum and not to curb it. The scheme is but the starting point of more ambitious projects and social security is too urgent a requirement to yield place to any other consideration. It is, moreover, not unreasonable to suppose that the nation's productive power will increase through improved spiritual and physical standard of the population. And as the *Times* has said, though the sums are large their magnitude is not of such an order as to intimidate any Chancellor of the Exchequer who has faith in the future of Britain. The scheme has given a concrete and essentially practicable shape to what was until recently a vague ideal. Sooner or later the British Parliament will have to accept the scheme and implement it. There are signs that other important countries too are considering similar schemes. New Zealand has already prepared her own comprehensive scheme of social security.

Naturally, the question arises in our mind: What about India? The fifth clause of the Atlantic Charter declares the desire of the leaders of the United Nations, "to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security." Surely the World cannot achieve social security if 400 millions of Indians are left out of the picture.

Uptil now practically nothing has been done in India by way of even relief of destitution not to speak of freedom from want. Except for a very inadequate provision for compensation against occupational incapacity and death for certain classes of industrial workers nothing has been done by way of social insurance in this country. There is no provision for sickness benefit or unemployment insurance or widows', orphans' and old age pensions.

India, no doubt, is a poor country but she is not certainly poorer than Russia was in 1918. It is high time now that we should have a social security programme, at least on a modest scale. It should not be difficult to provide for poor relief, non-contributory sickness benefit and contributory unemployment insurance and old age pensions at an early date. A social security budget of about Rs. 100 crores per annum should be sufficient for our urgent needs. If we cannot have freedom from want, we must have at least freedom from intolerable destitution.

To those who think that this is not the time for considering such ambitious projects, we can only say in the memorable words of Sir William Beveridge:

> "That the purpose of victory is to live into a better world than the Old World, that each individual citizen is more likely to concentrate upon his War effort if he feels that his Government will be ready in time with plans for that better World, and that, if these plans are to be ready in time, they must be made now."

THE SOVIET INTELLIGENTSIA IN PATRIOTIC WAR

By PAVEL PERMYAKOV

The Hitlerites hate the Soviet intelligentsia. In territory, temporarily occupied by Germans, the Soviet intelligentsia is subjected to the most infamous of outrages. Teachers, physicians, Soviet office-employees and their families suffer the most cruel treatment at the hands of the Hitlerite beasts.

One reason why the Hitlerites hate the Soviet intelligentsia so much is that, in these days of the patriotic war it has displayed amazing courage, fortitude, an ardent patriotism and also burning hatred against the German brigands. The Soviet scientists—both young and old—know better than others what danger fascism represents. Anything touched by the Hitlerite beasts becomes outraged, destroyed and perverted. What have the fascists done with science? They have employed medicine for wholesale poisoning of Soviet children. Their "art workers" they have converted into common robbers looting the cultural treasures of the Soviet Union. Their historians they have made dishonest falsifiers who forge facts in order to justify fascist brutalities and violence against nations.

In the Soviet land have been created all the conditions and opportunities for every person, possessing a searching mind and having scientific ambitions, to apply his gifts and develop his creative faculties. That is why, the Soviet intelligentsia—the blood and flesh of working people—is selflessly fighting on the front and behind the lines together with workers and peasants who are defending the country's freedom and independence.

There are many hundreds of thousands of intellectuals who heroically fight on the fronts in the capacity of privates and commanders. At the same time, they maintain contact with comrades at work writing and telling about the success of their struggle against the hated enemy. Here, for instance, is the letter which the science workers, professors and students of the Saratov (Teachers' College have received from the front from Lieut. Vassili Petrov, who was formerly a student of this college :

"I feel a strong desire to live, study and engage myself in favourite scientific pursuits.

This love for life gives rise to contempt for death, fearlessness and daring. I am firmly convinced that the Russian land has been, and will be, the grave of the German fascist invaders. Our great people are invincible. That is the thought inspiring me in battle."

That, indeed, is the watchword of thousands of representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia who are fighting on the front.

The modern war of engines is waged not only by troops at the front, but by factories, and laboratories, designing bureaus and scientific research institutes; it is waged with the creative weapons of writers and poets, artists and musicians, teachers and actors.

The war has shown that the Red Army's weapons, far from being inferior in quality, are better than the enemy's weapons. It is well-known that Soviet aviation excels the German in quality and Soviet tanks are better than those of Germany. It is likewise well-known that the Soviet artillery is superior to that of Germany. Stalingrad has furnished the most cogent proof of this fact. And all these divers weapons have been created with the direct participation and under the guidance of Soviet scientists, engineers and designers. That is the contribution of the Soviet intelligentsia to the war effort.

Before the war, too, the creative thought of the Soviet patriots was hard at work. A world-wide fame has been gained by the hero of Socialist labour, Degtyarev, the creator of new and highly important types of armament for the Red Army; Academician Chaplygin, head of the Soviet School of Theoretical aerodynamics, who has discovered the means of considerably increasing the speed of combat planes; the hero of Socialist Labour, Burdenko, the Chief Surgeon of the Red Army, Shpitalny, Kotin, Grabin, Y[illegible]ev, Ilyush[illegible] and Mikulin [illegible]the [illegible] types of aeroplanes, tanks, guns [illegible] [illegible] that these [illegible]

In wartime [illegible] weekly paym[illegible] science and that of creative [illegible] [illegible]gical thought has greatly enhanced. Among other glorious deeds of Soviet patriots, history records the names and deeds of Soviet scientists, engineers and designers. The greatest among the Soviet scientists and academicians who enjoy a world-wide fame, and hundreds of scientific workers of laboratories and institutes are performing a great service by increasingly mobilizing the vast resources of the Soviet Union, by devising new technological methods of production and new types of weapons.

Likewise the Soviet physicians, agronomists, writers, dramatists, composers and teachers are performing their noble duty in wartime. Millions of Soviet intellectuals devote all their abilities to the cause of the defence of the country and the achievement of speedy victory over the hated enemy.

A vivid indication of the further progress of Soviet science, technology, literature and arts in these days of the patriotic war are the Stalin Prizes awarded by the Soviet Government. Twice, since the beginning of the war, have such prizes been awarded for the outstanding achievements of science, technology, literature and arts. This year Stalin Prizes have been awarded also for outstanding inventions and important improvements in the methods of production. Among those awarded the Stalin Prizes this year is Anna Yutkina, the link leader of the "Red Perekop" collective-farm, who has introduced new farming methods which have enabled her to obtain, in 1942, a record of potato harvest—namely, 1390 metric centners per hectare. Academician Lysenmo and the collective-farm woman, Anna Yutkina, have deservedly earned the Stalin Prize. The creative efforts of the Soviet people know no bounds : especially when it is a question of supplying the Red Army with everything necessary for defeating the German invaders.

The enemy has not succeeded in breaking the Soviet land's military might. Nor has he succeeded in breaking the creative spirit of the Soviet people. The patriotic war has rallied still more closely the workers, peasants and intellectuals round the Soviet Government. Representatives of Soviet science and arts, inventors and designers and, indeed, the entire Soviet intelligentsia know that today there is no aim more noble and lofty than defeating fascism and the German fascist brigands. The Soviet intelligentsia defends its country's freedom with honour and, at the same time, freedom and honours all scientific thought outraged by the fascists.

WANG CHING-WEI—JAPANESE PUPPET NO. 1

By RATTAN LALL, M.A., M.O.L.

"Quick and more quick he spins in giddy gyres"—Dryden. No other figure in the modern China has matched Wang's political gyrations. He was in turn execrated and idolized, hounded by assassins and extolled to the skies. In the early twenties Wang's firey pamphlets inspired the Chinese youth with a religious awe. In the spring of 1940 the infuriated Kuomintang circularized chain letters soliciting funds for the murder of Wang.

A red revolutionary, Wang was educated in Tokyo. He became a fiery revolutionary three decades ago. In 1911 he hatched a plot to assassinate the Prince Regent of the Ching Dynasty. In a letter to an accomplice on the eve of the bombing Wang described himself as a "faggot with which to heat the kettle." The plot was unearthed and Wang was clapped in prison. He was not released until the collapse of the monarchy in 1911 when he resumed his revolutionary activities. A spell-binder and 'rabble-rouser' Wang became an ardent second-in-command of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Chinese Revolution.

Henceforth Wang's career was chequered. He played the leftist chameleon. When General Chiang embarked upon his celebrated northern compaign in 1926 Wang was his fervent "Goebbles." Though they fought together, they moved in the glimmer of twilight. They harboured a dark hatred against each other. The Generalissimo was afraid of Wang's intrigues. Wang was envious of his victories. In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria, Wang counselled caution. He was at once dubbed as a Japanese cat's paw and vehemently denounced. In 1935 an assassin took a potshot at him that nearly killed him. With the bullet in his body he proceeded on a "political mission" to Europe. There he came under the spell of totalitarianism.

Wang is an opportunist to the finger nails. When the news of General Chiang Kai-shek's kidnapping was flashed abroad, Wang rushed home to assume the reins of government. His rosy hopes were soon snuffed out. The General was released in thirteen days and resumed his place as the head of the government.

Overtopping Ambition

On the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War Wang was appointed as Deputy Chief of the Kuomintang. A man of towering ambition, Wang could not be content with playing the second fiddle. He had been totally eclipsed. He had become a "might have been" political star. Things looked black and blue. To brighten up his prospects he determined to embark on dark adventures.

In October 1938 a few days after the fall of Canton Wang fled secretly to Tongking. On a dark night gunmen broke into his home in Indo-China and shot his secretary. Wang escaped. For reasons best known to him, he began to truck with the Japanese. He put out peace feelers. He demanded the immediate cessation of the Sino-Japanese hostilities. The Kuomintang officially expelled Wang—the traitor.

A la Quisling

After this treasonable apostasy Wang has been playing the Quisling. The Japanese press began to describe this Tokyo marionette as a dauntless champion of China's independence. Towards the end of 1940 Wang signed his infamous "peace pact" with Japan. In the honeyed words of the preamble the terms were described as "political, economic and cultural co-operation." The word 'co-operation' in Japan's foreign political dictionary means of course 'exploitation.'* The marionette dances to the tunes of the Tokyo pipers.

Leader-lust

He protested that unalloyed patriotism and ardent desire to restore peace in China which was honey-combed with civil strifes were his only motives in concluding peace with Japan. In Japan the Foreign Office spokesman announced the end of forty months of war in China. In Chungking the government offered a $6000 reward for Wang's head!

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*Nanking is recognized as the National Government of the Republic of China and Wang Ching-wei as its President.

Wang is now one of the most important pawns in Japanese daring game in the Pacific. He has been trying to persuade the Chinese that Japan's conscience is clear and her hands clean! The patriots know that he is his-master's voice in a puppet-show!

The Lost Leader

Wang was considered one of the Big Three of the Kuomintang, the others being Hu Han-min and Chiang Kai-shek. Today he is *The Lost Leader*. Ambition is Wang's ruling passion, his besetting sin. Thanks to the inspiring leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese patriots are determined to fight on. They might well say:

> Deeds will be done while he boasts his quiescence
> Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire
>
> * * *
>
> Blot out his name, then record one lost soul more.
> (*The Lost Leader*: Browning)

They know too well what the Japanese aspirations are. It is said that eight million people in Japan belong to a secret society whose creed is:

> "To every corner of the world I reach out and save
> When Japan will be empowered with Holy Creed.
> She will pacify other peoples as she pleaseth;
> They have been called hitherto Japan and foreign lands
> But hereafter there shall be naught but Japan."

In 1927 General Tanaka said:

> "In order to conquer the world we must first conquer China. Having the resources of China at our command we shall proceed to conquer India, the South Seas, Asia Minor and finally Europe."

It is their practical politics as well as philosophy. General Araki in *The Problems of Japan* says:

> "War is the source of life. It gives impulse to the creative culture in the individuals."

THE SHADOW PLAY

By S. R. DONGERKERY

Have you seen a shadow play?
Shadows on the screen
Enter, act and slink away,
Then, no more are seen!

Living men and women pace
Just behind the screen,
Throwing shadows on its face,
Gathered in a scene.

Even so are shadows we,
Seen upon Life's screen;
Here we stir and cease to be:
Have we really been?

Even so behind Life's scene,
Moving on apace,
Shining souls, by eyes unseen,
Shoot through time and space.



THE AMERICAN PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION*

By ROBERT RAND

One of the bulwarks of American democracy is an enlightened public with free access to information and the unshackled expression of opinion. The forces that serve this end with speed, power and mechanical ingenuity are the press, motion pictures, and radio, reaching an audience of millions, linking the United States with the rest of the world.

The oldest and one of the most potent channels of communication—the press of America—is made up of 25,000 different types of publications. The First Amendment to the Constitution guarantees the press complete freedom to print whatever material it wants and to favor whatever cause it pleases, provided the obscenity and libel laws are not violated.

There are over 2100 daily newspapers in the United States, of which 1900 are printed in English. Americans purchase forty-two million copies daily—16½ million every morning and 25½ million every evening—nearly one copy for every three persons in the nation.

Metropolitan newspapers have large circulations but their influence is regional. There is probably no paper in America with the country-wide influence of the London *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* in England. The nearest approach is the *New York Times*, sometimes referred to as the "world's most complete newspaper." It sells nearly five lakhs copies daily and eight lakhs each Sunday. A single Sunday issue of the *Times* weighs about one seer.

The tabloid-size newspaper, featuring pictures, is very popular in the U. S. In fact, the largest circulation of any American newspaper is that of the *New York Daily News*, purchased by two million persons daily and by three and three-fourth millions on Sundays. Launched in 1919, it was the first American tabloid. The vogue has spread and in many American cities, the tabloid is now an established institution.

There is also a large specialized press in the United States. Publications of many kinds include literary papers, trade and financial journals, the foreign-language press, and dailies for Negro readers. The biggest Negro paper in the United States is the *Pittsburgh Courier* with a circulation of one lakh and thirty thousand and the *Chicago Defender* with a circulation of 83,000.

There are 61 "chain" newspaper groups, most of them owning from three to five papers. But papers of this type do not total more than 300.

Servicing the minute-by-minute demand of American newspapers for the latest news and pictures are three great wire services with thousands of employees at home and around the globe. These three are the *Associated Press* of America, the *United Press* of America and the *International News Service*.

The *Associated Press* is a co-operative organization with over 1400 member newspapers. Its news is distributed nationally over 3 lakhs miles of leased wires. Its daily file to the metropolitan papers often runs to more than 2 lakhs words. Newspapers have been bought, merged and suspended for the privilege of obtaining the right to print *Associated Press* news.

The *United Press*, a commercial agency, serves 975 papers in the United States and distributes an average of one lakh and 50 thousand words daily. Its services in South America, China and Japan have been regarded as notable.

The *International News Service*, also privately owned, was launched by William Randolph Hearst. It supplies an average one lakh and 50 thousand words daily to 700 papers.

These press services function day and night, feeding the numerous editions that roll of the presses, sometimes as many as seven and eight in a day.

Small American newspapers depend on the press associations for everything but local news. Large city daily papers use press-service dispatches to supplement the output of their own news-gathering organizations. They maintain large staffs in Washington and the state capitals, to observe and report political developments.

At the White House, President Roosevelt holds press conferences twice weekly, a custom inaugurated by Theodore Roosevelt. Sometimes as many as 300 reporters and special writers attend. They file into the President's office, surround his desk, question him freely on matters great and small. Representatives of newspapers opposed to the President's policies are present on the same terms as those working for friendly papers.

The [illegible]sident's statements invariably are paraphras[illegible] they must not be quoted directly without [illegible]rmission The background material he suppli[illegible] is not attributed to him in any form.

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* A talk delivered at Calcutta University by Robert Rand, Calcutta Director of the U. S. Office of War Information, August 9, 1943.

It sometimes gives information which the press treats as "off the record."

The press associations, as well as the large newspapers, employ foreign correspondents stationed all over the world. In wartime their work becomes more difficult and dangerous. In addition to reporting from the news fronts of the world, they accompany the American fighting forces, sharing the risks of the soldier and the sailor, and in some instances losing their lives. They fly in bombers over Berlin and Burma, are torpedoed at sea, are imprisoned in enemy countries, are wounded on the desert, are an essential part of the military picture on every front.

American war correspondents, while given the privileges of an officer, remain under the employ of their newspaper or press association. The War Department has expressed its full satisfaction with these civilian correspondents, and does not plan to use military correspondents.

There are a small number of military correspondents in the U. S. Marine Corps. These men are called combat reporters, and they fight as well as write. Because the Marines often operate in small units, and in many places, it was not always practical to have them accompanied by civilian correspondents.

Also serving American newspapers with scores of types of special features—from editorial comment to cartoon strips—are some 350 newspaper syndicates. Most American newspapers devote a large amount of space to these widely assorted features, and they have a considerable effect on the habits and outlook of the reading public.

Specialists turn out columns on health, fashion, beauty, science, cooking, sports, gardens, stamps, care of dogs and hundreds of different subjects. The woman's page is also very popular.

The most recent trend in this field is toward commentary. The syndicates now include some of the best journalistic talent in the country. Most famous of the commentators are Walter Lippmann, Raymond Clapper, Dorothy Thompson, David Lawrence, Mark Sullivan, Westbrook Pegler and Eleanor Roosevelt.

The metropolitan newspapers give considerable space to business and financial news and sports news. Baseball and prize fights are always favoured newspaper topics.

After news, sports and finance, the entertainment world absorbs most newspaper space. Large sections in the Sunday papers and many columns in the daily papers are devoted to news and criticism of the arts—to music, books, art, sculpture, the threatre, the cinema, radio, and other cultural and entertainment activities.

A staff of more than 2,000 persons is needed to turn out a large city daily newspaper in America, and a capital investment of at least $5,000,000 is required. The advertising revenue that meets this expenditure has gone up year by year. The annual total advertising revenue of American daily newspapers is about seventy-five crores.

American newspapers are to a considerable extent standardized, carrying the same national and international news, the same columns, cartoons and other features, but all this has contributed as much to the homogeneity of the American people as the motor car. Advertising columns exhibit this same quality, permitting manufacturers to advertise their products in every part of the country. Thus, the residents of a distant small town wear the same clothes, eat the same food and own the same make of cars as the people of New York City.

The weekly and rural press is an important phase of journalism in a country as vast as the United States. Although declining in number, there are still some 7000 town and small city papers devoting themselves chiefly to local affairs and coming into closer contact with their readers than does the city newspaper.

William Allen White of Emporia, Kansas, is an outstanding example of the small-town editor who is well-known throughout the country.

Magazines form another great section of the American press. There are 11,474 magazines in the United States. In 1942, U. S. magazines had a total circulation of almost 186,000,000.

Twenty magazines have a circulation of over one million. Highest circulation is that of the *Reader's Digest* which is sold to eight million persons in the United States, and another one million persons in South America. The weekly picture publication, *Life,* sells four million copies.

Two widely read news weekly magazines supplement the newspapers in keeping the American public informed. *Time* sells over one million copies weekly, while *Newsweek* sells 5 lakhs and 30 thousand. Trade, technical and business publications are numbered in the thousands. They serve to keep businessmen and technicians posted on the latest trends.

Practically every American family reads a newspaper and magazine of some type. National and international affairs are thoroughly discus-

sed, enabling the population as a whole to make major political decisions, despite sectional differences in thought and custom.

Students of journalism dispute the degree of influence the press has in influencing and forming public opinion. There are some editors who believe that the power of the editorial page has declined. These journalists propose a new type of writing, in which interpretation is intentionally included in the news. The New York newspaper, *P.M.*, is the most prominent example of this type of journalism. *P.M.* has no editorial page. However, its opinions are often incorporated in its reporting of the news. *P.M.* accepts no advertising, and thus claims to be free of financial interests.

Other editors believe in every possible distinction between the actual news and the interpretation of the news.

But no matter what its varying editorial policies, or techniques in the presentation of facts and opinions, American press undeniably has a tremendous influence on the thinking and customs of the American people.

In the long run it is the readers, the people of the country, who shape and develop the type of newspapers that are printed. Thus, in the American press you will find the free criticism, the diversity of opinion, the emphasis on democratic ideals, the love for frankness and humor and the impatience to get at the truth that characterize Americans.

The war has added new obligations to the American press at the same time, bringing many difficulties.

The two most important problems have been to obtain a sufficient supply of paper, and maintain an adequate staff. Because of an anticipated 25 percent decline in pulp wood, plus manpower shortages and transportation difficulties, the distribution of paper to newspapers had to be cut. Choosing 1941 as a base year, the U. S. Government permitted each publisher 100 percent of the paper used then for net paid circulation. Less paper has meant less circulation and thus reductions in advertising revenue. Increases in advertising rates were absorbed by the higher costs of paper and the increased wage standards of employees.

American journalism has contributed about 25,000 employees to the war effort, the great bulk of these to the armed forces. Hardest-hit are mechanical departments which gave over five thousand employees. Editorial departments have given almost the same number.

In spite of these operational difficulties, the American press is performing an important function on the home-front. It has helped to explain the complex legislative controls that are part of the war program. The newspapers have done valuable work in publishing the details of rationing. They have been officially praised by the U. S. Government for helping to sell U. S. war bonds. A wartime advertising council has been set up by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and it has prepared numerous government wartime projects, including special advertising programs for government war agencies.

Voluntary self-censorship is exercised, based on recommendations laid down by the Office of Censorship for handling war news. Without having actual legal status, codes of wartime practices for the press and radio were prepared after consultation between government officials and representatives of the publishing and broadcasting industries. The specific information which newspapers and other publications are asked not to carry, include troop movements, ship movements and sinkings, descriptions of airplanes, fortifications, weather, maps, and movements of the President or other high military or diplomatic officials.

Violations of the voluntary censorship are extremely rare. Editors and writers are well aware that the national security is involved.

The entrance of women into the journalistic field which has made rapid strides in recent years, has been doubled and re-doubled during the war. Newspapers all over the nation are hiring women in almost every editorial capacity. Two important daily papers, one in Washington and one in New York, have women editors and publishers.

Newspaper women give and get about the same treatment as men reporters covering the same news. There are now 74 women among the accredited capital correspondents in Washington. This compares with only 20 in 1933.

A comparatively new type of education—the journalism school has developed in the past twenty years. Under present wartime conditions, journalism schools cannot fill the press' wartime personnel needs.

In reflecting the international picture day by day, in bringing news of the war to every family in America, the U. S. press is a potent factor in the fight for victory and peace. True to the tradition of American journalism, it remains free and unafraid.



Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

BASES OF PEACE IN HINDU POLITICAL ECONOMY : *By Robindra Lal Roy. Published by the Author, 18, Ramratan Lane, Adampur, Bhagalpur, Bihar. Pp. 166+vi. Price Rs. 3.*

The author's thesis is that "the economics of freedom was invented in this country and nowhere else and has all the possibilities which it had three thousand years ago." With a commendable array of quotations revealing the author's wide range of studies, the principles of Hindu political economy are explained and contrasted to the capitalistic system of finance subordinated to the city-centres and needs of centralised administration. He is an enthusiast regarding the Brahmanical Socialism of Hindus, based according to him on voluntary labour of family units, the collection of grain taxes, the creation of money on the basis of production, the non-recognition of a chain of intermediaries and merchants, "Varnashrama," the confiscation of idle lands, etc. The first half of the book is a comparative commentary on the economic history of Eur-Asia during the last few centuries, which serves as a background for the elucidation of the author's main contention.

There would be many who would ridicule the thesis itself, and others the effort, arguments, and *a priori* conclusions to develop the thesis. But there are evidently many who would subscribe to this idealisation of ancient Indian precepts, ignoring the squalor and poverty which accompanied the glories and empires of ancient India : for them this book has been written and printed. Attempts to prove the applicability of Christian teachings or Muslim theological precepts or Hindu Shastric injunctions as panacea of world problems are not uncommon, and Mr. Roy has presented his case with the show of plausibility.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

INTERVIEWING JAPAN : *By Adrienne Moore. Kitabistan, Allahabad. 1943. Pp. 272. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This attractive monograph contains a number of interviews conducted by Miss Moore at the back-doors of Japanese life which were first published in the American-owned *Japan Advertiser*, an English daily of Tokyo. Through these interviews, Miss Moore takes us to the most intimate nooks and corners of Japanese social life which are mostly denied to the casual visitor. She takes us to the studio of the undertaker where we find that death is costlier than life in Japan, such is the importance attached to funeral ceremonies; to the department store on fire, where sales girls were burned to death because they were too modest to jump into firemen's nets without underpants on; to the toilet-rooms of the Geisha girls in the fashionable quarters of Tokyo where we are confronted not only with the prides and prejudices of this unique professional sect of Japan but also with their greatest problem which is marriage; to the divorce courts where most heart-rending scenes are witnessed; to the public and private bath houses where the art of back-scrubbing flourishes on the patronage of women, high and low in the social ladder; and to the tickling austerity of Japanese convents where the young abess likes her life because she does not know the world beyond it. The authoress introduces the reader to countless other homely scenes which are as much revealing to the uninitiated as fascinating to the superficial.

Miss Moore's cinematographical portrayal of Japanese social life comes as a refreshing contrast to the propaganda-ridden literature on Japanese history and politics. The authoress has succeeded in "penetrating behind the eternal smile of the Japanese," but her conclusions would be sharply debated. According to her, the group mind is more powerful than that of the individual in every sphere of Japanese life. Custom is said to be a more potent force than innovation, and "the whole role of social living is an act enforced by custom and close-pressed civilizations." The most astounding of Miss Moore's revelations, however, is her assertion that "the Japanese are very sentimental. . . . The extremes of emotion--excessive repression on the one hand and excessive lack of control on the other, go a long way towards explaining the Japanese proclivity towards suicide."

Miss Moore has drawn an extremely delightful picture of the Japanese at home and play, and the reader will enjoy her sketches although he may not entirely agree with her interpretations.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

LEADERS CONFERENCE : *Published by the Hindusthan Times Press, New Delhi. Pp. 56+54. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a nicely printed authentic account of the Leaders Conference held at New Delhi in February, 1943, in respect of Mahatma Gandhi's fast together with Gandhi-Linlithgow correspondence, public statements, bulletins, etc. It should be on the shelf of every one who takes an interest in the current political affairs of our country.

J. M. DATTA

FRONTIER SPEAKS : *By Mr. Mohammad Yunus. Published by Minerva Book Shop, Lahore. Pp. 248. Price Rs. 6.*

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan have written a Foreword and a Preface respective-

ly to the book which is divided into four parts, *viz.*, The Pathans, The Tribes of the North-Western Frontier Province, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his Movement and Recent Topics. The book besides giving the history and evolution of a great race of India gives a vivid picture of the sufferings and sacrifices of the Pathans and their problems—social, political and economic. The Pathans have not only been wronged by the rulers and administrators in the past but also by various publications and propaganda of interested parties. Even among other races of India there are misconceptions about this brave race. The author being a Pathan himself is the proper person to speak about men, things and problems particularly his own and if in his youthful enthusiasm, he has expressed himself strongly about persons and authorities, it is not from a motive to offend anybody but from a feeling of injustice done to this country and race. If the non-violence movement of Mahatma Gandhi is a wonder in modern politics, more wonderful is the adoption of non-violence as a political creed by the violent fighters of the North-Western Frontier for the attainment of their goal of Independence under the able leadership of Abdul Ghaffar—the Frontier Gandhi, who is also known to his people as Badshah Khan (Prince among Khans) and Fakhr-i-Afghan (Pride of the Afghans).

A book of this nature deserves to be widely read by the public interested in Indian Politics. A few useful maps have increased the value of this book. The printing is also excellent.

SIR SIKANDER—THE SOLDIER-STATESMAN OF THE PUNJAB : *Published by the Institute of Current Affairs, Lahore. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1-4 only.*

This is a short life-sketch of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan whose premature death on the 26th December, 1942, at the age of 50, deprived the Punjab of one of her best sons. The friendship of the family from which Sir Sikander comes, with the British Government, goes back to a century, even to days when the Punjab was still under the Sikhs. The services of Muhammad Hyat Khan during the troubled days of the Mutiny (1857) is a matter of history. Coming of such a family, Sir Sikander always stood by the British Government and was a firm believer in the future of his country under the British. The success and stability of the Ministry in the Punjab since the inauguration of the Government of India Act, 1935, was mainly due to his charming personality, tact and foresight he has shown as a statesman. He was a realist in the true sense of the term. Thrice he went out of India during the present War, to encourage Indian soldiers. Even he offered himself for the active service in any capacity, in any front. He was a King's Commissioned Officer in the Indian Army (one of the very few offered to Indians in those days) during the last Great War, 1914-18. His connection with the Punjab Legislature is happy since 1919 Act came into operation and he twice acted as Governor of his Province. By the loss of such a man, the Punjab is poorer today. Although a Muslim, he did not see eye to eye with Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League with whom he entered into a pact to stabilise the Ministry. He was the originator of the scheme of an All-India Federation on a Regional basis—a modified form of Pakisthan, although not in name.

The Governor of the Punjab has written an introduction to this book-let and several prominent men have contributed their "tributes" which have been printed at the end.

The book will be helpful to those who are anxious to know the life, works, achievements and political views of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan.

A. B. DUTTA

A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF PURANIC PERSONAGES : *By Shrimati Akshaya Kumari Devi. Published by Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 81, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pp. 81. Price Re. 1.*

The authoress is already known as a prolific writer of about a dozen volumes on some serious subjects. In this brochure she shows from a comparative study of the archæological discoveries of Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Iran, Egypt, Babylonia and other ancient sites that the personages of the Vedas and Puranas are not fantastic but really historical. She thinks, for instance, that the Yakshas of our mythology are the Astraloids who migrated from Java through Malaya and Assam, spread throughout India and still form the substratum of, especially Southern Indian population. Again in her opinion, tall Rakshashas were Negroes, and pigmy Nishadas were Negritoes, Hiranyakashyapas (yellowmen) and Daityas were Mongoloids, Turvasus were Mediterraneans, and Basisthas were Achean Aryans. The conclusions of the authoress are, of course, startling but they are based on the descriptions of peoples given in the Puranas and the anthropological data of the living races of this country.

The book contains a chart of the constellatory figures of the Rigvedic pantheon, a chronology of ancient dynasties, an Index of proper names and a chronology of post-Vedic personages. It is a serious and solid work and deserves perusal by students of ancient history.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE SOUL OF INDIA : *By Moti Lal Das. Published by Mrs. Prabhavati Das, Shiva-Sahitya Kutir, Khalishpur, Khulna. Pp. 167. Price Rs. 2.*

In this admirable book the author gives you most informative essays on Indian Culture. They were read by him in different Universities and cultural centres of Europe and bear a message of the greatest importance to the warring nations and a philosophy which undoubtedly has great significance for the future.

THE ASTRONOMICAL EPHEMERIS OF GEOCENTRIC PLACES OF PLANETS FOR 1943 : *By R. V. Vaidya, M.A., B.T., Jyotirvidyaratna. Published by Shree Jiwajee Observatory, Ujjain. Pp. 47. Price annas twelve.*

The places of the planets given are Sayan and are true for the mean equinox of 1943; with tables of houses for Madras, Bombay and Gwalior at the end. Mr. Vaidya has spared no pains to make this book useful.

THE INDIAN EPHEMERIS OF PLANETS' POSITIONS ACCORDING TO THE NIRAYANA OR INDIAN SYSTEM FOR 1943 A.D. : *By Nirmal Chandra Lahiri, M.A. Published by the Indian Research Institute, 170, Maniktala Street, Calcutta. Pp. 50. Price annas twelve.*

This fifth issue of the Indian Ephemeris contains further improvements in respect of the expansion of the Star-table and the Aspectarian, and addition of the table for Ascensional differences and that for Proportional logarithms. Mr. Lahiri would do well to add a page or two in the next issue to explain how to use these tables with the help of an example which, I am sure, will make this valuable book very popular.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

THE MESSAGE OF THE HIMALAYAS : *By Swami Sambuddhananda. Published by the Author from the Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, Khar, Bombay 21. Price annas twelve and Foreign two shillings.*

In this booklet of 73 pages the author has sought to interpret the message of the Himalayas from a Hindu standpoint.

The Himalayas are not looked upon by the Hindus as a mere heap of rocks or a mass of mountains. The Himalayas have a distinct message to give. The immovability and the unchangeability of the mountains are apt symbols of reality, the whiteness of whose perpetual snow is an emblem of purity. They are the most ancient abode of saints and sages, seers and seekers of truth who have realised many spiritual truths which are embodied in the Srutis, Smritis, Puranas and various other Hindu scriptures.

The message of the Himalayas is a message not only for India but for the whole world. During the present critical period in the history of the world, it is greatly necessary that world would follow the message of peace and goodwill spoken in silent voice by the Himalayas. The Himalayas ask all to rise above the animal planes, to aspire after Divinity, to infinitise the finite self, to love all, to see good in everything and to realize God in all beings. These are the messages which the Himalayas preach.

The book has been prefaced by a Foreword from the Right Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar. It is a valuable contribution to the literature dealing with the Himalayas.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

VIDYAPATI : *By D C. Datta, M.A. Price Re. 1.*

CHANDIDAS : *By D. C. Datta, M.A. Price Re. 1.*

CHRISTMAS, 1935 AND OTHER VERSES : *By D. C. Datta, M.A. Price Re. 1.*

EXEGI MONUMENTUM AND LYRICS : *By D. C. Datta, M.A. Price Re. 1.*

All the four books are obtainable only from the Publisher, Stephen Allen, 74, Theatre Road, Calcutta or Garg Book Co., Jaipur City.

If any reader takes the trouble of going through the above-mentioned books, he will undoubtedly be impressed by the poetic skill and genius of Mr. Datta. His renderings in English verse from *Vidyapati* and *Chandidas* are really entertaining. The reader will experience little difficulty to appreciate the literary excellence and beauty of some of the original poems in these translations.

By his *Christmas, 1935 and Other Verses* and *Exegi Monumentum and Lyrics*, though they are equally small volumes, Mr. Datta can irresistibly claim to be recognised as a true poet in English.

JOGESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

TO EUROPA : *By Raman Vakil. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Lakshmi Building, Fort, Bombay. Price annas twelve.*

"With Satan . . . thou didst consort to plan the wreck of all the world's domain" is the idea that predominates in a long satirical poem wherein Mr. Vakil tracks down the different ages in the history of Europe's love for power, her rapacity for wealth and her greed for domain. Fashioning his style almost on Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* Mr. Vakil has within his grasp both the slings of Pope and the grandeur of Dryden. However, the poet closes his poem with a note of optimism; he believes that a life of lasting peace and happiness will follow the present dismal nights of war and famine.

HOTCH-POTCH : *By Ruplal Kapur. Published by the Author from Chamberlain Road, Lahore. Price Rs. 5. To be had of the Author or Messrs. Rama Krishna & Sons, Book-sellers, Lahore.*

This book, with others by Mr. G. L. Mehta, may fairly come under the specified group of New Humour that includes wits of Oscar Wilde, poetic flavour of J. M. Barrie, and animal spirits of W. W. Jacobs. This new type of humour, sometimes verging on a spirit of mockery, is "thinner, drier, and less universal in appeal." Mr. Kapur does not colour himself with any fondness for a particular social or political idea, his range of vision may be as wide as the world.

The main sources of humour in this book have been the play of intellect, imitation of style, coinage of words, and use of allegories. For shortage of space, I am sorry if I can't illustrate them. There are yet some discrepancies in spelling out of words, I fear to mark them as blatant mistakes, for who knows if they are not meant to give an air of strangeness! At one instance Mr. Kapur sends thrusts to abuses of proverbs in life and society, at another he brings in philology and calculus, photography and blood-pressure to shed a quaint lustre on life. Mr. Kapur has really in his possession a great variety and power of expression.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

TRISANDHYA : *Compiled by late Pundit Ramanath Chakravarty and edited by Umesh Chandra Chakravarty from 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Price annas four only.*

This short brochure nicely forworded by Mahamahopadhyaya Kalipada Tarkacharya, contains in full the Yaju and Sam Vedic system of Gayatree-worship practised thrice a day, along with two worthy hymns on Mother Gayatree. In a nutshell the worshippers of Gayatree will get everything necessary for the worship as well as clearly understand the sense of Vedic Texts from the editor's simple Bengali translations. It will be useful to the people interested.

NAGENDRA NATH SASTRI

BENGALI

SAHITYER SWARUP : *By Rabindranath Tagore, Viswa-bharati Library, 2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price annas six only.*

This is the first volume in the series entitled *Viswavidya Samgraha*, which proposes to bring before the reading public handy, authoritative works on different subjects written by eminent authors. Herein are collected nine of Rabindranath's essays on literary ideals, which had so long been lying scattered in different periodicals. Three of them deal with the broad principles of literature, three with its different aspects and the rest justify the claims of the "Prose-Poem" as a literary form. In intellectual brilliance, aesthetic sensibility, clarity of thought and felicity of expression, Rabindranath's essays set up a standard, all their own, hardly ever approached by anyone else.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

BHABISHYATER BANGALI : *By Mr. S. Wazed Ali, B.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law. Published by Prabartak Publishing House, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 112. Price Re. 1-8.*

In the seven essays, the author discusses the various political, economic and religious problems of the Bengalees—Hindus and Muslims. To him Bengal is undivided and the division of the race on religious grounds is artificial and unsound. He believes that in near future Bengal will solve her own problems—economic, religious and communal and build a nation strong in material resources and advanced in cultural achievements. He deprecates the non-Bengalee interferences in Bengal as these are the causes which create and widen the gulf between Hindu and Muslim Bengalees. Bengal has one language and one literature and on this sound foundation, it is very easy to build a nation after the western model. He is an optimist and dreams a great future for his race. He believes in cultural oneness and unity of India but at the same time admits that every province (linguistically speaking) has its own genius which requires to be developed and nourished. The author is an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity.

A book of this nature deserves to be read by all well-wishers of the country irrespective of caste, creed and colour and no library should be without a copy of this book.

A. B. Dutta

HINDI

GRAMINA ARTHASHASTRA AUR SAHAKARITA : *By Amar Narain Agarwal. Published by Rai Sahib Ram Dayal Agarwala, Allahabad. Pp. 387. Price Re. 1-12.*

This is an introductory study of Rural Economics and Co-operations, within the framework of the syllabus, drawn up by the U. P. Board of Education, who have included the subject as an 'optional' for the students, qualifying themselves for the Matriculation Examination. Its outstanding merit is its freedom from any kind of complexity whether in the matter or in the manner of the author's argument. As such, the book would be found useful not only by those for whom it is intended, but also by those city-bred workers who are engaged in the virgin field of rural reconstruction as well as by the generality of adults living in towns.

Production of wealth, consumption thereof, exchange, distribution, village economy and co-operation—these are the main 'heads' under which the topic is treated. At the end of each chapter there is a questionnaire to check up the student's understanding thereof. Latest scientific improvements in agriculture and discoveries in the realm of economic laws have been touched upon with a view to broadening the outlook of the reader beyond the frontiers of his own village. The book is well worth translating into the principal provincial languages of the country.

G. M.

GITA DARPAN : *By Swami Atmananda Muni. Published by Sri Yogashram, Utkantheshwar Mahadev, Gujarat. Pp. 28+308+554. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This book contains all the original slokas of the Gita with simple Hindi rendering of each, given just after the text, and then followed by an explanatory note on it in the light of the Sankara Bhasya. The notes, being a sort of commentary, are called Sri Rameshwaranandi Anubhavartha-Dipaka Bhasha-Bhasya after the name of the author's *guru*. The sub-title of the book is rightly given *Jnana-Yoga Shastra*, as Gita expounds Brahma-Jnana and the means to its realisation. This is, no doubt, the orthodox and age-old view according to which Absolute Wisdom existing already in the heart of every human being is spontaneously unfolded with the extinction of desires and the consequent purification of the mind.

In the lengthy introduction covering more than three hundred pages, the Swami gives a critical analysis of each chapter of the Gita and useful annotations on the nature of Freedom, Bondage, Yoga and other relevant problems. This has made the volume quite interesting and attractive to the general readers for whom it is primarily intended. The historical setting in the form of a narrative leading to the origin of the Gita, is appropriately appended to the introduction. It must be said to the credit of the author that his exposition has succeeded in carrying his understanding and insight to the reader in a simple manner. Because he practises what he writes about, his exposition is so clear and convincing. The Gita is said to epitomize the essentials of Hindu religion and philosophy but few people have the necessary time and opportunity to study its abstruse original commentaries in Sanskrit. Hence the only way to popularise its grand teachings is to publish such lucid dissertations in the provincial vernaculars as has been successfully attempted in Hindi by the writer of the book under review. It is a book unique of its kind and is sure to democratise the message of the Gita among the Hindi-reading public. The more the gospel of the Gita is thus broadcasted, the better it will be for our life and society.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

BUDDHA-CHARIT (Part I) : *By Suryanarayan Chowdhury, M.A. Published by Sanskrit Bhavan, Katholia, P. O. Kajha (Purnea). Pp. 224. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a faithful rendering in simple Hindi of the renowned Poet Asvaghosh's vivid and sympathetic depiction of the life and learning of Lord Buddha in lucid Sanskrit poetry, which has achieved immense literary fame. Unfortunately this important work of Asvaghosh has not yet been traced out in entirety and we have, therefore, got only 14 chapters in the volume under review. The author has based his translation on the English-translation of Dr. Johnston.

We highly appreciate and commend this translation to Hindi-readers.

M. S. Sengar

ORIYA

SOMANATH GRANTHAVALI : *By Somanath Hotri Sarma. Foolscap quarto. Pp. 148. Price Rs. 2 only.*

This publication is a collection of 3 poetical works that were brought out by the poet a few years back. Most of the effusions are in sonnets of English or Shakespearian type. The representation of themes has been appealing due to use of common similes and allusions.

The poet belongs to Patna State lying in the remote corner of Oriya-speaking region and as such his devotion to the mother-tongue deserves special notice.

VIDURA : *By Govinda Dass Sharma Bidwan, Head Pandit, Rajah's College, Parlakimidi. Double crown. Pp. 88. Price annas eight only.*

This is a free translation of a Telugu work dealing with the life of Vidura of the Mahabharata epic. The translation would have been much better if the expressions had been more idiomatic.

B. Misra

GUJARATI

VYAYAM JNAN KOSHA, PART I AND II: *By D. T. Majumdar, B.A., LL.B. Printed at the Ramvijaya Printing Press, Baroda. 1941-2. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pp. 448+6 and 430+6. Price Rs. 7 each.*

These two costly and voluminous works edited by Mr. Majumdar are translations of Marathi books bearing identical names. They are comprehensive and give in detail each phase of physical culture, Indian and foreign, both for males and females. They are the last word on this subject. Beginning from Vedic times, right up to modern days, all sorts of physical culture exercises, from *Dhanurved* to tennis, wrestling and Garba singing by women, nothing is neglected. The illustrations are well chosen and serve as a guide to the playing of the games and performance of the exercises set out. On the whole, they are, we find, the only detailed work on an important subject which is coming into prominence, of late, in connection with our national physical uplift, and helps its All-India revival.

KALINDI: *By Nathlal B. D. Daree, M.A., Bhavnagar. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1942. Thick card board. Pp. 126. Price Re. 1-8.*

Fifty-seven poems, the output of work of the composer, during the last seven years, are published in this collection of his 57 poems. The subjects are varied, as a matter of course. They range between *Himadri* and *Kalindi* and include *Sagarsnan*. The value of the performance varies but the poetical conceits are in places, delicate and highly fanciful, such as would be expected from one who is rising in his work and knows his ability. The long Introduction of 20 pages of Prof. Umashanker Joshi, brings out admirably the excellences and efficiencies of the work. We specially like Rama (p. 77) as a model of wifely faith in the word of her husband.

KLANT KAVI: *Edited by Umashankar Joshi. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1943. Thick cardboard. Pp. 444. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The Gujarat Sahitya Sabha is comparatively a very active body and usually undertakes investigation and publication of the works of eminent literary men. The volume under notice is an instance in point. The late Mr. Balashankar died early but even during the short span of his life, he gave proof of his being a poet of a very high order. His collected poems under the above title are poems written by a person who was by instinct a poet. He was known as *Mast Kavi*, the Intoxicated Poet. He knew Persian literature very well and therefore the poems written by him in the view of the Sufi, unlike those written by others, without even a nodding acquaintance with it, ring true along with the translation of several Gazals of Hafiz. Had he lived longer he would have done more valuable work in the shape of translation into Gujarati of Persian Chronicles relating to the Province. As it happened he could only begin the work. Mr. Umashankar Joshi has thoroughly understood the subject of his investigation and edition and we congratulate him on fulfilling the promise held out by him in this difficult branch of literature, although at times he cannot resist showing scant courtesy to such bye-gone veterans like Narsinhrao Divaha.

CHANDRA SHANKARNAN KAVYO: *Edited by Dr. K. C. Pandya. Printed at the Nalini Printing Press, Bombay. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay (2). 1943. Thick Cardboard. Pp. 239+13. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Chandra Shankar N. Pandya, B.A., LL.B. who died about five years ago, had covered out a special place for himself in the group of his contemporaries by his energy, social nature and ambition while he lived. He was an advocate of the High Court on its Appellate Side, and aspired to the Bench. In all spheres of activity, and they were many, literary, political, social, and others, he tried his best to come out to the front, and rejoiced in meeting the leaders of his days, Chandavarkar, Govardhan Ram Tripathi, G. K. Gokhale, and several Home Rule Leaguers. The present collection however is of verses written by him on various occasions. Verses written to order and also spontaneously. Prof. Trivedi who has contributed a Literary Preface, has tried to extract some good parts from these verses, and Dr. Pandya has contributed a biographical preface (which could have been amplified) and elucidatory notes to the poems. It is our opinion that he shows better as an eloquent speaker than a verse-composer.



SANSKRIT AUTHORESSES AND THEIR CAMATKARA-TARANGINI

By Prof. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, Ph.D. (London)

Sundarī and Kamalā, the learned wives of Poet Ghanasyāma, Minister of Tukkoji I of Tanjore (1729-1735 A.D.), have left for us a commentary called the Camatkāra-taranginī on the Viddha-sālabhanjikā of Rajasekhara. Ghanasyāma refers to Sundarī in his earliest works that were composed when he was only 18 or so. It was customary in the 18th century India to get married at an early age; probably, Ghanasyāma and Sundarī too were married before their teens. Sundarī was, probably, born about 1705 A.D. Kamalā's name appears in those works where Ghanasyāma refers to himself as the minister of Tukkoji and also claims to have composed 53 or even more works. Kamalā was married when Ghanasyāma was at least thirty and she herself, probably, was 13 or 14.

Ghanasyāma pays tribute to his learned wives in various works. Similarly, Sundarī and Kamalā were also very proud of their husband's learning and achievements. They were confident that their husband was Sarasvatī incarnate in the garb of a man. They say in the Introductory part of the Camatkāra-taranginī that their husband was born to immortalise Rājasekhara whom they ridicule as the author of only three works as opposed to their husband who composed a large number of works in various languages. They simply howl down Rājasekhara for stating that morning was the suitable time for composing verses; their husband could write with equal facility throughout the 24 hours of the day. Further, Sundarī and Kamalā assert that no work could exceed the Pracanda-rahūdaya and other works of their husband in poetic excellence.

And it was out of this great admiration for their husband's scholarship that Sundarī and Kamalā happen to refer to or quote from a large number of the works of Ghanasyāma. Thus, they have quoted from the Damaruka, Jatigunollāsa, Bharata-campū, Hariscandra-campū, Bhoja-campū, Uttara-rāmacarita-vyakhyā, Abhijnana-Sakuntala-vyakhyā, Yuddha-kandā-campū, Prabodha-candrodaya-vyakhyā and Anandasundarī.

It cannot be doubted that Sundarī and Kamalā mastered thoroughly the works of their husband as well as many other works from which apt quotations have persistently been made throughout their commentary. They were rather proud of their scholarship; they say they could give hundred interpretations of each word in the text, but refrain from doing so on considerations of the reluctance of people to read or teach so many alternative explanations.

Like their husband, Sundarī and Kamalā, too, were ardent admirers of Cidambāra Brahmacārin, elder brother of Ghanasyāma and author of the Kalpataru—a work that does not appear to be extant. They refer to him twice in the Camatkāra-taranginī.

The Camatkara-tarangini

This commentary is very rich in quotations from a large number of works, most of which are no longer extant. As such, this work is very valuable, preserving, as it does, the names of and passages from, many works that were probably extant even three hundred years ago. The quotations are quite striking and indeed very apt and help a good deal in the right understanding of the text.

The tracing of ideas in standard Sanskrit works similar to those of the Viddha-sālabhanjikā is also very interesting and displays a sound knowledge of the Sanskrit Kavya Literature on the part of the commentators. As shown by the commentators, it cannot be denied that Rājasekhara was much indebted to Kālidasa, Bhavabhūti, etc. But Sundarī and Kamalā evidently make a mistake in thinking that Rājasekhara borrowed the ideas of Sriharsa, author of the Naisadha-carita. It is Sriharsa who could borrow from Rajāsekhara as the latter flourished a few centuries earlier than the former. Sriharsa flourished in the second half of the 12th century A.D.

The Camatkāra-taranginī materially helps us in having many good readings of the text. The illustrations are too copious to be inserted here.

Further, this commentary greatly improves our knowledge of the Viddha-sālabhanjikā with regard to the very beginning of the work. It shows that the work began with a verse (commented upon by Sundarī and Kamalā, pp. 10-11 of my edition) which is not found anywhere else. From the commentary the verse may be reconstructed as follows :

धून्वन्तु नः स्फुरित-शोण-मरीचिमाला
दुःखानि धूर्जटि-किरीट—जटा-कलापाः ।
अन्तर्ज्वलज्जटिल-लोचन-हव्यवाह—
ज्वालावली-विलसित-भ्रममादधानाः ॥

The Prāna-pratistha of Ghanasyāma, a commentary on the Viddha-sālabhanjikā, hardly deals with the Sanskrit portion of the Text to which the Camatkāra-taranginī is specially

devoted and therefore, Sundarī and Kamala are eminently justified in stating that the knowledge of the Viddha-sālabhanjikā remains incomplete without a thorough study of the Camatkāra-taranginī.

The Camatkāra-taranginī is clearly a complement of the Prāna-pratisthā. Further, it quotes in some places the opinions of Ghanasyāma which are not found in the Prāna-pratisthā. They must have consulted their husband during the composition of the Camatkāra-taranginī about these points. In two instances, however, they have actually referred to the Prāna-pratisthā. In one place they state that details of a particular point will be supplied by Ghanasyāma; but where—it is not clearly mentioned.

The commentators have on many occasions questioned the grammatical accuracy of many words or the application of dramatic technics in the Viddha-sālabhanjikā. They have further emphatically declared, assigning their own reasons, that the poet made many mistakes in the Viddha-sālabhanjikā. They have found fault not only with Rājesekhara but many champions of Sanskrit Literature including Kālidasa and Bhavabhūti. Needless to say that at times they have taken resort to petty-fogging criticism but they are usually right, particularly, with reference to the Prakrit words. There is no reason however, why the Prākrta-prakāsa should be the guide for the accuracy of all Prakrit words.

Again the commentators knew for certain that Rājasekhara flourished in Mahārastra and nobody is known to have questioned the validity of this truth. Still, the commentators stress upon this fact again and again, and sometimes, wrongly so. Thus, they say that because the poet has used the compound विवाह-लग्न he must have been a Mārāthi writer; it is well-known that it is used throughout Northern, Eastern and Western India in the same sense and this cannot be in any way indicative of his being a Marāthi.

The commentators are not infrequently audacious enough to pardon even Bhavabhūti and Kālidasa and they closely follow their husband in this respect. Even Ghanasyāma himself is not justified in declaring Bhavabhūti wrong in his grammar in many places in his commentatory on the Uttara-Rāma-carita.

The commentators, in their enthusiasm for criticising Rājasekhara, forget that in the Bālaramāyana the poet himself asserted that he was the author of six works. They are definitely wrong when they say Rājasekhara composed only three works; he was the author of no less than six works in any case.

PROBLEM OF REGIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE OF BENGAL

By S. M. SIRCAR, M.SC., Ph.D. (Lond.), D.I.C.,
Lecturer in Botany, Calcutta University

INDIA is predominantly an agricultural country; the net area sown of·285 million acres is one of the largest cropped areas and the country is inhabited by teeming millions where the average daily wage of an agricultural labourer is the smallest in the world. Despite these conditions her agricultural produce is not sufficient to feed the people. This country depends to a large extent on the import of essential food from overseas. It is surprising that India imports Rs. 352 millions worth of food, drink and tobacco, of which food grains alone amount to Rs. 143 millions. A country whose more than 70%·people live on agricultural occupation, should develop lucrative export trade on agricultural products in addition to the normal requirement of her entire population. During war time this dependence upon food supplies is a great hardship on the people and has got devitalising effects. It is just about a year that Japan has made an effective blockade of India so that no food supply from Australia or Burma is available, the consequences of which are that the prices of essential food grains have reached the highest peak and the whole population of labour and peasants is faced with starvation.

For the efficient prosecution of war self-sufficiency in food stuffs is as much a necessity as the production of munitions. This was very bitterly realised by the countries at war of 1914-18; accordingly, numerous proposals to

revive agricultural policy towards self-sufficiency were made by all the belligerent countries. Great Britain was one of the worst sufferers on account of her dependence on foreign countries for a major portion of food supplies. Before the war of 1914-18, Great Britain used to import £220 millions worth of human food, while her home production was valued £190 millions. Considering the different items of food it is noticed that in the United kingdom meat and dairy produce was only one half of domestic consumption, while the fundamental food stuff, wheat, was produced one-fifth of total requirement. England is predominantly a live-stock country having 71 per cent of land as grass lands for the production of milk and meat. This was considered not a satisfactory policy so new proposals were laid down to make the country as far as possible independent of supplies from foreign countries. In connection with this late Sir Daniel Hall showed in 1917 that Great Britain in fact did not need so much grass land for the production of milk and meat, with a lesser grass land and more acreage under food crops both milk and meat production would be sufficient for the nation, with an added benefit of considerable reduction in wheat import. By adopting this policy he showed that the country could produce about 60% of its requirement, while the rest could be bought from British possessions. It may be noted that in Great Britain sufficient land is not available to produce all her wheat required. The main idea was to be independent of supplies from foreign countries. To-day Great Britain has improved her agriculture by introducing tariffs and new scientific methods in agriculture, putting more land under plough, extensive reclamation of marshy and swampy regions and granting necessary subsidies for growing certain specified crops. One of the main reasons for German offensive in this war is her self-sufficiency in agricultural products and this was also the case in the last war as late Sir Daniel Hall wrote :

"The strength that Germany has shown, her capacity to maintain the offensive even when cut off from the mass of her foreign trade have not been wholly due to her natural resources, but have in the main been brought about by deliberate provision of the conditions that war would create and by the preparation of the whole fabric of the community for the shock, in which preparedness the position of agriculture and the question of food supplies have been matters of prime importance."

Under the changed characters of internal competition, Germany was forced to aim at self-sufficiency, because her export trade to pay for the import of food stuffs greatly diminished due to tariff restriction. Self-sufficiency in agricultural produce is her national policy and in order to develop this she has introduced tariffs on all imported food stuffs, encouraged the cultivation of wheat and other food grains by granting subsidies, regulating marketing and checking middle man's profiteering. The extent to which Germany is self-supporting in food grains may be seen from the following facts. Of the total consumption 24 per cent bread cereals and 21 per cent food cereals were imported in 1927 and in 1931 this came down to 4 and 6 percentages respectively. One of the other outstanding features in German agriculture is the large-scale reclamation of marshy land which has made her possible to increase wheat acreage from 4·4 million acres to 5·4 million acres during the years 1927-31. This has made Germany practically self-supporting in wheat and other important food stuffs.

Keeping pace with the growth of science, agriculture in the countries abroad, is advancing towards self-sufficiency, while Indian agriculture is drifting from a policy of exporting surplus food, into a state of dependence on imported food. The table below will show the export from and import of food in India during the last few years :

Year	Export Rs. (millions) Grains, Pulses and flour	Fruits and Vegetables	Total
1935-36	124·1	16·5	140·6
1936-37	153·8	17·0	170·8
1937-38	94·9	20·8	115·7
1938-39	77·4	22·7	100·1
1939-40	50·9	23·7	74·6
1940-41	59·2	24·4	83·6

Year	Import Rs. (millions) Grains, Pulses and flour	Fruits and Vegetables	Total
1935-36	16·2	13·3	29·5
1936-37	7·2	14·1	21·3
1937-38	121·7	15·8	137·5
1938-39	137·6	13·4	151·0
1939-40	218·0	12·1	230·1
1940-41	143·4	10·2	153·6

(Annual Statement of Sea-borne trade of British India with British Empire and Foreign countries, 1940, Vol. I, Review of the Trade of India in 1940-41).

During this period India has not developed industries to such an extent that her position of importing food grains is justifiable. The countries which import food grains have large-scale industries where the bulk of labour is absorbed; and agriculture suffers mainly for want of labour and land. In India this is far from being the case; agricultural population is

increasing and the land once cultivated is turning into unculturable waste. The policy of importing food and paying by exports works well in peace and under smooth working of international trade, but it breaks down during war. Modern warfare has brought in limitless destruction in land, air and sea, and has created an all-round dislocation of transport. Countries importing food are facing starvation. To guard against this self-sufficiency in food and material is a problem of national security. To-day India is in need of producing more food. She is to meet the demand of her own people and for the troops engaged in the eastern theatre of war as she is the only country in the East from where food for allies war could be supplied. This urgent demand on food has stirred the Government to launch "Grow More Food" campaign in every province and state. Recently a food department to co-ordinate production and supply of food in different provinces has been created. If the consequences of war were considered in right perspective at the beginning it appears the creation of this is long over-due. However, this belated undertaking of the Government is widely appreciated and the country will be immensely benefited if the plans are properly carried out. But one is sceptical how long this policy will be fostered and the interest of the peasants of this country will not be sacrificed for the growers abroad. If Indian peasants, like others abroad, are not protected by suitable fiscal means, granting subsidies, her agricultural produce in the post-war period will not be able to compete with the mechanised production of countries abroad.

Of the total imports of food in India a larger amount is shared by Bengal. It is a deficit province, depending largely on outside sources for almost all the necessary food supplies. Since supplies from Burma are cut off and urgent demand of military requirements has created transport difficulties from one province to the other, Bengal is in the grip of acute shortage of essential food stuffs; at any moment there is the possibility of food riot. Bengal is mainly an agricultural province but rice, the main food, is not produced in sufficient quantity to feed the people. Total production is estimated in 1938-39 as about 8·5 million tons, while consumption for a population of 60 millions (1941) is calculated on a basis of 20 oz. per adult per day to be roughly 10·3 million tons. In addition 0·8 million tons of rice seeds are required for 22·4 million acres of rice area. Bengal thus faces an annual deficit of 2·6 million tons of rice, bulk of which is imported from Burma. It is desirable that this province having more than 90 per cent of the net cropped area under rice should develop export trade on this commodity. The present food crisis is not the creation of this war only; the province has been a deficit one before and the consequences are now being brought home to us. War as it stands will be a long one and supplies from Burma will not be available. It has now become an urgent problem to make good this deficit. There are two ways by which this could be achieved—increasing rice yield and putting more land under rice cultivation. Within recent years rice yield in Bengal has gone down from 1234 lbs. (1907) to 771 lbs. (1939-40) per acre, while to-day yield per acre is 2276 lbs. in Japan, 2903 lbs. in Italy, 3109 lbs. in Spain and 940 lbs. in Burma. For rice yield main factors are supply of water, manures, pure and improved seeds, control of pests and diseases and introduction of scientific methods of culture. Water requirement of this important crop of the province is altogether neglected; it is grown at the mercy of rain water, which is very uncertain and untimely. Not more than 7 per cent of total rice area are irrigated in Bengal. While in Madras 66 per cent are irrigated, consequently yield has increased to the extent of 48 per cent. Sowing of rice is often delayed here for want of rains at the proper time, and later excessive rains and flood destroy a ripening crop. This dependence on rain water should be removed by irrigation and arrangements for drainage should be made.

Manuring of paddy is not properly done in this province. In the same field rice is grown in successive years without adding fertilisers as a result of which soil gets exhausted of important nutrient elements and yield diminishes. Unless soil is fed with necessary elements after each cropping enhanced yield cannot be ensured. Experimental trials have shown that the application of green manures more than doubles the yield giving a net profit of Rs. 15 to 20 per acre; cattle manure though better than no manure is inferior to green manure. A suitable combination of phosphorus and nitrogen has given a net profit of Rs. 40 per acre. Artificial manures are not used in this country as they do not pay the cost of application. But it is admitted that a combination of organic and inorganic manure greatly increases the yield. Unless artificials are added to soil from time to time, continued fertility of a soil can not be maintained. The countries obtaining higher yield have accepted a general policy of using artificial manures. In

this country application of artificials is limited because of two reasons—chemical industry is yet to develop for manufacture of cheap fertilisers, and secondly, there is need for the knowledge of determining the fertiliser requirements of different varieties of the rice by chemical analysis of different soils; along with this the proper time of application of fertilisers is to be ascertained. Time of application has got a great effect on yield and also on the total quality of manures required.

Another very important factor for crop yield that is now being increasingly realised is seed power and its treatment before sowing. Production and supply of pure and better seeds is necessary for increased yield, without which high yielding capacity of a variety cannot be maintained. In the West there is a system of replacing cultivator's stocks with improved seeds grown in experimental field plots. In nature the seeds of a variety generally loses the quality and yielding capacity for which it was originally selected. But if new selection is made it is possible to maintain or to improve the qualities of a variety. In this country not even more than 6% of rice area is supplied with improved seeds. One remarkable achievement in increasing yield and inducing earliness is the Russian method of stimulating the early development of plants before planting, which is technically known as vernalization. This has now been recognised as a general agricultural method in Russia and is of immense practical value for escaping cold, drought and other unfavourable conditions for plant growth. Floods in this province are recurring catastrophes causing damages to ripening crops. In order to escape this attempts should be made to introduce this technique in rice cultivation.

If adequate attention be paid to all these factors rice production in Bengal would be sufficient to meet internal demand and to encourage export trade. This would also obviate the necessity of extending the area under cultivation. The total area under rice is already large and it is desirable that it should not be increased at the expense of areas under other important food crops like wheat, pulses, oilseeds and sugar cane, production of which falls short of our requirement. If self-sufficiency is to be aimed at, cultivation of these crops should be increased. There is a considerable scope for this, as large areas suitable for these are still available in Bengal. The total area available for cultivation including current fallows and cultivable waste is 35·16 million acres; of this 24·7 million acres are actually sown, thus there are about 10·46 million acres of land available for cultivation and these are generally distributed in districts where "Rabi" crops like wheat, pulses, oilseeds, sugar-cane and potato could be successfully grown. Out of these 10·46 million acres if we keep out 5 million acres as fallows for periodical rest, then there will be still about 5 million acres of land where cultivation could be extended after reclamation. Land reclamation here would be possible only with State help as it involves a large initial expenditure for the clearing of rough vegetation and fertilisers without any return. The expenditure on fertilisers will be high as large quantities of lime, phosphate and potash are to be applied in successive years while the crop yield would be poor in quality for a number of years. Then the land will attain proper fertility and becomes a paying proposition.

It has been suggested by nutrition experts that the well-balanced diet of rice-eating people should include at least 5 oz. of whole wheat (atta) per day per head; accordingly the requirement for this province would be 2·5 million tons of wheat. Even if we leave out this change of dietary as not practicable at the present stage and consider only the present wheat position, it would appear that there is a considerable shortage of this food. It is estimated that 220,000 tons of wheat are imported in Bengal. The total production amounts to 46,000 tons in 149,500 acres and is mainly confined in districts of Nadia, Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Malda, Pabna, Dacca and Bankura. But even in these districts there are still large cultivable areas which could be utilised for growing wheat. If a portion of the land that is lying uncultivated is put under wheat the volume of import from other provinces would be greatly reduced.

Next to rice, important food of the people is pulses and these are their main protein food. Pulses are not produced sufficiently, more than 50,000 tons of pulses like, gram, pea, cajauns lentil and Mungare imported in Bengal. This province can be easily self-supporting in pulses if more land is put under these crops and a system of double cropping is introduced in fields after harvesting paddy. Of the total area of 25 million acres sown in Bengal, 5 million acres are double cropped. It is desirable that more areas should be put under this system of cropping. In order to do this attempt should be made to find out the possibility of the application of the method of vernalization in rice and rabi crops of this province. The importance of

this technique lies in the fact that by this process the total growth period of a crop plant is reduced and earlier harvest is obtained. In addition to the advantage of saving the crops from damages due to flood this would leave sufficient time for the preparation of land for the crop following in rotation.

Bengal consumes the largest quantity of mustard oil but the main supply comes from the Punjab, U. P. and Bihar. It is stated that 30 years before this province was self-sufficient in the mustard seeds, and there were more than 1·5 million acres of rape and mustard area. In 1939 this has gone down to 764,000 acres only and production is 142,000 tons. Import from other provinces is about 100,000 tons of mustard seeds and a large quantity of mustard oil. As the crop could be grown in areas after harvesting rice, proper measures should be adopted to intensify its cultivation. Further more increased production of oil seeds would ensure increased food for the cattle and fertility of the soil as oil cakes are rich in nutrient for cattles and plants.

At one time Bengal was the chief exporter of sugar in Europe, but now her position in sugar industry has completely changed. She is to depend on outside supply for white sugar. It is stated that one of the reasons for this deterioration is that the cultivators were induced to grow jute as cash crop. Jute cultivation was profitable at the beginning as the peasants were to be allured for its cultivation. But now it has added to their sufferings, because of excessive profiteering by middlemen and mill-owners. Bengal consumes 131,083 tons of white sugar largely coming from outside; while her production of 526,000 tons is mostly used as raw sugar (Gur). The volume of import of white sugar shows that there is a considerable scope for developing this industry. That soils in Bengal are suitable for this crop is indicated by the fact that yield of raw sugar per area of non-irrigated field is even highest of all the other provinces in India. In order to increase sugar production more acres after land reclamation should be placed under this crop. This would be economically possible if sugar factories are developed in cane-growing areas and cultivators get a fair price for canes so that its cultivation becomes a profitable substitute for jute. Where cultural conditions permit the areas released due to jute restriction should be devoted to this cash crop.

This province imports 30,362 tons of potatoes, the largest of all the provinces in India, mainly coming from Burma. Bengal has got the natural advantage of growing two crops of potatoes a year; one crop in the plains during winter which is harvested from November to March and a second crop grown in the hills during summer and is harvested from July to September. Yet its cultivation has been neglected. Total production is estimated to be 246,800 tons in an area of 88,000 acres mainly confined in the west and north Bengal, the hill produce being very small. The production from the plains is exhausted from November to April, then there is the scarcity period, which is met by imports from Burma at double the price. This dependence on import could be removed by putting more acres in the plains under potatoes and storage of surplus produce to be released during the scarcity period; secondly, by increasing the produce in the hills which will be available from July to October. If sufficient quantities of potatoes are grown near about the industrial towns besides for table purpose industries for manufacturing farina, starch, alcohol, dextrin &c could be established. In order to increase the areas under potatoes there is need for research on the nature and quality of seeds required in different soils under different climatic conditions, use of suitable manure, prevention of disease and methods of storage. Unless these problems are solved, potato cultivation in this province would not be an attractive one.

Reviewing briefly the present agricultural position of this province it appears that we are living parasitically on a large proportion of food from outside. This dependence on imported food was not so long realised as supplies were being obtained. Now the war has brought home the consequences of that dependence in creating acute food shortage, looting and starvation. The situation thus created leads us to one thought of making this province self-supporting. With a population of over 60 millions this would by no means be achieved by pursuing the present agricultural system as the area of about 0·4 acres sown per head of population is strikingly small in comparison to the standard of 1 acre in Germany and 1·6 in the United Kingdom. When the amount of land is the limiting factor in agricultural production, it becomes a necessity of adopting intensive cultivation. In order to bring about this some of the lines of action are suggested in this article. War has taught us enough of our negligence in developing agriculture. Should we not take effective steps in the immediate reorganisation of the agricultural policy of this province?

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AN AMBASSADOR OF HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY

By GURDIAL MALLIK

It has to be admitted that more people talk of the problem of Hindu-Moslem unity than act concretely in a manner which would hasten the solution thereof. May be, in their work-a-day consciousness they live under the stress of sectarianism of some sort,—political, economic, credal or communal,—and hence are unable in their contact with one another to rise to that height of humanism, which is the very essence of the matter. This is being said, of course, of the vocal educated classes, because the daily inter-relationship of the masses is marked by a bedrock mutuality.

However, here and there, even among this particular section of the population, there are to be met with persons who strive honestly and hard for translating the ideal of Hindu-Moslem unity into an actuality. Only, as they live and work far away from the footlights, the world does not hear much of them and much less know and recognise them as the servants of the nation.

One such zealous advocate-*cum*-'actor' of the ideal was Professor Hukam Chand Kumar, who passed away at Hardwar in March last. He hailed from the Punjab, where he was born and educated during the seventies of the nineteenth century. His scholastic career was punctuated with prizes and proficiency certificates. After graduation, he joined one of the Government offices in Baluchistan as a clerk. To make himself still more useful to his chief, he learnt shorthand, the knowledge of which in those days worked like sesame for ensuring rapid promotion. His unusual capacity for correct expression in English as well as in Urdu and Persian was another valuable asset to him.

Outside the Secretariat in Quetta he was known to the citizens as a scholar-recluse. For, his one supreme abiding interest was literature, to the service of which he burnt precious midnight oil. Now and again, there appeared from his pen an article in some leading Urdu periodical which threw open the windows of his private study to the sun.

In 1917 the magic of Mrs. Besant's message and ministry of Home Rule for India began to exercise its spell on him. It was not so much the political aspect of it as the vitalizing effect of the spring-breeze of freedom, which it ushered into the soul of the people. His own reaction to it was in the shape of self-consecration to the twin-cause of education and emancipation of religion from the thraldom of dead tradition. For this purpose, therefore, he forthwith resigned from Government service and responded to Mrs. Besant's call for workers in the national educational institutions, started by her to implement and integrate her pledge of self-government. He threw in his lot, consequently, with the sponsors of Sind National College (now styled as Dayaram Gidumal National College) in Hyderabad (Sind). While serving on its staff, he also devoted himself to the popularization of the Theosophical outlook of brotherhood among religions and races. But he selected as his special province of study and pursuit of service the objective of Hindu-Moslem unity. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that along with Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, of the Theosophical Society, and a few others he was one of the pillars of Islamic Association, set up by the Society, now unfortunately defunct.

After a few years, however, he gave himself up wholly and solely to the sacred project of Hindu-Moslem unity. He studied thoroughly Islamic and Hindu scriptures and associated intimately with those who interpreted them to their co-religionists in the country. The result was that when during his tours, through the length and breadth of India, organised mostly under the auspices of the Theosophical Society, he lectured on the *Bhagvad-Gita* or the *Quran*, his presentation used to be not only free from the poison of communal passion or prejudice, but it also set a high standard of scholarship and of synthetic sympathy to the audience as well as to other speakers on the same subject. On one occasion his Moslem hearers, numbering several thousands, were so deeply moved by his catholic and chaste commentary on one of their well-known, but inadequately understood, scriptural texts and traditions that they expressed their unanimous appreciation of it in the form of an award of gold medal to him.

But more than by his successes as a speaker on the platform in respect of his fervid plea for Hindu-Moslem unity, his life's fulfilment was made fragrant by his ceaseless acts of silent service to all, irrespective of sect, status and sex, and by his affectionate spirit of understanding of their problems and of their priva-

tions. He lived up to the motto: Kindness is more than creed, human sympathy is more than holy scriptures. In his personal life he was almost an anchorite, for his physical wants were of the barest.

He retired from his self-chosen, self-consecrated field of activity over a decade ago before his death. The reason for this, perhaps, was the increasingly-evident evocation of inflammable emotions by the power-hunting politicians. He spent, therefore, the closing years of his life in sustained communion with His creator, through study of scriptures of all faiths and fellowship with the saints of all communities. Last year he betook himself to the heights of the Himalayas and more or less completely cut himself off from all contact with the work-a-day world. When he had sufficiently tuned himself to the eternal melody of the Mother Ganges she absorbed him into her vast and vitalizing being.

THE LATE MR. JHAVERI OF SOUTH AFRICA

By Swami BHAWANI DAYAL

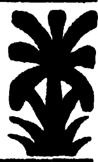
I have just received a cable from Mr. Aboobaker Moosa, Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, announcing the death of Mr. Omar Hajee Amod Jhaveri, one of the venerable and veteran Indian leaders of South Africa who peacefully passed away on last Thursday night, the 29th July, at his residence in Durban. My association with him for more than a quarter of a century in our struggle against the number of anti-Indian legislations introduced by the Union Government from time to time, has been a very close one and therefore I can say with personal knowledge that the death of our friend, Mr. Jhaveri, particularly at this juncture, is a great loss to our countrymen in South Africa. It is impossible to write all the noble deeds he has done towards the welfare of his community in this short tribute of mine but it is sufficient to say that he has made his name immortal in the annals of the Indians abroad. He will be always remembered for his public services that he has rendered for the uplift of his community in the Union. He had a vast knowledge of worldly experience, hence his counsel was frequently sought and readily given. He was a great patriot and loved by every section of Indian nation. He was a faithful friend and an early associate of Mahatma Gandhi who had elected him as one of the trustees of his Phoenix Settlement (Gandhi Ashram) before he bade farewell to South Africa. That the Indian settlers have lost a noble and the oldest leader cannot be gainsaid. His influence upon the Indian public life of South Africa has been so useful and impressive as to render it impossible for any of us to estimate its true value. He was a man, the like of whom we shall not easily find again. He has played his part and played it well. He has set up a splendid example to his countrymen in South Africa.

The late Mr. Omar Hajee Amod Jhaveri was born at Porbandar (Kathiawar) in 1873 and went to South Africa at the tender age of ten in 1883. He received his education in Boys' Model School of Durban. He became a firm follower and friend of Mahatma Gandhi, which lasted without a break until his death. He was one of the foremost nationalist Muslims respected and loved by the Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis alike. He had enrolled himself as a member of the Natal Indian Congress in 1905 and was elected its joint-secretary in 1906. He was elected twice the President of South African Indian Congress and the Chairman of the Orient Club. He was also the Chairman of the Mohandas Karamchand Library and Parsi Rustomji Hall; the Jerbai Rustomji Trust, the Rustomji Gorkoodoo Trust and Jivanji Trust; Trustee of the Hajee Moosa Trust and the Chairman of the Grey Street Jooma Masjid. He made an extensive tour to Europe, America, and Northern Africa in 1904 and visited all parts of India in 1908.

The Indian settlers of South Africa mourn today the death of this notable and distinguished leader who had served them faithfully for a number of years as a public worker and guide. He shall be no more amidst us to lead and guide the community and we shall be sadly missing one whose presence had been an unfailing source of inspiration to all of us. He was a notable scholar and his rare intellectual powers were ever used in the interest of the common weal. He was a man whom all would have delighted to honour and was beloved both for his amiability and kindness of disposition. Such men do not live in vain. Their good deeds live for ever. He was indeed a great man whose vacant place could hardly be filled. It is very unfortunate indeed that the South African Indians have lost four outstanding figures—Messrs. Hajee E. M. Paruk, V. S. C. Pather, M. E. Valod and O. H. A. Jhaveri—within a year when their presence was most essential to lead and guide the Indian settlers in their struggle for survival but it is not for us to question the wisdom of Parmatma. We have to go before the will of the Almighty. May Parmatma in his infinite mercy grant an eternal peace to the departed soul and give courage and fortitude to the Indian settlers in general and the family in particular to endure the loss.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Rabindranath's Poetry

Speaking at the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, on Thursday evening (August 19, 1943), Dr. Amiya Chakravarty gave a striking interpretation of Rabindranath's poetry which, he said, *owed its strength to its basic Indianism.*

It was because Rabindranath absorbed the main streams of India's culture, and struck his roots deep into the great unity of our traditions, that he reached universal humanity. In acknowledging Tagore the world had accepted not the poetry of a region nor of a cultured majority but the whole of India's civilisation also which Tagore represented. This was to be remembered at a time when the outside world was asked to look at India's culture as disconnected fragments, not as an unbroken continuum of civilisation in which different cultures had mingled.

Tagore's poetry was a confluence. *The great Vedantic stream was the basic reality of India which had synthesised the ancient cultures of this land, and Rabindranath's writings were nourished by this.* Call this matrix of India's basic culture by what name you will, Indian or Hindu,—this Vedic stratum is at the foundation of India's civilisation. But Tagore's poetry was also enriched, as India's culture has been, by the later Islamic and Western contributions. The genius of Tagore's poetry is that he could give expression to this confluence not only in scholarly writings but in a creative synthesis.

Like Chinese poetry which reflected the synthesis on many Chinese cultures, Tagore's great lyrics also revealed the unbroken unity of our civilisation and evoked the wonder of the modern world.

It was by being patriotic that one could be universal; the secret of Tagore's internationalism was that he loved and expressed a particular civilisation while his vision encompassed the whole humanity. *His lyrics were wet with the monsoon rains, green with the colour of Bengal's meadows, they reflected the light of our skies and were fragrant with our flowers. His stories were filled with pictures of our own peasants,* middle-class people, and the various joys and sorrows of our toiling masses. It was because Tagore was so much a part of India that he was also of the world. Let us know him as a true Indian poet, and the finest flowering of India's renascent civilisation.—*A. B. Patrika,* 20-8-43.

Woman—A New Age

The following is an extract from an English translation by Dr. Kalidas Nag (as published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*) of an Address delivered by Rabindranath Tagore at the All-Bengal Woman Workers' Association, 2nd October, 1926:

I feel that a new age has dawned upon this earth. From time immemorial man had exercised special jurisdiction over society and civilisation. Its statecraft, its economic policy and its social administration were dictated by man. Behind him were women working invisibly, confined exclusively to their domestic duties. That was an one-sided civilisation which deprived human nature of much of its richness. Much wealth lay stagnant, like a miser's hoard, in the heart of women. The doors of that imprisoned hoard are flung open today.

In the infancy of this earth forests grew upon the primeval sediments of clay. Those forests stored within the trees the sun's rays for millions of years. Then the forests were submerged and lay hidden for ages getting transformed into coal. When the doors of that subterranean world were opened, man received back those stored-up solar energies, unused for ages, in the form of coal and applied them to his own needs, and so, with a new and all-conquering energy, man inaugurated a new age.

Such things have happened with regard to the external material wealth of man. Today a special mine of our spiritual treasure has opened itself to others. Women of our own limited household are appearing as colleagues of a world-womanhood. Through the collaboration of this new mind with ever-creative human mind, we attain new strength which is operating today, visibly or invisibly. Man disturbed the centre of gravity of creation and threatened it with ruin, by attempting to build a mere man-made civilisation; but now we may hope that equilibrium will be restored.

The old foundations of civilisation were rudely shaken by violent historical earthquakes.

None could stop that disintegration, for there were many factors, working for years, to bring about this crisis of civilisation. Our only consolation is this that, in the task of building a new civilisation on the basis of revolution, we have a new womanhood on our side and that women are getting ready all over the world for their new role. The veil that hitherto covered their faces has dropped, just as the mental veil that shut them out of the world is disappearing. The human society, which is their cradle, is becoming manifest to women from all sides and in different aspects. Women will no longer be satisfied playing with the dolls made in the factory of prejudices. Their natural genius for tending life will now be fully applied, not merely in their own homes but in the larger world of humanity.

The blood of human sacrifice has been used by man for ages to build the bricks for the citadel of civilisation.

Individual man has been mercilessly sacrificed in order to establish the so-called general polity; the life-blood of individual labourers has been sucked dry in order to build the stupendous wealth of the capitalists; the libation of the blood of helpless millions has gone to feed the frame of power of the powerful; the chariot of state-interest is ever being dragged by the unhappy millions tied to it. This civilisation is propelled by power which offers little scope or sympathy. In this civilisation we find the apotheosis of the hunter's joy

over the slaughter of countless innocent and helpless lives, and it has made man most ruthless and cruel to his fellowmen and to other beings in the animal kingdom. A tiger is rarely perturbed by fear of another tiger; but, in our present civilisation, man all the world over is mortally afraid of his fellow-men. In such an unnatural state, civilisation gives birth to the deadly weapon which would destroy it; which process is just begun. Simultaneously we find the terrified man trying to improvise some claptrap of Pacifism, but that would be of little avail when real peace is not in his soul. A civilisation based on manslaughter cannot last.

Let us, however, hope for a new order of civilisation.

If it ever materialises, then the contribution of women will have to be fully utilised in that new creation. May the call of that new age reach the heart of women and may they not stick conservatively to the sweepings of centuries which are foul and unhealthy. Let them open their heart, brighten their intellect, and offer their devotion to the altar of wisdom. Let them remember that thoughtless blind conservatism is hostile to creative process and that the age of new creation is dawning. To share the privilege of living in that glorious age our women must free their mind from illusions, which are unworthy of them. They must lift their head high, break themselves away from the torpor of ignorance and from all downward tendencies, real or imaginary. Let women achieve that capacity—the question of achieving results may come later, or it may not come at all.

The Maker of Modern China

Chiang Kai-shek is far more than a great general and administrator. He is the living symbol of China's epic fight for freedom, he is one of the makers of modern China. Observes *The Indian Readers' Digest* :

Determined from boyhood to help free China from Japanese aggression, Chiang Kai-shek was encouraged and inspired by his widowed mother in his decision to become a soldier. In 1906, at the age of 19, he entered Paoting Military School. Sole qualifications of a Chinese officer then--skill with sabres, ability to lift and swing heavy-weights !

Since Japan gloried in war, even as China detested it, Chiang, to learn from his enemies, took an advanced course at Tokyo. There he met and became the disciple of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of Modern China. But in 1911, Imperial Chinese troops rose against the decadent Manchu War Lords. Chiang asked for 48 hours' leave, bought a civilian suit, posted uniform and sword to Tokyo Academy—and returned to Shanghai.

In 1923, Chiang went to study the Soviet military system, then returned to China to establish the Whampoo Military Academy.

Working from early morning to late night, he planned courses for his men, trained them and turned them into first-rate officers well-versed in modern methods of warfare. Now the Academy produces splendid commanders for China's army divisions.

Elected to the Central Executive of the Kuomin-

tang (China's People's Party) in 1925, a year later, Chiang led a great crusade of the Chinese people in their struggle for freedom. They swept the country. Nanking fell, Shanghai was about to come to terms—when suddenly the people's front collapsed, Chiang's followers believing that he was about to compromise with the enemy. Actually, he was on the point of raising a loan from the bankers, who sick of plundering War Lords, looked to him to establish peace and order.

For the next 10 years Chiang set about a tremendous task—unifying China, which for thousands of years had been split into factions ruled by quarrelsome War Lords. A man of iron will, supreme moral and physical courage, he succeeded.

Japan, dreading a united China, struck in 1937.

Much territory was seized by the enemy but Chiang never wavered. Every political group in the country was united behind Chiang, the one man who could command the loyalty of the whole Chinese people.

Great towns fell to the enemy one after another. But despair never entered Chiang's mind. "My armies will bend but not break," he said. To Japanese peace overtures he replied characteristically : "When I started 15 years ago I had only 2,000 cadets. And I had no money, and I licked the War Lords. Today I have half of China and the friendship of America and England. Let the Japanese come."

His wife—formerly Mei-Ling beautiful, America-educated daughter of the famous Soong family—is his constant companion.

He says she is "worth 10 divisions of troops" to him. Married in 1927, they have rarely been parted. Chiang adopted Christianity—his wife's faith—soon after marriage.

Mei-Ling, is known and admired all over the world as Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Her energy, courage and practical ability have been tested in many different fields. She has reorganised the Chinese air force, she deals with all the Generalissimo's foreign contacts and correspondence, she directs women's war work, and personally trains teachers to go into the country and organise health centres. She has started war orphanages where thousands of homeless children are growing up in safety and being cared for and educated. Her recent address to the United States Congress has been acclaimed as one of the best speeches ever made by the representative of a foreign Power.

Air Bombings

The New Review observes :

The destruction of a given area in a town does not imply the annihilation of whatever war industry it accommodated; buildings collapse, plants are partly destroyed, partly damaged, partly spared but reconstruction can be rapid; Coventry's industries were restarted within six months of the famous raid. The 380 acres devastated in Dusseldorf last October were nearly rebuilt when our last raid obliterated over 1,000 acres in the same town. A local bombing does not necessarily mean more than a temporary dislocation or slowing down of production.

But a simultaneous destruction of various areas has a cumulative effect which can ruin production for a very long time, and may be fatal if the industries are complementary. The simultaneous destruction of the tannery, the boot-factory and the boot-shop, or again, of the baker's, the butcher's and the greengrocer's is much more fatal to village life than their successive destruction. It is not merely a question of materials and stocks, but also a matter of the psycholo-

gical depression on a larger number of people. Now the bombings in the Ruhr these last months have been carried out with a view to this cumulative effect of simultaneous destruction, and though they have not proved catastrophic, as was optimistically announced, they have seriously impaired the Nazi war potential and will greatly hamper their movements in the coming campaign.

We are not yet in a position to carry on so extensive simultaneous destructions as to bring about a collapse of the Axis war industries in the next few months. Our bombings cannot yet reach far enough into the Nazi hinterland, and our bombers are not yet numerous enough to undertake many large-scale raids within a short period.

Kursk and Orel

Speaking about the ten-day German offensive *The New Review* says :

The Axis had still the advantage of the initiative; von Kluge's plan was to pinch off the bulge in front of Kursk and his ten days' attack was possibly the most murderous assault this war witnessed so far; it was worse than anything Smolensk or even Stalingrad ever experienced. All the weight of the Axis went into the blow, all the new weapons devised and perfected during the winter respite were thrown into the battle : 250,000 troops, 2,500 aircraft and 4,000 tanks including 1,000 Tigers (Mark VI).

Planes, tanks and guns went into action in lavish numbers; for days on end, rifles crackled and guns boomed, planes roared and bombs thundered, tanks clanged and mines bellowed, all the most wicked weapons did their worst in this blood-red pandemonium, and the inferno lasted from dawn till sunset, till late in the night, till Death's tired sneer had frozen the battle tumult into a blood-sodden hush.

And with the new dawn, a new carnage began. For ten horrible days the clash of those giant armies grew louder and grimmer, and every night Death's sneer grew icier. For ten days, the spirit of man challenged death, men from all the Russias and men from the whole of Germany. But after ten days, there were no more men from Germany to spare for the carnage; the Nazi High Command realised that reserves had dwindled down to a dangerous point, (they had, according to Soviet statistics, lost 2,600 tanks, 1,037 aircraft, 60,000 men); they slowed down their attacks, entrenched themselves as best they could and remained on the defensive. But there were yet men from all the Russias and they turned to the offensive, they went on challenging death and they reconquered the ruins of their villages.

With the Kursk front firmly held, Shaposhnikov decided to launch his own offensive in a neighbouring sector; he struck at the Nazi hedgehog round Orel.

Lithuania

Writing on Lithuania E. J. Harrison observes in *The Aryan Path* :

The Lithuanian language of all living European speech today is most closely akin to Sanskrit. As far back as the eighteenth century the attention of German philologists such as P. Ruhig, J. Vater, von Bohlen, W. Humboldt, and others, was drawn to the unusual antiquity of Lithuanian. Theodore Benfey says of it :

"The Lithuanian language, even in its present-day shape, has to a large extent preserved such an ancient character that for knowledge of the fundamental forms of the Indo-Germanic tongues it possesses an importance which is scarcely less than that of, *inter alia*, Sanskrit and Bactrian."

Again, J. Karlowicz thus characterizes the antiquity of Lithuanian :

"Its resonance and endings ever remind us of the ancient sounds of the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Goths, Celts, and the ancient Slavs. Many of the Lithuanian sentences are almost indistinguishable from Sanskrit."

In other words, what in the languages of other nations has crumbled away during the intervening centuries has survived in the speech of the Lithuanian people, amazing the philologist with its richness and variety.

Thus August Schleicher, one of the most distinguished of German Lithuanian scholars, after reading the poems of the Lithuanian writer Duonelaitis, declared that he was "conscious therein of a tongue which in the perfection of its forms could vie with the works of the Greeks, Romans, and Indians."

The fact that during so many centuries of bitter struggle with external foes the Lithuanians have nevertheless succeeded in preserving almost intact until the present day the distinctiveness of their speech should surely be accepted as evidence of their tenacity and innate national vitality.

—

The "New Chemistry" May Obviate Cruelty !

D. Jeffrey Williams writes in *The Theosophist* :

This is being called "the chemist's age." It is claimed by Professor I. M. Heilborn, F.R.S., in *The Spectator*, 9th April, 1943, that "chemistry is unique in that it obtrudes itself into every phase of modern civilization."

Plastics or synthetic resins, to mention only one section of the vast field of modern chemistry, are invading textiles, the leather industry, glass and all sorts of materials for domestic uses. What is taking place in connection with the war-effort in countries now at war is impossible to say, but various hints dropped by those in a position to know in Britain suggest that many new developments have taken place which will surprise us when peace returns. Coal, wood, stalks and straws of various kinds of plants are the happy hunting-ground of the chemist in these days, and among the molecules he labours to construct many marvels in the way of new materials ! Rayon and nylon have come to stay. So has synthetic rubber. Various processes dealing with coal enable the production of motor fuel; and benzole and other liquid products derived from coal give us those many things used in the manufacture of synthetic dyes, explosives, pharmaceutical chemicals, plastics, etc. Coal hydrogenation, for instance, leads to the formation of a vast series of chemical substances. Another method will give the *chemical* raw material of a fur-fabric coat or velveteen or glass or imitation "reptile" shoes or "leather" for chairs or seats in bombers, and so on. It may be a long cry from a pair of rayon stockings (or nylon stockings) to mechanical belting in factories, but the chemists build up both and whisper "cellulose acetate."

Dr. G. Ullmann in the *Textile Manufacturer*, of March 1943, wrote :

"In the cellulose materials there are still unforeseeable possibilities. It cannot be foreseen what role will be played by fibres made entirely from the chemicals, especially in view of exceptional properties."

It is not thought that "man-made fibres will eliminate natural fibres in the long run," but in view of certain shortages (as in the supply of cotton, wool and skins, for instance) there may be some short-run advantages in favour of synthetic pores in the post-war world. "On the whole," says Ullmann, "there seems less limitation on man-made fibres than on natural fibres." Also, the costs and prices of man-made fibres do not fluctuate like those of the natural fibres. We shall depart, it seems, from the use of natural fur, natural wool, natural leather, in the post-war world, to an increasing extent. That will mean a great reduction in cruelty and animal exploitation. For which prospects some of us heave a sigh—that is not a sigh—of relief ! Some experts think the new chemistry will make for a new textile revolution.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Beveridge Report

In an article under the above caption in the *Jewish Frontier*, Bernard Noskin draws a rough and cursory sketch of the Beveridge Report "whose more than 300 pages are filled with a penetrating analysis of Britain's varied social and economic problems" and observes :

The striking feature of the Plan (or Report) is, as I have said, its comprehensiveness; it embraces all citizens, all contingencies under a single and uniform system of contribution. Beveridge, himself, calls it a scheme of "social insurance," but as the *London Economist* well observes "it is not an insurance plan" for in its aim at attaining a national minimum it casts aside one of the basic principles of insurance, "that of relating premium to specific risk."

Although the Beveridge Report has not yet been acted upon by Parliament, its acceptance by Britain after the War, with inconsequential modification, is a foregone conclusion. Labor is for it, and none but extreme Conservatives will have the hardihood to oppose it. That is the measure of the vast gulf which separates the social unrest which developed during World War I from that of our own day. The air then was filled with socialist, guild-socialist, revolutionary socialist, and communist slogans. Radical change was to be ushered in through the agency of class strife. Revolution and the general strike seemed to be on the order of the day.

It would be interesting to trace how and why this difference in the temper of social unrest developed, but it cannot be done in this brief article. However, two salient points ought to be mentioned. The Russian Revolution taught radicals and working men in the West that a total revolution could only be bought at an enormous expense of blood and sacrifice, and that even when completed, fundamental social, political and national problems remained. On the other hand, the startling rise of the Nazis and their near success in achieving world domination has caused all classes in Britain to close ranks, and has warned such of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie of Britain as might have toyed with the idea of the danger of allowing gangster, self-appointed saviors from the Right to usurp power in the commonwealth. All classes and all parties have been renewed in their faith that the British Constitution affords the surest guarantee of their mutual protection and well-being, and that Britain can solve its social and economic problems within its framework.

Since the article was written the House of Commons debated the Government's proposals anent the Beveridge Plan and adopted them against a vote of 97 Labor members and a scattering of Conservatives and Liberals who protested that the Government did not go far enough in accepting the plan. There was particular dissatisfaction with the Government's failure to set up immediately a Ministry for Social Security and to acquiesce in the plan's provision for the elimination of the industrial insurance business and its total conversion into a public enterprise. Mr. Morrison, speaking for the Cabinet, tried to allay the ill-feeling of the Labor members and transpose the issue as one not of the Government's rejection of the Beveridge Plan, but of the more complete implementation of it after the war is over. One cannot say at this distance, (New York) especially in view of the fact that the Cabinet's position is backed by Labor stalwarts like Attlee, Bevin, Morrison and Greenwood, that the Government is insincere.

Spotlight on Poverty

The *Economist* while reviewing *Our Towns: A Close-Up* by the Hygiene Committee of the Women's Group on Public Welfare (Oxford University Press. 143 pages. 5s. net.), writes as follows under the above caption :

Towards the end of the fourth year of war it is difficult to remember that in the early months almost the whole war news, for this country, consisted of the trials and problems of evacuation. Yet, when the social history of the war comes to be written it is probable that this great migration will form the most important subject . . . because it revealed to the whole people the black spots in social life. . . . If there are still some who refuse to accept them as true, a book

has now been published which must convince all except the stupidly prejudiced.

In the great majority of cases (studied in this book) the father is an unskilled labourer whose wages, in peacetime, were not probably more than £3 a week. The mother has left school at 14 to become the poorest type of factory worker. By the time she marries, the little she learned in her elementary school of needlework and cooking has been forgotten. How to spend her money economically and how to bring up children she has not forgotten because she has never known. . . . In most cases the fathers's wages are stationary, even if they do not fall or cease with unemployment. Each new child, consequently, depresses the family's standard of living further. . . . It was still possible in 1936 for an East End family to sleep five in a bed, for another to sleep seven in a room, and for another family of five to share one bed-room with six cats "Hundreds of thousands of families in all parts of the country," says the authors, "have not a private closet, and there are areas where it is the exception for a family to have one."

The food and clothing of these families are on a par with their housing condiitions....

In the case of clothing, poverty is often exploited by the worst kind of clothing clubs, which, in effect, become money-lenders of the poor, their sole object being, in the words of a caretaker of a block of working class flats, "to get people into debt and then keep them in it. . ." Yet when, last year, the Board of Trade prohibited check traders from charging poundage on their checks, there were members of Parliament who protested.

Badly fed, inadequately clothed and suffering from a persistent shortage of sleep, the children of these families can hardly help catching any illness that is going around. A comparison made in Newcastle-on-Tyne ten years ago disclosed that, among 124 children, under five, from the professional classes, there had been 2 cases of pneumonia, 1 of pleurisy, 2 of chronic and recurrent cough, and 6 of measles. Among 125 children of the same age from the poorest city streets, there had been 17 cases of pneumonia, 32 of chronic or recurrent bronchitis, 46 of measles, 6 of chronic diarrhœa, and frequent cases of abscesses, skin infections and otitis media. But what most struck the hostesses of the children was their lousiness.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the families of whom a close-up has thus been given are not representative of the British working classes . . . (but) is there any solution to the problem of these problem families? And to the whole question of paternal incompetence? The authors of *Our Towns* have no hesitation—it is education. The great drawback now is that the school medical services and the educational system as a whole get the child too late. . . But nursery schools are not the only solution. The thorough reform of the whole of the educational system is urged. The authors remark pointedly that if there were a single system of primary education, to which the children of all social classes were equally sent, the conditions still allowed in many of the elementary schools would not be tolerated for a moment. . . No less important is a change in the curriculum.

A great deal is being talked at present about reconstruction priorities. Housing, the health services, full employment, children's allowances—all these have a part to play, and a large part in eradicating the black spots from British Towns. But though they may remove the symptoms for a time, they will not finally cure the diseases. Only education can do that.—*The Economist*, May 1, 1943.

New Social Security System in Mexico

With the help of the International Labor Office, Mexico is rapidly preparing the machinery for her new social security law, one of the most advanced in the world. The country's "Beveridge," who has worked and dreamed for thirty years to bring the plan to a head, Dr. Federico Bach, Swiss-born professor and technical advisor to the Ministry of Economics, considers it third in its provisions for the common people, exceeded only by the systems of Russia and pre-war Czechoslovakia.

President Manuel Avila Camacho, in a recent reference to the measure, stressed its ethical aspect in eradicating the idea that help to workers is a matter of charity. The plan won the backing of the Ministry of Labor, the workers' organizations, the Chamber of Deputies, and many employers, though there have been some criticisms of it from business and financial interests. The chairman of the Chamber's insurance committee asserted that the real wealth of the nation is not its mines, factories, or bank accounts, but its human resources and productive effort, which the plan will foster.

The act applies to all employed persons without regard to age, but not until later will agricultural and home workers be included. The act covers the risks of industrial accidents and diseases, sickness and maternity, invalidity, old age, and death. Insurance against industrial accidents and diseases, the cost of which will be born entirely by employers, provides, besides medical care and necessary artificial limbs, a temporary incapacity benefit equal to three-fourths of the wage for a maximum of one year, and a monthly pension in case of permanent total incapacity equal to 20 times the average daily wage for the wage class to which the insured person belonged. There are nine different wage classes.

In the case of death, a funeral benefit is payable and pensions are granted to the survivors as follows: for the widow, 36 per cent. of the pension due to the deceased in case of permanent total incapacity; for an orphan who has lost either parent, a pension of 20 per cent. of the same; for an orphan who has lost both parents, 30.

Sickness and maternity insurance covers medical, surgical, and pharmaceutical benefits for 26 weeks—to the insured person, his wife, and children under 16. For the same period the ill person receives a sickness benefit at the rate of 40 per cent. of his wage. For 42 days before and 42 days after confinement, mothers receive 40 per cent. of their usual wage, though for eight days before and 30 days after, the full wage is given.

The cost of sickness, maternity, invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits is defrayed by contributions of the employer and the insured person, and the state. The employers' contributions are fixed at six per cent. of wages, and the workers' at three, while the state pays a subsidy equal to half the contributions of the employers.—*Worldover Press.*

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

With a heavy heart we announce the death of our Editor, Sreejut Ramananda Chatterjee. He passed away at half-past seven on Thursday evening (30th September, 1943) just as we had finished printing the last format of the October number of *The Modern Review*.



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE VILLAGE MAID
Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER  *1943*

VOL. LXXIV, No. 4 WHOLE No. 442

NOTES

Decline in Per Capita Rice Production

In his speech on the Food Debate that took place in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 9th August last, Sir M. Azizul Huq stated that while the population of India had increased from about 311 millions in 1910-11 to 388 millions in 1941, the main foodgrains production of India had remained practically constant between 50 and 51 million tons with small variation from year to year. The combined acreage for rice and wheat has fluctuated between 107 and 109 million acres between 1937-38 and 1942-43. The position as regards rice production in India during these 30 years has remained nearly constant between the figures of 25 and 27 million tons except in the years 1916-17 and 1917-18 when production was higher. As regards the rice position in Bengal, the average *per capita* production during the Census decade of 1911-12 to 1920-21 was 384 lbs. The average *per capita* production of rice in Bengal from 1940-41 to 1942-43 was only 283 lbs. If the present normal production in Bengal is taken as 8½ million tons, the *per capita* production comes to 314 lbs or *70 lbs. less than it was 30 years before.* All this constitutes a strong condemnation of the work done during the last half a century or so, for the betterment of agricultural conditions in India and Bengal through the activities of various expensive research organisations and agricultural farms maintained at enormous cost by the Central as well as the Provincial Governments.

The most effective way of arresting this decline in production, *viz.*, bringing manure within the easy reach of the cultivator has been grossly neglected. Ammonium sulphate still remains a monopoly in the hands of a British trading firm, no efforts have been made to establish large-scale factories for the manufacture of this commodity in India in spite of the fact that India has ample scope for the development of this important industry. Indian agriculture immediately needs manure, and not gratis advice and costly research institutes.

Effect of Military Policy on Grow More Food Campaign

On a comparison of food production in 1942-43 with 1941-42 it appears that of all the major Provinces in India, Bengal alone showed a decrease in the acreage of foodgrains in 1942-43 as compared with 1941-42. Thus, whereas there was an increase in the rest of India of 66,90 thousand acres under Kharif foodgrains in 1942-43 over 1941-42, Bengal showed a decrease of 6,60 thousand acres. Similarly, while the total increase in production of Kharif foodgrains in 1942-43 over 1941-42 was, for the rest of British India a little over 47 lakh tons, the reduction in Bengal in that period represented 26 lakh tons. It is to be noted that the Kharif figures

include the winter crop of rice. In this statement rice figures were also given separately and it is found that whereas in the rest of British India, the acreage of rice increased by 15,98 thousand acres in 1942-43 as compared with 1941-42, there was an actual decrease of 7 lakh acres in Bengal. The increase in rice production for the rest of British India for the corresponding period was 15,60 thousand tons, but there was a decrease in the rice production of Bengal in that period of 29 lakh tons. The decrease in the out-turn of Kharif foodgrains as also rice in Bengal may partly have been due to unfavourable weather conditions in some parts of Bengal, particularly cyclone in certain areas in Midnapore and coastal areas of 24-Parganas, as also fungus disease and insect pest. The shortage in acreage may also partly be ascribed to the same visitation of nature in Midnapore and 24-Parganas. It is also likely that the evacuation of civil population from certain areas in Bengal due to Military reasons and the occupation of large tracts of land on behalf of the Fighting Forces, have contributed to this reduction in the acreage of foodgrains in Bengal. Details showing the acreage of homestead, cultivated, and culturable waste lands in Bengal occupied by the Military, or vacated by the civil population for reasons of security, are wanting. It is not, therefore, possible to assess accurately how far the "Grow More Food" campaign has been affected in Bengal by Military policy.

Preferential Treatment in Railway Booking

The *Indian Railway Magazine*, the organ of the Railway Users' Federation, Madras, in its issue for August last, writes:

WHY PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT ?

By their letter, dated 10th March, 1943, addressed to the Chief Traffic Manager, G. I. P. Railway, the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber Bombay, referred to a complaint received from a firm dealing in chemicals, to the effect that the Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., were allowed to book consignments of Soda Ash and Bicarbonate of Soda by rail to any station on or *via* M. S. M. and S. I. Railways to the exclusion of other merchants. The Committee pointed out that such a restriction on booking was highly discriminatory and should be forwith removed. The G. I. P. Railway in their reply, dated 17th March, 1943 informed the Committee that the aggrieved party might approach the Regional Controller of Railway Priorities in whose hands the matter rested.

The Indian Chamber of Commerce is in the best position to say how a Regional Controller of Railway Priority reacts when a British and an Indian firm desire priority for booking the same commodity. In the letter referred to above, it has been clearly alleged that the I. C. I. were allowed to book *to the exclusion of other merchants.* Who granted this priority ? Was it the same Regional Controller of Railway Priority to whom the compliant has been referred ?

India's Problem Can Be Solved

NEW YORK, Sept. 13.

Commenting on Dwitt Mackenzie's book "India's Problem Can Be Solved" the New York *Herald Tribunes'* book reviewer says: "Though convinced that the Indian crisis can and should be solved now in the interests of a more effective prosecution of the war, Mackenzie is careful not to predict that a settlement will be forthcoming. A solution is possible only if negotiations are reopened. He does, however, provide convincing evidence to support his contention that both militarily and politically a solution will enormously strengthen the United Nations' position in Asia and that 'an earnest effort now to reach agreement would have a certain chance of success.'"—*Reuter.*

There is no doubt that India's problem can be solved only if the Churchill Cabinet's professions to solve it were genuine. But that is not to be so long as the die-hards are in power.

International Co-operation for World Peace

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13.

The United States Secretary of State Mr. Cordell Hull gave an outline last night of how he thought the world should be organised after the war to prevent further wars. He said:

The immediate thing was to win the war. But next to that was to work out some system of international co-operation to ensure world peace. The United States was ready to play its part in this task.

Explaining the American Foreign Policy he said that all nations were entitled to manage their own international affairs in their own. All nations were equal in the world whatever their size.—*Reuter.*

Possibly Mr. Cordell Hull had the white races at the back of his mind while speaking of the equality of *all* nations. It remains to be seen how the Anglo-American *entente* establishes world peace by keeping India, Africa and a large part of Asia under Imperialist heels. Neither Britain nor America has as yet showed any inclination to liquidate the Empires and free the subject races after the war for the establishment of world peace.

Upton Sinclair on Indian Freedom

Upton Sinclair, the renowned American author, writes in a letter to the Progressive Writers' Association, Bombay:

I hope I will not seem to you a victim of imperialist propaganda if I tell you that I think that the Indian

people would be making a great mistake *to seek freedom at the present time.*

He adds: "There is only one goal in the world worth aiming at—and that is the destruction of Axis disposition. Wise men, who appreciate the urgency of the danger, will put aside every desire and every effort which can possibly interfere with the overthrow of German, Italian and Japanese effort at world mastery.

"*We in the United States learned what Japanese barbarism is*, and the monstrous cruelties of which it is capable. It would do the people of India no good but on the contrary great deal of harm, *to jump from the British frying-pan into the Japanese fire*—and that is surely what would happen to you if, while winning your freedom, you are to handicap the efforts of the British and American armies to get supplies to China and enable the Chinese people to preserve their independent republic. It so happens that the only way we can reach China lies through India and every person of judgment in India will lend every help possible to that effort.

"It is my belief that after the war it will become possible for the democratic people of the world to organise an orderly world system and then it will be possible for new experiments in freedom and self-government to begin with some prospect of success. *It will be an enormously difficult task to set up institutions of self-government in a land with many different languages, as you have in India.* Do not make the task any harder by trying it while Japanese barbarians are poundering at your gates."

Innocent of all knowledge on India, the celebrated novelist has committed several mistakes in his thesis on Indian Freedom. Firstly, India never sought freedom *at the present time*, what she demanded was a *declaration* by Britain of her willingness to give India freedom *with a specified reasonable time after the war.*

Secondly, India never desired to "jump from the British frying pan into the Japanese fire," although at the present moment she is unable to choose which one is the frying pan and which one is the fire. She now witnesses those very ghastly scenes every day which she was told would happen if the Japs conquered India. We do not know how and when the Americans had tasted Jap barbarism, but what India does know today is that barbarism is not the monopoly of any particular country or race in the world.

His last plea is also a time-worn one. Indian Empires had been built up in the past irrespective of the linguistic variations.

America's Union with Britain

Bombay Chronicle's special correspondent reports:

The *New York Daily News* in the course of a leader under caption "Poor Man Weds Rich Girl" suggests that Mr. Churchill's Harvard speech was nothing less than that of a marriage proposal of a blue-blooded aristocrat of limited resources to an American heiress of huge wealth.

The paper adds: "Great Britain through match-maker Churchill made a kind proposal of marriage to Miss Columbia, heiress of the western world. It is suggested Britain's worldly experience and ultra-marine blood is a fair trade for Miss Columbia's rather vulgar, but acceptable wealth and fresh healthy strength. Miss Columbia has vast fortune. Of course, she has oil, metals, synthetic rubber and coal. Many American heiresses have been happy and eager to exchange the control of their riches for a title. We feel Miss Columbia would be well advised just to remain a sister to Britain. Friends, you understand, but nothing more. Spinsterhood has some drawbacks but independence is not one of them."

Reuters had not reported American reactions to Mr. Churchill's Harvard University Speech. The comment of the friendly and faithful journal quoted above shows that the American reaction to the British Premier's speech was rather uncomfortable. It is only natural that American public opinion would feel nervous about opposing alliances against them if they formed an exclusive Anglo-American military alliance, which would be of great help to British capitalism but would inevitably lead to another world war.

India's Need for Fertilisers

During peace time, the production of fertilisers in India was estimated at **28000** tons and imports averaged **84000** tons a year. Even this quantity is a mere fraction of the country's real requirements. India's deplorable position in regard to fertilisers would be realised from the following statistics available at the commencement of the war:

Country	Artificial fertilisers used per sq. mile
Belgium	600 lbs.
Japan	410
Germany	310 ..
Denmark	226
Britain	178
France	141
India	0·6

Britain's Response to Bengal's Famine

The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore writes:

The blot on British Imperialism's record which these starvation deaths constitute would be removed with no sparing of expense or of personalities. . . Such service as charity can render would be intensified by the ready response which Englishmen would make to a Lord Mayor's Fund for Indian Relief. And *we do not doubt for one moment that the Lord Mayor of London would give his countrymen the opportunity of expressing their gratitude for help received from India in alleviation of their own suffering during the battle of Britain.*

Bengal is yet to learn of any help rendered to Bengal by Britain or America. Substantial relief might have been given to the famine stricken province, had the task of feeding the

Allied fighting forces been taken over direct by Britain and the U. S. A. thus releasing a large portion of food for distribution among the dying people.

Still he Thinks of Indian Agriculture !

Lord Linlithgow travelled by air to Izzatnagar to pay a visit to the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research. In his speech there, he reminded his audience, the staff of the Institute, of his concern for the advancement of research work in the veterinary field ever since he made an intensive study of India's needs when he was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, and said :

> "Sound livestock improvement must be based on three major sciences, namely, animal genetics, animal nutrition and animal medicine, all of which are now provided for at Mukteshwar and Izzatnagar. If individual research workers play their part, I think there is every reason to anticipate in the not too distant future great advances in this subject, advances that will be of lasting importance and I can think of nothing that is likely to be of greater benefit to the Indian cultivator and so to India at large."

He held out the hope that when Germany and Japan were defeated "it may be found possible to proceed with the construction work you need."

But what was he doing for the improvement of Indian agriculture and livestock during the first four years of his Viceroyalty when Germany and Japan were not at war ?

The Damodar Flood

The full story of the Damodar and its floods has been very ably told by Mr. Kamalesh Roy in a paper published in the *Science and Culture* for September last. The leading article of this journal has summarised the four major interests involved in the Damodar river in the following words :

(1) *Interest of the Rural Population.*—A rural population of about 3 millions live in the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, and partly of Howrah and Midnapore. Though the whole of this population does not live in the Damodar basin, they are all vitally concerned in the river. Our contributor has shown from original records that in spite of occasional floods this region was one of the most prosperous and healthy tracts of India up to 1850, because as a result of experience extending over thousands of years, the people had evolved a method of properly utilising the flood water,—and enriching their fields with it, and protecting themselves against occasional heavy floods, in other words, of living happily with the river. This state of affairs was put to an end in 1850, when railways were opened, embankments were interfered with, and the people's right of utilising the flood waters for irrigation was curbed by special orders and legislation, all with a view to protecting the railway lines.

(2) *The Railway Interests.*—Through the Damodar basin, pass the arterial railway lines connecting the city of Calcutta with Upper India, and also the Grand Trunk Road.

(3) *The interest of the coal-miners and other growing industries in the Upper Damodar Valley.*—Along their upper reaches the Damodar and its tributaries pass through the most important coal fields, where more than 80 per cent. of India's total coal is raised. This interest has likewise grown only since 1850. The coal-miners have shown themselves averse to any measures which might interfere with their interests. This district is rapidly growing to be a great manufacturing centre owing to the discovery of Bauxite, Mica and other minerals.

Calcutta's Danger from Damodar Floods

The fourth interest is that of the city of Calcutta.

The question of her very existence which is threatened by the possible diversion of the Damodar towards the east, which would cause an enormous amount of flood-water to be discharged *north* of the city into the Hooghly. Mr. Addams-Williams emphasized this point in his report to the Bengal Government in June, 1920. When the Damodar took a turn about 1855 towards the [illegible]t by the course known as the Kana Nadee, and began to discharge its waters some thirty miles up Calc[illegible] the engineers got frightened, and got it closed by a dam near its source at Selimabad. But how long can [illegible] is movement [illegible] resisted ? The people of Calcutta may congratulate themselves on their escape from a disaster of unprecedented scale this time, but should they allow matters to rest there ? The factors which are forcing the Damodar eastwards are unrelentingly at work. These are : continual raising of the unembanked right bank, continual decrease of spill-way on the right, and continuous raising of the river-bed by silt deposit. This is increasing the pressure on the left embankment and the situation is deteriorating every year. The measures which have so far been taken have been only *ad hoc* and do not go to the root of things.

Already the level of Calcutta is below the level of the surrounding country, and the carrying capacity of the Hooghly has been so diminished by encroachments on her bed that she is hardly able to carry her present maximum of half a million cusecs of flood-water. If the Damodar cuts out a new channel to the east, and another flood on the 1913 scale occurs, the city may be swept by the flood-waters, and a large part may be buried under silt. This will spell disaster to the whole city and of manufacturing areas on both sides of the river.

Such disaster seldom occur, but they do happen and when they happen, it is always with a *finality*. History is full of such instances, especially when cities were situated on the banks of rivers, and as in ancient times, this was always the case. We have many instances of such occurrences in ancient times.

Such destructions are not mere things of the past. In 1913, two cities, Dayton and Hamilton on the Miami Valley of the U. S. A. were completely destroyed by flood. It is now time that the report submitted by Addams-Williams and Glass in 1920 be considered again and quick action taken.

Man-made Floods

The Glass and Addams-Williams scheme came up for discussion in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. A cut motion was moved which accused the Government of failing to prevent the havoc created by the recent Damodar flood, although suitable measures had been suggested for this purpose in 1920. Mr. B. P. Pain, the minister for communications and works in reply to the cut motion, said that floods were natural calamities for which no one could hold Government responsible. Breaches in the Damodar embankment were not preventible calamities. *Such an astounding ignorance of modern science and experience is rarely to be seen.* Anybody who has read Prof. Meghnad Saha's article on Damodar River published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* only a few weeks ago and Mr. Kamalesh Roy's paper in the September number of *Science and Culture* will realise that the present floods in the Damodar are not natural calamities, they are entirely *man-made and preventible.* The following indignant comment of Sir William Wilcox against the futile and mischievous measures so far pursued by the Government will be illuminating :

"*These watertight embankments I have called Satanic chains,' and they are 'Satanic chains'* (italics are ours). The old canals were closed, and the river floods were prevented from irrigating the country with rich muddy water as they had done for centuries through these canals. New canals were, some of them running parallel with the rivers and blocking the way of overflow irrigation. Of these new canals, some were called 'irrigation canals,' some 'navigation canals,' some 'drinking water canals,' and there is one under construction called an 'October water canal.' (This is now known as the main Damodar canal). This perpetual change of name is a counsel of despair It is like Balak taking Balaam from hill to hill. People were allowed to irrigate from the new canals on condition that they paid for irrigation. Landowners who were protected from inundation and provided with irrigation at the expense of other people, accepted; but the mass of the people, who had been accustomed to infinitely better irrigation free of charge refused point-blank. The rivers bound by these Satanic chains have become congested and are a menace to everybody; while poverty and malaria are the heritage of the countryside."

" The Man Behind the Plough " in the Central Assembly

In the last session of the Indian Legislative Assembly, when the Food Situation was discussed at some length, several important interpellations were put relating to the information, statistical and otherwise, supplied by Government, on the basis of which, the Secretary of State for India had made his statement in the House of Commons, as reported in *Reuter's* message, dated the 14th July. Mr. Amery then said that the present difficult situation in India was due, among other causes, to larger consumption per head as a result of the increased family income. Mr. K. C. Neogy put a number of searching questions as to the source from which Mr. Amery had secured his information. The answer given by the Hon. Sir Azizul Huque was, of course, as vague and disingenuous as it could be made. One of the questions ran as follows :

(*b*) What is the proportion of cultivators in each province, according to the information of Government, who cultivate what are known as economic holdings, and what proportion of them are in a position to withhold their agricultural produce such as food-grains, being surplus to their own family requirements from the market ?

To this Sir Azizul Huque gave the following answer :

(*b*) The information is not readily available.

In the course of a supplementary question, Mr. K. C. Neogy enquired whether Sir Azizul Huque's attention had been drawn to a statement made in a book called *The Man Behind the Plough* by M. Azizul Huque, Speaker, Bengal Legislative Assembly and Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University. In his work the author goes into very great details and states :

"The conclusion is irresistible that the ordinary Bengal peasant is in possession of a holding which is definitely uneconomic."

On this the following interesting conversation took place :

The Hon. Dr. Sir Muhammad Azizul Huque : Sir, I do not understand the relevancy of that question to part (*b*).

Mr. K. C. Neogy . When the Hon. Member gave the reply to part (*b*), did he have an opportunity of remembering what was written in that book by his name-sake ?

The Hon. Dr. Sir Muhammad Azizul Huque : I think I did remember but I thought that my friend required much later information than what the book presented and he wanted information with reference to the present conditions. It is only from that point of view that answer is given. But if the ex-Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly again writes on that subject this year, I will certainly get an edition of that book.

Mr. K. C. Neogy . Do I take it that he takes that statement to be correct so far as Bengal is concerned ?

The Hon. Dr. Sir Muhammad Azizul Huque : It was correct according to his information available at that time and in those conditions.

Mr. K. C. Neogy : Has he any reason to suppose since he has assumed office that the statement made in that book was not quite accurate and needs revision in the next edition ?

The Hon. Dr. Sir Muhammad Azizul Huque . Certainly I feel there is much in that book which requires revision.

Mr. K. C. Neogy : Meanwhile, will the Govern-

ment of India draw the attention of the Secretary of State to this particular statement in this book ?

The Hon. Dr. Sir Muhammad Azizul Huque : I do not understand the relevancy of this question.

It appears that Sir Azizul Huque's book is included among the text-books on Indian Economics for the B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University. As the writer of the book himself now admits that there is much in it that requires revision, it may be enquired whether the matter has attracted the attention of the authorities responsible for the selection of text-books for the University. Soon after the publication of the work in 1939, it was reviewed in a pamphlet, rather in a somewhat exhaustive manner. The authors of the brochure, Messrs Probhatnath Singh Roy and Sachin Sen, pointed out the many inaccuracies and misleading and tendentious statements with which Sir Azizul Huque's book was replete. In the interests of the numerous students concerned and on account of the great importance of imparting impartial and correct information to them, the work of revision should have been undertaken long ago.

S. K. L.

Asia's Distrust of Britain

NEW YORK, Sept. 17.

"There is a danger to the United States in a marriage to Britain—a psychological danger. British imperialism carries the heritage of racial distrust. It is at the root of the Indian problem," says the well-known Editor, Mr John C. Jessup, in an article in *Life* discussing the question of a post-war American alliance with Britain.

He adds : "However solemn the pledge of post-war freedom Britain may give India, Indians will not, or say they will not, believe it. The American imperialist has escaped most of this distrust because our empire, the Philippines, was a small one and because we made good technically at least on our promise of freedom."

Declaring that the "*British Commonwealth is History's most successful experiment in world-wide political freedom under law,*" Mr. Jessup says the British could teach the Americans much about racial tolerance but continues, "Nevertheless, there is a dangerous and not altogether unreasoning Anglophobia in Asia. *One of the East's most fundamental aspirations is a feeling of equality with the rest of the world.*" He declares, "The only way the white man can rehabilitate his reputation in Asia is to share this Asian eagerness for full independence and set the schedule of education and liberation which he feels bound to keep. This is the only Asiatic policy which is safe for America."—*Reuter.*

The main reason for the success of British commonwealth is that it consists of white elements. South Africa has conclusively proved that whatever coloured population there is in a dominion within the commonwealth, it is allowed to stay there by sufferance and not by right. This war has awakened Asia and India with a rude shock. With a clean conscience, India now believes that her rightful place is outside the British Empire and not within it. Congress had the vision to foresee this nine years before the second world war.

Who Made the War Profits ?

In season and out of season Mr. Amery and his satellites have said that the purchasing power of the Indian cultivators has enormously gone up, which, according to them, is one of the principal causes in the abnormal rise in prices. Sir Chottu Ram, in a statement to the Press, has given an effective reply to these conclusions which have no relation with facts. Sir Chottu Ram said :

"The belief that in the purchasing power of the cultivator and the worker there has been an undue rise is a mere myth. *The real accumulation of abnormal wealth* which accounts for inflation *has taken place in the hands of the industrialists, the manufacturers, the middlemen and the contractors.* The fabulous profits made by these classes remain largely undetected and therefore largely untouched. *If a serious attempt is to be made to tackle inflation, a beginning should be made with these classes.* But that beginning should be more earnest and more determined than in the case of cloth where, even on the basis of disclosed accounts, a profit of 25 per cent. has been allowed. *If a successful effort can be made to keep the profits of these classes within* legitimate bounds, the cultivator and the worker will be *able to obtain their requirements at reasonable rates and no artificial methods will be needed to keep the prices of agricultural produce and wages at reasonable levels.*

The greatly increased yield in Income tax, excess profit tax, etc., clearly show that whatever rise in purchasing power there has been, it has been confined within the classes Sir Chottu Ram has mentioned. There has been fabulous rise in the prices of agricultural commodities in certain cases, but in most of them, it is the middleman and not the cultivator who has profited. For example, in Bengal, the cultivator parted with his stock of rice at Rs. 5 or 6 per maund at the highest last season. The failure to bring rice at the statutory price *for sale* in the open market indicates now that these prices will be fully utilised by the middleman to *purchase* paddy and in consequence, much less money will flow to the cultivator as a result of the fixation of rice and paddy prices than would otherwise have been the case. The Bengal famine has conclusively proved that a Government built up on the foundations of capitalism is unable to discharge its primary responsibility when it conflicts with vested interests.

Economics of Pakistan

The correspondent of the *Hindu* reports from New York :

An important angle of India's national problem which most foreign observers overlook is stressed by Mr. Charles H. Behre, Geology Professor of Columbia University, in *Foreign Affairs* wherein he points out, India's division into Hindustan and Pakistan, according to Mr. Jinnah's plan, gives Hindustan the command of most of the coal and other important raw materials while Pakistan possesses only oil reserves and Bengal's industry is almost certainly doomed to fatal shrinkage.

Prof. Behre says: "If India is divided on the basis of religious populations, the Hindu State would be rich and the Moslem State conspicuously poor Speaking generally, about 90 per cent. of India's coal and 92 per cent. of iron would go to the Hindu State. The Hindu State would have most of ferro-alloy and subsidiary minerals." He, however, stresses that the latter for its industrial life would be desperately in need of the great quantities of the Hindu State's resources and in a closed trade system the Pakistan State, Bengal, would industrially speaking, die."

Champions of Pakistan have not yet been able to give any idea of what concrete shape this utopia would take if it comes into being at all. For the present, the mover of the Pakistan proposal, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq is at daggers drawn with its greatest champion, Mr. Jinnah. The originator of this idea, Mr. Latif is heard no more. Pakistan still remains nothing more than a political slogan of the Muslim League. *And as for Bengal, death and destitution are stalking openly all over the unfortunate province with the Pakistan champions in control.*

Horniman's Case

Contempt of Court proceedings have become too frequent in India and the Allahabad High Court seems to have become too sensitive about its own dignity. Within a short time of the rebuff it had received at the hands of the Privy Council in their judgment on the *Hindustan Times* case, this High Court has got another set back from Bombay. The facts of the case are: Mr. B. G. Horniman in the issue of the *Bombay Sentinel* dated April 28, made certain editorial comments which according to the Allahabad High Court constituted Contempt of Court. On September 3, this High Court issued a bailable warrant over the signatures of two judges addressed to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, for execution. Mr. Horniman was arrested and produced before the Chief Presidency Magistrate who enlarged him on bail and directed him to appear before the Allahabad High Court in September 18. A revision petition was filed in the Bombay High Court against the C. P. M's order and the case was heard by Chief Justice Sir John Beaumont sitting with Mr. Justice Sen. The Chief Justice, in a reasoned judgment, held that the order made by the C. P. M. was not within his jurisdiction. In passing orders, cancelling the bail bond of Mr. Horniman, his lordship remarked that the comments were only a mild criticism. His lordship added:

"The question before me, is whether the order passed by the C. P. M. is valid or not. It seems to me that the procedure adopted by the Allahabad High Court *is obviously erroneous and misconceived.* The power to punish for contempt of court is a power inherent in the High Court. No doubt, the Allahabad High Court has powers to charge a person with contempt of court but the point is whether it can deal with a person who is outside its jurisdiction.

"I know of no power in this Court to take notice of contempts in another High Court and it has been held by the Calcutta Judges and rightly too that a High Court could not take action for contempt of court against one who is outside its jurisdiction.

"So the Allahabad High Court cannot take action against Mr. Horniman who is not within its jurisdiction. If this cannot be done the Chief Presidency Magistrate also cannot take action and he has no power even in his own court to take contempt proceedings, much less the Police Commissioner."

Contempt of court was not an offence covered by the Indian Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code. In the warrant the offence was said to be contempt of the Allahabad High Court and no other offence was mentioned in the warrant. He therefore held that the Chief Presidency Magistrate's order was not within his jurisdiction.

Oversensitiveness in the judiciary about its dignitiy produces exactly the reverse result of what is actually intended.

High-handedness of a Lahore Magistrate

The manner in which the British District Magistrate of Lahore ordered the arrest of Mr. A. C. Bali, representative of the *Tribune,* shows how emergency measures can be abused. Mr. Bali was arrested under Sec. 129 of the D. I. Rules on the ground of having "misrepresented" the speech of the District Magistrate delivered at a Press Conference. The Magistrate, according to himself, stated at the conference that, "although the A. R. P. was perhaps the largest organised body of non-officials in Lahore and open to all classes, certain persons in Lahore seemed to think that its members had in some way become officials and were no longer entitled to be considered as representatives of the public." But Mr. Bali's report stated: "Mr. Henderson, however, quoted instance of the A. R. P. organisation and said that public-spirited men did not come forth to join the A. R. P. organisation because it was treated as an official organisation."

How the inaccuracy in Mr. Bali's report constituted a "prejudicial act" within the meaning of the D. I. Rules, has not been explained by the magistrate, who, however, finding his position hot, took the earliest opportunity in releasing Mr. Bali.

24% Families Disintegrated by Bengal Famine

The Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, has undertaken a survey of the people who have flocked to Calcutta in search of food. A preliminary report of this survey has been issued. It states:

So far, more than 700 families have been investigated but all of them could not be included in the figures given below for technical difficulties. The information is based on 504 families.

These families have been studied from different parts of Calcutta, such as Ballygunge, Shambazar, Nimtolla, Sealdah, Wellington Square the Howrah Bridge area and Belliaghatta. They have come from different districts mainly from the 24-Parganas, which alone accounts for 79·1%. Midnapore with 9·5%, Nadia 3·7. Hooghly 2·5, Howrah 2·1 Burdwan 1·9 and others together less than 1%.

The total number of persons included in these 504 families is 1,566—an average of 3·1 persons per family. Among these 1,566 persons, 55·7% are women and 14·3% men. Their distribution according to age varies as follows. Adults 41·6%, children 27·7, infants 26·3 and the old 4·4.

The scheduled castes contribute the highest number of persons to the destitute population 52·7%. Muslims 30·9%, caste Hindus 15·4%, Indian Christians 1%.

The unmarried group tops the list with a population of 55·6%, married men and women 31·2%, widows and widowers 13·2%

To ascertain the socio-economic status of these people the principal occupation of the families has been utilized. Agricultural labourers are the worst sufferers, with 47·7%, cultivators 25·0, petty traders 7·0, beggars 6·6, fishermen 2·4 and others 10·7.

How far the present distress has affected the economic basis of and socio-psychological relations within the family may be gauged from the fact that no less than 24·4% of families have disintegrated.

From a cursory glance at the data, it appears that these destitutes have not come here to stay for ever. Most of them have expressed their intention to go back to their homes as soon as the winter crop is ready for harvesting.

This survey has revealed the most important fact that *no less than 24·4 per cent families have disintegrated* as a result of the famine. This formula when applied all over Bengal gives some idea of the astounding scale on which starvation is going on.

"Vagrants" and "Destitutes"

"Vagrants" and "Destitutes" are the two terms most frequently used by the Government and repeated by the newspapers in respect of the people who are floating about in search of food. They are the helpless victims of a man-made famine. These people have been uprooted from their homes and thrown on the streets by forces on which they had no control. The Government have treated them [illegible]ly with apathy, refusing them adequate relief till public opinion compelled them to do so. No wonder they would brand them with such contemptuous terms as vagrants and destitutes although many of them were family men of the rank of citizens and tax-payers. The Government have so far succeeded in bringing down the public to this level and put these two words in the mouths of decent men as well. It is desirable that newspapers and non-officials should stop using these contemptuous terms.

Apply Through Proper Channel

A *Reuter* message from Washington reports:

A U. S. Lend-Lease official told *Reuter* today that the Administration had received an appeal from the Mayor of Calcutta for aid for famine victims in Bengal "but," he declared, "we cannot deal with the Mayor. Any request for food must be made through the proper Empire authorities."

Asked whether assistance could be rendered if the request were re-channelled through the British Government, the official stated: "It is a British affair. The British have food and they can get it there very much quicker than we can, for instance from S. Africa."

The official declined to state what information had been received in Lend-Lease reports from India.

Authoritative quarters outside the Lend-Lease office agreed that Bengal's crisis should be treated as a United Nations' problem, since it has been caused by the discontinuance of the rice trade with Japanese-occupied Burma, but pointed out that the question of jurisdiction was far less important than the practical problem of getting food where it was wanted in the shortest time. "If this can be done by the British there is no point in the U. S. A. stepping in," one experienced relief officer declared.

Not only India, but all Asia would be startled to learn that the richest country in the world is unable to respond to the call of humanity unless it has been forwarded through proper Imperialist channels.

The following message sent by the special correspondent of the *Hindu* from London will be more revealing:

A former Editor of *Capital* of Calcutta, Mr. R. W. Brock, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, is urging an attempt at a solution of the present mal-distribution of food supplied in India by offering payment in gold and or silver to all producers as well as others ready to dispose of stocks held in excess of their own requirements.

Mr. Brock writes: "In other words, it is a substitute for one form of hoarding—which is occasioning much human suffering—another which at the worst would be harmless and in certain respects, in view of the present inflationary trend in India, might well prove beneficial." The writer believes that an offer by the Government of India to exchange "gold for grain" would yield supplies of food adequate to meet the pressing requirements of deficit Provinces and States. He points out that India—a traditional hoarder of precious metals—is presently gold-hungry largely owing to the export of the dehoarded gold valued at 250 million sterling during the inter-war period and the suspension of normal supplies since [illegible]

Mr. Brock concludes that if his suggestion is adopted the time-lag before bullion can reach India could be countered by issuing special cash certificates encashable in gold or silver within a specified period.

Mr. Brock recalls that during the last war a shipment of 200 million ounces of silver from America saved India from inconvertibility, and adds. "Today analogous shipments of gold and silver would save many millions in India from semi-starvation or actual starvation."

Does this message clarify why America has directed starving Bengal to apply through proper channel ?

India Government Sanctions Unlawful Orders

The London *Times*, commenting on the failure of the Government to give relief to famine-stricken Bengal, says :

Another difficulty arises from the reluctance of surplus provinces to collaborate fully with the Central Government in the release of stocks of grain, a reluctance which persists and may eventually compel the Centre to take the risk of assuming overriding powers, or of setting up a special administration of relief independent of the Bengal Government itself. After all, as the Calcutta *Statesman* has said in its outspoken criticism, this is a 'man-made' famine, and if the provinces fail the Centre must repair their mistakes.

India Government has yielded to the pressure of some of the surplus provinces' demand to put ban on the export of foodstuff from their territory, in spite of the fact that the Government of India Act expressly denies this power to the provinces. Sec. 297(1)(a) of the Government of India Act 1935 states :

Sec. 297(1), No Provincial Legislature or Government shall

(a) by virtue of the entry in the Provincial Legislative list relating to trade and commerce within the Province, or the entry in that list relating to the production, supply, and distribution of commodities, have power to pass any law *or take any executive action* prohibitive or restricting the entry into, or export from, the Province of goods of any class or description.

(2) Any law passed in contravention of this section shall, to the extent of the contravention, be invalid.

Lawless laws are nothing new in India, but such gross violation of an express provision of the Constitution Act has surpassed them all. Development of a bloated sense of self-importance by the Provinces, the Centre meekly yielding to it, has ever been the sure sign in history of the decay and downfall of Empires.

Growth of American Trade in India

The growth of American trade in India has not been viewed with equanimity by the British capitalists. Sir Alfred Watson has frankly given out their mind when, in his journal *Great Britain and the East*, he states :

Whatever the causes the United States has obtained a proportion of Indian trade almost as great as our own. In 1938-39 America supplied 7 per cent. of India's imported goods; we 31 per cent. The American proportion has grown by 13 per cent., while ours has declined by 10 per cent. Nor do the Americans show any disposition to be quietly dispossessed of the ground they have gained. On the contrary, a notable feature in the Indian Press of today is a spate of American advertising of two kinds. On the one hand, the U. S. Government has been taking large spaces in the newspapers in an endeavour to make India aware of the part that America is playing in its defence. That is an official effort on which £30,000 is said to have been already spent. Side by side with this national programme there has been a marked increase in advertising by the big manufacturing firms from the other side of the Atlantic.

The *Commerce* of Bombay, in its issue dated September 25 last, writes :

Reports from New Delhi indicates that negotiations between India and the U. S. A. in respect of the Master and Reciprocal Agreements under Lease-Lend have been suspended for the time being. The main reason for the breakdown of the negotiations is stated to be Clause Seven of the Master Agreement which lays down that the participating countries of like mind should agree "to the elimination of all forms of discriminating treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers, and, in general, to the attainment of all the economic objectives set forth in the joint declaration made on 12th August, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom." It is stated that India was not willing to subscribe to this Agreement and thereby be prevented from levying protective duties in order to foster its nascent industries. There is hardly any indication to show that the Government of India was in close touch with the business community in India, while negotiations for a direct Lease-Lend Agreement were going on. Whether it intimated its decision to the business community before negotiations were finally broken off is not also known.

The sincerity of Government of India's professions to protect Indian nascent industries is already too widely known. Neither at the time of making nor at the time of breaking the Agreement did the Government of India take the Indian business and industrial interests into confidence. Only one truth emerges out of the two passages quoted above : it is that the Government of India has the backing and approval of the British Cabinet when it refuses to surrender its right to tax American goods after the war.

The Report of the Food-grains Policy Committee

The Food Grains Policy Committee has concluded its deliberations and has submitted its report to the Government of India. The

Committee was at first constituted with Mr. H. D. Vigor as Chairman, but owing to his continued illness, Sir Theodore Gregory, the Economic Adviser of the Government of India, was appointed its Second Chairman. The *Tribune* of Lahore has given a summary of the report, portions of which are quoted below:

The Food Grains Policy Committee, presided over by Sir Theodore Gregory, in its report published today recommends, among other things, that for the duration of the war India must cease to be a net exporting country and must become a net importing country; that a central foodgrains reserve should be created; that in order to secure foodgrains from the cultivator, effort must be made to increase the supply of goods he needs, and the problem shou'd rank next to the problem of munitions supply, but failing such increase it would be advisable for Government to secure supplies of precious metals for sale to the cultivator; and rationing should be introduced in urban areas on the principle of a daily minimum ration of one lb. cereals for an adult, in view of the fact that unlike England and America, there is no great chance of the mass of the urban population being able to supplement the ration by intake of other foodstuffs on any significant scale.

In the last report, procurement involves getting the maximum quantity of food-grains from the cultivator, in every part of the country. How can this maximum amount be secured? There are two alternatives: compulsory acquisition at a fixed price, *i.e.*, requisitioning and, secondly, increasing the inducement to the cultivator to sell. The report takes the view that it would be premature to resort to requisitioning in India generally (which would involve official procurement machinery everywhere) though in seriously deficit areas it may be the only way out. Rising prices of food-grains as such do not necessarily evoke an increased supply, so long as the higher money prices received by the cultivator cannot be translated into an effective supply of goods which the cultivator requires. The problem of procurement is thus intimately linked up with the problem of increasing the supply of the goods which the cultivator needs. Every effort must, therefore, be made to increase the supply of such goods, and the problem should rank next to the problem of munitions supply. Though it would be advisable for government to secure supplies of precious metals for sale to the cultivator.

The measures suggested by Sir Theodore for securing the voluntary surrender of foodgrains from the cultivator will fall wide of the mark. His assumption that the cultivator is hoarding is contrary to facts at least so far as Bengal is concerned. A house to house search through the whole of Bengal has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that there is no such hoardings in the countryside. It would therefore be useless to make precious metals available to the cultivator for inducing him to sell his commodity. Confidence in the ability of the Government to bring down prices would have served better for compelling him to sell his stock, if he had any.

Gregory Committee's Recommendations

The Gregory Committee has made some definite suggestions of remedial measures, and Sir Theodore stated in a Press Conference in New Delhi that there was nothing in the Food Grain Committee's plan which could not be implemented almost at once.

The Committee's recommendations regarding remedial measures fall under five main heads, firstly, an increase in available supplies; secondly, an improvement in the technique by which home-grown supplies of food can be made available, *i.e.*, improved procurement machinery; thirdly, measures to secure a more equitable distribution of what is available, *i.e.*, extension of rationing; fourthly, a check on rising food prices, *i.e.*, general extension of the principle of statutory price control; lastly, a general overhaul of the machinery of administration and a re-adjustment of the relations between the provinces and the centre.

On the first head, the report lays down the principle that for the duration of the war, India must cease to be a net exporting country and must become a net importing country. The export of rice must cease altogether. As regards imports, Government is urged to press for imports of 1½ million tons in the first year and for imports of one million tons per annum in succeeding years—one million tons being the average annual net imports of the last 5 years.

The reason for suggesting 1½ million tons as the initial volume of imports is that whilst one million tons should be used for current consumption, the remaining half million should be utilised to create a central foodgrains reserve, to the constitution of which reserve the report attaches great importance. Without such a reserve, it will be difficult to enforce adequate price control and its existence would greatly facilitate procurement, since it would enable government to stand away from the market and thus defeat attempts to hold it to ransom, without imperilling its current supply operations.

In addition, the report recommends that the military authorities, as well as the food department, should take into consideration the direct and indirect effect upon available food supplies of the strategical plans, now being elaborated, in so far as these concerned the presence of large overseas forces in India.

As regards the increase in the supply of domestically grown foodstuffs, the report makes a large variety of suggestions, ranging from the large-scale distribution of improved seed to the strengthening of provincial and state departments of agriculture.

On what basis the Committee arrives at the figures of imports to wipe out the deficit is not clear. According to Bombay *Commerce*, India requires an addition of 11 to 12 million tons of foodgrains to her normal production. Over this, there are seed requirements which may be estimated at over 4 million tons. The deficit thus in any case, is much more than the estimated deficit of current consumption of 1 million tons. The calculation for a half million ton reserve is not also clear. What would this reserve do in a year of crop failure while the normal requirement on the basis of Committee's calculations aggregate 50·5 million tons?

Administrative Measures Suggested by the Gregory Committee

The Committee has made the following administrative suggestions:

On the administrative aspects of the problems, the report refers to the future organisation of the food department and suggests the creation in its place of a food board, to secure continuous and conscious co-ordination of effort in all directions. The report also suggests the establishment of an expert panel of six, drawn from the trade, whose advice should be sought on suitable occasions. The need for a food administration manual for the guidance of all concerned is stressed, and on the question of the relations between the provinces and the centre, the report declares that since public opinion will not tolerate a "hands-off" attitude by the centre, the centre cannot accept any situation which would involve its having to carry great responsibilities without having adequate power. The report requires the centre to have the last word as regards price changes, allocations of supplies, the management of the central food-grains reserve or special assistance operations and details of administration.

As regards Bengal, the report urges upon the Bengal Government the necessity of tightening up its procurement machinery as the first condition of recovery.

There should be no doubt that strong Central Control in respect of food policy is an imperative necessity. The replacement of the present Food Department by a Food Board having a number of non-official experts on it, may serve better only if such non-officials are given effective voice on the Board. Immediate attention should be given to perfect the procurement machinery suggested for Bengal.

Acquisition of Supplies

As regards acquisition of supplies, the Report states:

Whilst strongly pressing the case for imports, the report makes it clear that the general shortage of shipping and the stringency in other belligerent countries is fully recognised. Two counter-considerations are, however, urged. The first is that Indian nutritional standards are in general deplorably low. The second is that the area nearest the scene of a possible large-scale offensive is also, at the present time, the scene of the greatest distress in the matter of food supply. The report points out the complicated nature of the Bengal problem, and urges upon the Bengal Government the necessity of tightening up its procurement machinery as the first condition of recovery.

The report rejects altogther two alternatives which might be invoked to solve the problem of procurement that is, the acquisition of supplies. The first of these principles is that of unlimited free trading in food-grains. The report takes the view that even if free trade were allowed to work itself out without interference, (which is more than doubtful in the light of experience of the spring of 1943), it would result in a drastic rise in the level of prices in some areas and might not, owing to purchases for hoarding or investment purposes, lower them elsewhere. In any case rising prices do not always result in additional supplies being forthcoming owing to the tendency of holders, when a rise of prices is being experienced, to expect still higher prices in the future.

The other principle which is rejected is that of a Central Government food-grains monopoly. This principle is rejected, not on the ground that it is inherently unworkable—on the contrary it is the only perfectly logical solution of the difficulties—but on the ground that India finds herself in the middle of a crisis, and the creation of the vast organisation which would be involved would take time, and time is not available.

The Committee touched the most clumsy knot but dared not open it. They admitted the possibility and desirability of setting up a Central Agency of acquisition of supplies by the Government but have evaded it by saying that it is unworkable at the present moment. Had the Government of India been able to keep its administration free from all corruption and fully associated with public opinion, it would not have been difficult to set up such a Central Organisation *in the midst of this terrible crisis.*

Gregory Committee on Rationing

The views of the Committee as regards rationing are:

The most important practical aspect of the distributive problem at the present time is the rationing in the larger cities of India, *i.e.*, those with a population of one lakh and over, which the report recommends should be undertaken forthwith. The report starts from the principle that the minimum ration should not normally be allowed to fall below one lb. of cereals per day, in view of the fact that, unike England and America, there is no great chance of the mass of the urban population being able to supplement the ration by intake of other foodstuffs of any significant scale. The report emphasizes that even in these abnormal days, food conditions in these countries cannot be compared with those in India, where there is very little room for tightening the belt so far as the mass of the population is concerned. The report, however, stresses the need for austerity standards in the better-off classes of society. If the minimum standard of one lb. per adult per day cannot be guaranteed out of the home-supplies, then imports must be arranged for.

The essence of rationing lies in good administration. The report, therefore, calls for drastic enforcement of the law, especially in the early stages, when attempts at sabotage and evasion are likely to be most frequent.

Unless the public is to be put to very great inconvenience through delays, it is necessary to make use of the normal machinery of the retail trade, and the report lends no support to the view that retail trade could be easily dispensed with. At the same time, attempts at sabotage must be put down with a stern hand by withdrawal of the retailers' licences and black-listing. Distribution of food-grains through employers' associations and consumers' co-operative societies should not be discouraged, in fact the latter form of distribution should be positively encouraged: subject to the principle that every one should be treated alike in all essential respects. In view of the food crisis, the department is asked to investigate the possibility of individual rationing of sugar and milk the last food having, of course, a peculiar bearing upon the health of women and children.

As regards rural areas where there may also be serious malnutrition and shortage, the report recognises that general rationing is impossible but it points out that in famine or semi-famine areas distribution cannot be let to the normal channels of trade and government action is absolutely imperative.

The minimum ration of cereals prescribed by the Committee, *viz.*, one pound per day, in other words, 8 chhitaks, is exactly half of that recommended by the Famine Commission. Sir Theodore Gregory declares that the essence of rationing lies in good administration but in fact it is exactly the thing most wanting at the present moment with little chance of improvement. Both the Central and the Provincial Governments have totally and miserably failed to stop sabotage and evasions by big traders. Black listing of retailers is no solution.

Gregory Committee on Price Control

Although unable to attain complete unanimity on the question, the overwhelming majority of the committee came to the conclusion that statutory price-control of all the major food-grains should be instituted in all Provinces and States.

The report argues the case for control by statutory prices. It should have the right to suggest changes of prices, upwards and downwards. As far as possible, regional prices should be the aim through co-operation between the Provinces and the States of a particular region. Disputes between the provinces and the centre as to price changes should be referred to a standing committee on prices, representative of the centre, the Provinces and the States, the producers and the trade.

It is a pity that after four years of the war, and with this long experience of price control, the Committee have been unable to come to a unanimous decision. An honest and efficient administration free from corruption and determined to get supplies, aided by an honest price control police would have done the job much better. But that is beyond the range of practicality under the present system of Government.

Corruption in the Administration

The Chief Minister of Bengal has made the following statement on the floor of the Bengal Legislative Assembly on September 23:

Sir Nazimuddin said that the firm of Ispahanis were being grounded down merely because that was means of attack on the Government itself. The real object was to utilise the situation for the purpose of attacking the Government. Ispahanis were the handy-target for an attack on the Government of Bengal. He took full responsibility also for the appointment of Ispahanis as the sole agent of the Government of Bengal. That was done after consultation with the Regional Commissioner and His Excellency the Governor of Bengal. He could now say—let the members deny if they could that the propaganda had been so successful that even the highest in the land had been su[illegible]ed to it.

Dr. Sanyal: Who is the highest in the land?

Sir Nazimuddin: And the whole thing can be seen by this that even it had been said that the whole illness of the Governor of Bengal was not correct. Could that be denied? Could it be denied that all this was propaganda?

Dr. Mookherjee said that the Hon. Chief Minister had stated that there had been insinuations that the highest in the land, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, was somehow implicated in connection with the contract being given to Ispahanis and he had also stated that it was rumoured that Sir John Herbert had faked illness. Up till now such reports had not appeared in newspapers. Would this statement of the Hon. Chief Minister be allowed to be published in the newspapers

The Speaker replied "Why not?"

Two days earlier, the Upper House of Bengal Legislature, allegations of corruption and jobbery among Government officials formed a subject-matter of the budget discussions. Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin, a member of the Ministerialist Party, said, "the administrative machinery had been rudely shaken as a result of corruption existing *for the last seven years* and it was for the present Government to take steps to eradicate the evil. The fall of the Fazlul Huq Ministry was not only due to the difference prevailing in the Muslim League but *to the corruption rampant in the administration*. Dishonesty and inefficiency among the members of the services should no longer be tolerated." Another member of the Ministerialist party, Mr. Moazzem Ali Choudhury said, "Grave allegations had been heard *even against certain Ministers and high officials.*" The Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Goswami, was unable to resist the force of these allegations and admitted the existence of corruption among Government officials. He, however, laid the blame on the past Ministry and said, "Corruption was started some years ago. The present Government were but legatees of the previous administration."

Who is really responsible for the serious corruptions now rampant in the Governmental Machinery? Is the present ministry merely a legatee of Mr. Fazlul Huq in this matter? We remember quite clearly that it was Mr. Fazlul Huq, who, as Chief Minister of Bengal, had agreed to set up a Tribunal for enquiring into the serious allegations of highhandedness, neglect and gross inefficiency against Government officials in Midnapore after the last cyclone. It is now public knowledge that Governor Sir John Herbert had turned down Mr. Fazlul Huq's proposal, and the district officials were thus protected. Again, Sir Nazimuddin was Home Minister in the Huq Ministry for nearly six years. What did he do to eradicate corruption

during all these years ? These are the ministers most favourite to Sir John Herbert whom he has brought into office by tactics publicly challenged by his former Chief Minister and responsible newspapers in the country. The Herbert-Nazimuddin Administration had enough time and opportunity to prove, by means of open and impartial inquiry, that corruption among Government officials was initiated and fostered by the previous ministry.

The Chief Minister Sir Nazimuddin has made public the allegations made against Sir John Herbert. This statement by the Chief Minister about such allegations carries the implication that distrust against Government officials is wide and deeprooted in the country. No notice of it would have been taken by Sir Nazimuddin if it were a mere club room political propaganda. The very existence of such serious charges against the Governor is a sure proof of the utter failure of Sir John Herbert's administration in Bengal. His conduct had been openly criticised by no less a person than his former Chief Minister Mr. Fazlul Huq, all of which stand unrefuted. In the matter of the existence of corruption among the services, the Governor's responsibility is the highest; the members of the services are subordinate to him and not to the ministers.

Amery on Food Situation

News of the Bengal famine has at last succeeded in percolating through the stringent censorship of questions in the Parliament. Mr. Amery had to take notice of them but in his characteristic way, he has replied to them giving out only untruths and half-truths. He said :

"As there are a number of questions on paper about the food situation in India I should like with Mr. Speaker's permission to make a brief statement. My earlier statement as to the nature and causes of the failure of food supplies in certain parts of India holds good.

Amongst those causes have been *poor rice crops in Bengal, the loss of Burma imports, the withholding of some portion of their crops from sale by fifty million peasant producers and doubtless some merchants hoarding, coupled with some clashes of provincial and national interest and some local failures of administration.*

The areas mainly affected are parts of Bombay and Madras where crops are always precarious, Cochin and Travancore, areas mainly dependent on imports by sea, and above all Bengal with the vast city of Calcutta as its core. In all these areas there is a menace of famine, but Bombay at least by establishing a rationing system in the city last May and by co-operating with the Central Government has held its own so far.

Elsewhere the position generally is not so serious but heavy concentrations of population such as those in the coalfields and Jamshedpur in Bihar and Indore, Mysore and Bangalore, are all a constant source of anxiety. A new and growing source of difficulty is that heavy calls on the main granaries of the Punjab and Sind to replace rice in Bengal and the south have left shortages of wheat for other areas normally dependent on them. Moreover high food prices have created difficulties elsewhere for salaried people and those who earn cash wages—a much smaller proportion of the population than in England but many millions of people nevertheless.

Bengal including Calcutta is unquestionably the centre of trouble at this moment. Reports have been received of distressing scenes both in the city and in the districts. The death-rate in Calcutta in the last seven months has been thirty per cent. above the normal and there is a real ground for anxiety.

The problem which faces the Government of Bengal, which I would remind the House is a Government of Indian Ministers responsible to the local legislature and which is statutorily responsible for the food administration is to obtain sufficient supplies from sources in Bengal and elsewhere and to distribute them adequately. Statutory powers exist for the extraction of excessive merchant stocks, but it has taken time for them to be put into full effect and the province is compelled to rely upon the grains brought by the Central Government from the Punjab and elsewhere in order to make up for the difficiencies of the home grown rice. Measures of control have brought the prices in Calcutta down to Rs. 24 per maund after being as high as Rs. 37. Pre-war price was approximately Rs. 4 per maund. Elsewhere wholesale prices are lower and range from Rs. 18 in the Punjab to as low as Rs. 8 in Madras.

1,700 tons of wheat per day are being brought into Calcutta by the Central Government. Provided effective distribution can be arranged this is more than enough to feed the city itself on a tolerable ration basis, but the supplies have to cover some of the country districts also.

As regards distribution rationing is being organised on the Bombay plan. The Central Food Department are giving assistance in the organisation of these plans but it is expected that it will be a month before rationing in Calcutta is working. Meanwhile provincial authorities have organised free relief on a considerable scale and are seeking to deal with the problem of destitute persons who find their way to the city. It is fortunate that the jute factories and other organised industries here and elsewhere have been able to keep their employees supplied and have eased the general problem by so doing.

His Majesty's Government are giving such assistance as they can by way of facilitating the import of foodstuffs into India, but Mr. Silverman (one of the questioners) will recognise that consideration of security makes it undesirable to give detailed information as to the source of supply. Honourable members will realise too in the light of the passage in the Prime Minister's recent statement which dealt with the shipping position, that the extent to which such assistance can be given without serious repercussions in other directions is not unlimited. While these measures are being taken to deal with the short term problem an All-India Committee appointed by the Central Government in July to consider long term measures has made its report. This was presented yesterday and I await the Government of India's statement of findings and their recommendations upon it. I trust it will be possible to find in the light of its recommendations the basis on which the Bengal Government, the Centre and His Majesty's Government can successfully co-operate to meet the threat to Bengal and elsewhere."

Mr. Amery has enumerated the causes of the Bengal famine as understood by him, but did not say why remedial measures were not adopted and why no arrangements of importing foodgrains had been made when the poor rice crop in Bengal was known by the last winter, and Burma supply was cut off some time earlier. He did not say how he had obtained the information that 50 million peasant producers were hoarding rice. We know that the countrywide house to house search undertaken by the Bengal Government had revealed that no such hoarding existed. He did not say what made him think that provincial and national interests clash in respect of food supply when he himself admits in the very same statement that rationing has been successfully done in Bombay through the co-operation of Central and Provincial Governments.

He deliberately creates false impressions in the minds of the world at large, when he declares that measures of control have brought the price of rice in Calcutta to Rs. 24. We refuse to believe that, with the proceedings of the Bengal Legislature before him, he is ignorant of actual market conditions in Bengal and is not aware that the price of Rs. 24 exists merely in Government *communiques* while rice sells at fancy prices of Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 if it be at all available. Mr. Amery's attempt to tell the world that this awful situation is not the fault of the British Government and his pretence of ignorance of actual conditions will produce the contrary effect when truth will be out.

The most mischievous sting in Mr. Amery's speech lies in that portion of it where he has laid the blame of maladministration on the shoulders of Indian Ministers whom he has called "Government." The Calcutta High Court has definitely cleared up the misconception when they held that ministers do not constitute Executive Government, they are mere advisers of the Governor. The Executive Services have not been placed under the Ministers although the latter have been made responsible to the legislature for the misdeeds and bunglings of the Services. The real responsibility of Government lies with the Governor and not with the ministers. Besides, whatever actions the Bengal Ministry, past and present, have taken, the decisions were always made in the meetings of the Ministry presided over by the Governor. The Civil Servants who man the Civil Supply Directorate were responsible to him alone. This dual Government has proved utterly unworkable specially in times of emergency. Bombay has given a better account of itself without a Ministry. The Congress was wise enough to foresee, as early as at the beginning of the war, that the Indian Ministry was a scapegoat for shouldering the blame for the bunglings of Governors and Services over whom the Ministers had no control whatsoever.

Delay in Supplying to Districts

Mr. Suhrawardy's statement in the Bengal Legislative Assembly reveals that a comparatively small allotment has been made to the district of Dacca. An acute shortage of supply prevails in this district at almost every centre. The allotment to Dacca is not very much larger than that made for the Tangail Sub-Division of Mymensingh. Alarming reports are pouring forth from Manikganj and Munshiganj in particular. A good deal of time is being lost by reason of the fact that all supplies of foodgrains coming from the other provinces are in the first instance, being brought to Calcutta to be distributed subsequently to the different consuming centres in the muffasil. Much time can be saved and unnecessary traffic in broad gauge railways and handling charges can be avoided if the supplies through B. & N.W.R. are sent direct to the metre gauge system of the B. A. R. serving eastern and a larger part of northern Bengal. This can be easily done provided a regular and comprehensive plan of distribution is drawn up in advance.

Price of Rice in Hindu India

Price of rice ruled at *one anna per maund* in Hindu India during a continuous period of about fifteen centuries. The guiding principle of Indian economic life had always been the purchasing power of man, and not the purchasing power of money. Money occupied a secondary position in Indian economics. Barter was current to a large extent at a time when coins were known and used. A state of full employment prevailed and the earnings of even the poorest man was sufficient to balance his family budget. Cottage industries were the secondary source of income which supplemented agricultural income and provided employment to women. The commodity prices, at the time of Kautilya, *i.e.*, in fourth century B.C. when converted to modern currency, would be as follows :

	Rs.	As.	P.	
Rice	0	1	0	per md.
Oil	0	8	0	,,
Ghee	0	12	0	,,
Dal	0	1	0	,,
Salt	0	0	6	,,
Sugar	0	10	0	,,

Ordinary Cloth—5 pieces for one anna.

In the ninth century A.D., *i.e.*, thirteen centuries after, the price of rice remained stationary while the prices of other commodities were reduced by half.

The income of the poorest people at the time of Kautilya was at least six annas a month. Kautilya's Arthasastra and Manusmriti show that it had been fixed by authority as the minimum wage of a day labourer. This conclusion is corroborated by the *Jataka* stories, compiled some time about the Gupta period, which proves that these wages continued till at least fifth century A.D. The lowest wages of a skilled labour were at least twelve annas a month. Kautilya fixed Rs. 3 to Rs. 12 a month as the wages of clerks, accountants and writers. Sylvain Levi, in his book *Le Nepal*, gives the following wages table from inscriptions dated 625 A.D.:

Manual Workers	Monthly Wages in Mod Currency Rs. As. P.
Messenger	0 10 0
Personal Attendant	0 7 0
Water Carrier	0 7 0
Door Keeper	0 6 0
Street Watchman	0 6 0
Sweeper	0 6 0
Cowherd	0 7 0

A little calculation will show that these incomes were quite sufficient to balance a family budget at the prices then ruling. A glance at the maps of Chandra Gupta, Asoka or Samudra Gupta's Empire would show that the territory enjoying these prices were larger than present-day British India.—DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

Price of Rice in Mughal India

In Mughal India commodity prices began to rise, but incomes also rose. The Muhammadans had occupied the thrones of India but they did not disturb the economic life of the people. A state of full employment prevailed down to the reign of Alivardi and agriculture and cottage industries provided the chief sources of national income.

In the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, *i.e.*, in the middle of fourteenth century, a Muslim traveller, Ibn Batuta, came to Bengal. The commodity prices which he had found ruling at that time, has been converted into modern currency by Prof. S. N. Bose of Dacca, as follows:

	Rs. As. P.	
Rice	0 1 9	per md.
Til Oil	0 11 6	„
Ghee	1 7 0	„
Sugar	1 7 0	„
A Fat Fowl	0 0 3	
Two Pigeons	0 0 3	
A Fat Ram	0 4 0	

Fine Cotton Cloth—15 yards for Rs. 2.

According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, commodity prices in the sixteenth century were as follows:

	Rs. As. P.	
Rice (Fine)	0 15 0	per md.
Rice (Coarse)	0 10 0	„
Dal	0 13 6	„
Ghee	5 0 0	„
Salt	0 12 0	„
Sugar	5 11 0	„

Moreland, in his *India at the Death of Akbar*, gives the scale of incomes at this period which when converted into modern currency and in monthly wages, would appear as follows:

Manual Workers	Monthly Wages Rs. As. P.
Ordinary Labourer	1 14 0
Superior Labourer	3 12 0
Sweeper	1 14 0
Servant	3 0 0
Ordinary Artisans	1 8 0

Commodity prices at the time of Alivardi, was almost at the same level. Market prices at Murshidabad in 1729, as quoted in the Fort William Revenue Consultations, were:

Bansful Rice, first quality—1 md. 10 srs. a rupee.
Coarse Karkasali Rice—7 mds. 20 srs. a rupee.
Oil, first quality—21 srs. a rupee.
Oil, second quality—24 srs. a rupee.
Ghee, first quality—10½ srs. a rupee.

In 1738, price of rice at Dacca ruled between 2 maunds 20 seers to 3 maunds per rupee. British power had about this time only begun to penetrate in Bengal. 205 years after their consolidation in this province, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq quoted the ruling price of rice at Dacca as Rs. 80 per maund.—DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

Price of Rice in British India

When the East India Company was still going strong, about 1810, Buchanan-Hamilton quotes the following income scale:

Common Labourer—As. 2 per day.
Clever Labourer—As. 3 per day.
Carpenter—Rs. 6 per month.
Brass Workers—Rs. 4-14-0 per month.
Weavers—Rs. 3 per month.

Ruling prices were

	Rs.	As.	P.	
Rice (Fine)	1	4	0	per md.
Rice (Coarse)	1	0	0	"
Dal	1	8	0	"
Flour	2	0	0	"
Mustard Oil	0	2	0	per seer
Ghee	0	7	0	"
Coarse Dhuti	0	6	0	per piece

Buchanan-Hamilton's survey in the Rungpore district reveals that only 11 per cent of the population were idlers.

The balance between income and expenditure in the family budget was broken for the first time about 1830 when cheap cotton cloth began to pour in the country from England, destroying the secondary source of national income and throwing the entire population on the land for subsistence. The causes of the decay in national income have been discussed in the writer's article published elsewhere in this issue.

The average income in British India, on a monthly basis at the close of 19th century, would come up to the following figures according to the different calculations given below:

Dadabhai Naoroji—Re 1-11-0.
Digby—Re. 1-9-0.

Even Lord Curzon could not push it above Rs. 2-8-0 per month.

Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao has calculated average income for the quinquennium 1925-29 as Rs. 6-6-0 per month.

A study of the causes for the mounting agricultural debt, rapid increase in the number of agricultural labourer and a steady decline in the standard of living of the average people suggests that the national income should be computed in two broad divisions—special attention being paid to persons with incomes below the average level, say Rs. 50 per month. Commodity prices and state of employment from this angle would give a more realistic picture of the actual economic conditions in India. It is not at all difficult to conclude, from personal observations and experiences, that the average income of millions of landless people who must depend solely on their daily earnings for subsistence, does not exceed Rs. 10 per month. The following price-lists will show that it is impossible for them to meet both ends in their domestic budget when prices rule at these levels:

Commodities	Prices in Sept. 1939 Rs.	As.	P.		Prices in July 1943 Rs.	As.	P.	
Rice	4	12	0	per md.	34	0	0	per md.
Dal	5	0	0	..	25	0	0	..
Sugar	12	8	0	..	40	0	0	"
Oil	20	0	0	..	50	0	0	..
Ghee	50		0	"	110	0		
Coal	0		0	..	2	0		
Coarse Cloth	2	0	0	per pair	12	0	0	per pair

Maladministration, exploitation and systematic drainage of the country's real resources for over two hundred years have contributed in destroying the foundations of the Indian economic life. Effects of foreign invasions, internecine warfares, revolutions, changes of ruling powers and dynasties in this country pale into insignificance when compared to this silent, systematic and ruthless draining away of resources, with a callous disregard for the people's welfare, carried on with legal sanction continuously for two centuries.—DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

Notice

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays the Modern Review Office and Prabasi Press will remain closed from the 5th to the 18th October, 1943, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Proprietor, "The Modern Review" and Prabasi Press.



THE CONTROL OF ALIEN CAPITAL

BY H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

III

THE INDIAN VIEW OF THE ECONOMIC SAFEGUARDS

The Fiscal Commission accepted some only of the suggestions coming from Indians recommending their application within a strictly limited sphere. The Minute of Dissent signed by the Indian minority did not fail to draw pointed attention to the evils this would give rise to. This was as early as 1922. It said :

"If our colleague's recommendation is accepted it will be open to every foreigner to establish manufacturing industries in India by means of companies incorporated in their own countries and in their own currency. This danger did not exist under a policy of free trade, but it is bound to materialise when the benefit of protective duties becomes available. We may have under such circumstances companies incorporated elsewhere, say in America in dollars, in France in francs, in Italy in liras, in Germany in marks, in Japan in yens and in China in dollars, etc. It will be also possible for these companies to obtain their whole capital in their own countries and thus carry away the entire profit of manufacturing industries established behind the tariff wall. The consumer will have paid a higher price, due to protective duties, and the entire manufacturing profit will have gone out of the country.

"No foreign country should be allowed to monopolise the profits due to the policy of protection in India and at the cost of the Indian consumers."

The External Capital Committee in its turn gave its support to the recommendations referred to, thus strengthening the position of alien capital.

In the meantime, India had adopted discriminative protection and Imperial Preference. The British felt that just as under the latter, they had an advantage over their non-British rivals, they should also see to it that they enjoyed similar advantages so far as the entry of non-Indian capital into the economic life of India was concerned. Not content with this, they proceeded to take advantage of India's political subjection by imposing such legislation on her as would enable them to participate in the benefits contingent on the granting of subsidies and bounties thus indirectly hindering her rapid economic development.

These facts explain why in the so-called anti-discrimination clauses of the Government of India Act, 1935, emphasis has been laid on the principle of reciprocity and why the power of controlling British capital has not been entrusted to the India Government or even to the Viceroy and Governor-General who, in many other matters equally or perhaps more important, enjoys what many regard as almost autocratic powers.

The net result of the inclusion of these clauses is that though non-British capital has been denied the privilege of free entry, the doors so far as British capital is concerned have been thrown wide open.

Apart from the fact that the incorporation of the economic safeguards practically amounts to a serious curtailment of the powers and sovereignty of the central legislature, its indirect implication is the continuance of the privileged position of non-nationals in India. Attention was drawn to this fact by Mahatma Gandhi when he observed that "to talk of no discrimination between Indian interests and English and European is to perpetuate Indian helotage."

One of the Indian delegates at the Second Round Table Conference stated that in 1931, there were 821 concerns nearly all of which were British with a paid-up capital of nearly £600 million registered outside India and operating in our motherland. There cannot be much doubt that there has since been an increase in the number of such concerns. As against this, we find that according to the Secretary to the Indian Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain there were in September, 1934, only 42 Indian concerns in Britain. These included 5 oriental artware, 2 condiment, 4 pearl brokers' and tobacco importing firms, 3 restaurants, etc. It is probable that the total capital of all these concerns did not exceed £100,000.

Under these circumstances, the principle of reciprocity under which, India would not be allowed to impose retrictions on British enterprises so long as similar restrictions are not imposed on Indian enterprises in Britain, is meaningless specially when we remember that, up to the present, there is no Indian enterprise worth the name in Britain competing on equal terms with British enterprise in that country. It would have some meaning only when and if Indian industry and commerce become comparable to their British rivals, in strength and

vigour. Indians feel that should such a time ever come, Britain will not show much hesitation in imposing restrictions on her Indian rivals and that reciprocity, under present circumstances, looks too much like avoiding the real issue, the rapid economic development of India, if not like an attempt at throwing dust into the eyes of those who are ignorant of the actual situation.

Another fact which antagonised Indian opinion was that Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, had said that the proposals "would embrace all existing British companies trading in India but not new ones, when special privileges (such as subsidies, bounties etc.,) were intended to be offered to Indian enterprises by the Legislature."

Lord Reading ex-Viceroy put forward a different view at the Minorities Committee of the Second Round Table Conference and based it on the so-called equality of opportunities afforded to Indians in the United Kingdom.

> "I draw no distinction myself between British concerns already established in this country and British firms or persons who wish to carry on business in the country in the future. I should have thought they had just as much right, upon the lines upon which we are proceeding, as the Indians would have to come to this country and carry on business here, where they have complete freedom, just as we claim there must be complete freedom for the British subjects who go to India."

Mr. M. R. Jayakar who opposed this opinion was voicing Indian sentiments when in his memorandum on commercial discrimination he observed:

> "What to my mind is most important is that India should have the right to impose conditions in the case of all future Companies who may desire to establish themselves in India in connection with the basic, national, key, or infant industries."

Before proceeding further, some reference, however brief, has to be made to the reaction of British capital operating in India to the Indian contention regarding her inherent right to impose conditions on non-Indian concerns proposing to start basic or key industries in our motherland. What was stated at that time by one of the spokesmen of British industry reflects its attitude to this suggestion which Indians, rightly or wrongly, regard as fair and just. It was said:

> "It is all very well for Indians to make spacious reservations affecting their so-called 'key industries.' That is only the thin end of the wedge, and in time by devious processes every industry can be turned into a key industry. Throughout British rule in India equality of opportunity has prevailed and there has been nothing to prevent Indians engaging in all those activities which they consider are of national importance. That they have not done so has been entirely due to absence of initiative, consequent lack of knowledge and an inherent dislike of the proper organization of either capital or man-power."

No Indian disputes the correctness of the view that British capital has found it easy to establish itself in India mainly because of our backwardness in industry and commerce but from this it does not follow that we shall be so unwise as to depend on it for all times to come for progress in these spheres or that we shall permit ideas which we regard as erroneous to stand in the way of our adoption of such measures as are calculated to speed it up. We have no desire to interfere with existing concerns for we believe in the sanctity of property but Indians if compelled will not hesitate to impose conditions on such concerns as may, in future, desire to carry on their activities in our motherland and in doing so they feel that they are perfectly within their legitimate rights.

Continuing Mr. Jayakar said:

> "According to my reading of the proceedings of the Round Table Conference, the right to make a distinction between existing and future British Companies has, . . . always been admitted."

And yet we find that the commercial safeguards, including the right of free entry of foreign capital, were made available not only to existing concerns but also to those which might be incorporated after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935.

In his speech at the Second Round Table Conference, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar drew attention to the fact that a similar curtailment of legislative freedom concerned with restraining the legislature from regulating not only "the existing and accruing rights but also the expectations in investments" by British businessmen had never been acknowledged by any colony. He also pointed out that such commercial safeguards had never been made a condition precedent to the grant of Dominion Status in any component part of the British Commonwealth such as Australia, South Africa, Canada, New Zealand and Ireland.

We have the further fact that Britain invested millions of pounds in the Argentine, Mexico, Egypt, Persia, etc., but she had never thought of demanding constitutional guarantees for these investments nor is there any likelihood that if such a demand had been made, the countries concerned would have acceded to it. The incorporation of these safeguards specially where they are concerned with the investment of British capital after the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935, is not only unprecedented but has no sanction in international law or custom. There could be no

clearer proof of the nationalist contention that here political subjection had been utilised for ensuring the economic benefit of British capital at the expense and against the protests of Industrial, Commercial and Political India.

Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan who represented his community in all the three Round Table Conferences, who is today High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa and who can hardly be regarded as one likely to overstate facts has, in his *Indian Federation*, (p. 128), given the reasons for the incorporation of the safegurads and their extension so as to protect the future of British capital in India in the following words :

"It was perfectly clear to those who had pondered over the question that His Majesty's Government would not be prepared to concede any power in the Centre unless they were assured that British capital and industry in India would be amply safeguarded. No discriminatory measure, by whomsoever passed, would be agreed to by any party in England and safeguards would have to be devised to prevent the possibility of such a measure being passed by the Indian Legislature."

That the opinion of Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan with regard to the insistence of British politicians on the incorporation of safeguards in the Government of India Act, 1935, is correct is proved by what Lord Reading ex-Viceroy said at the Minorities Committee of the Second Round Table Conference on the 19th November, 1931 :

"The Minister, whoever he may be or to whatever party he may belong . . . who would go to Parliament and tell them that in the constitution, he is curtailing the rights which hitherto British traders have had here or in India, would hardly meet with a very favourable reception, and I do not think it would be a very ingratiating way of introducing this new constitution."

Similarly, in the general discussion of the Third Round Table Conference held on the 23rd December, 1932, Lord Winterton reminded the Indian delegates that

"especially the 400 Conservative supporters of the Government are very important in respect both to India and to many other matters. In fact the existence of His Majesty's Government depends upon the goodwill of the 400 members of the House of Commons who belong to the Conservative Party."

This merely emphasises the opinion expressed by Lord Reading and Sir Shafa'at.

Rightly or wrongly, Indians believe that the unbending attitude of all political parties in England as regards the incorporation of safeguards for British capital invested in our motherland was due to the conviction that, in their absence, the Indian legislatures would not show much hesitation in implementing a programme of expropriation. They had been led to the belief by the Civil Disobedience Movement, the wild utterances of certain irresponsible Indians and the unremitting and vigorous propaganda carried on by British capital and its allies in Britain. That the last of these honestly believed that this would be one of the results of the granting of Dominion Status to India is evident from what Mr. G. Tyson said in his *Danger in India* (p. 65) :

"It matters not whether India attains the *Purna Swaraj* of Mr. Gandhi or whether she embarks on a period in which an attenuated form of Dominion Government obtains. In either case she will have full control over her own economic destiny and the potentialities of such a situation must be a matter of very grave concern to all who have the interests of both the Mother Country and India at heart."

The next few sentences quoted below making a subtle appeal to the instincts of self-preservation and national vanity must have proved almost irresistible.

"It has been computed that every fifth man in Great Britain is dependent, either directly or indirectly, on our Indian connection for his livelihood. That being so it passes the comprehension of most thinking people why so little account has been taken of the dangerous forces which are every day gathering in India to destroy our trade and commerce. It is true that they cannot accomplish their work in a week or a month or a year. But, unless it is guarded against, the steady process of legislation in India's new Parliament will bit by bit demolish the splendid edifice which through long years of patient toil, sacrifice and the wise spending of their savings our forefathers built up for us to enjoy and preserve."

It therefore follows that it was distrust of India coupled with the desire to maintain unimpaired the dominant position of British capital in our economic life which exploited India's political subjection for this particular purpose.

Those responsible for these ill-advised and irritating measures showed utter lack of that farsight and statesmanship which were responsible for the following statement of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919, to which Industrial, Commercial and Political India have always attached very great importance.

"Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall, in the interests of the trade and commerce of Great Britain. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear.

"Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa."

What is most regrettable is that both the British and the India Governments had ample

warning of the discontent consequent on the adoption of such a wrong attitude and these warnings, it is necessary to add, came not from Indians holding extremist views but from Liberals who have always stood for co-operation with the British administration and whose considered pronouncements on matters such as these possess a significance all their own.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his memorandum to the Joint Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1935, commenting on the economic safeguards provided for British capital said :

"Any interference with, or any attempt at whittling down the fiscal autonomy of India is bound to produce serious dissatisfaction, and to discount to a much larger degree than is probably realised the value of the proposed constitution."

Another equally well-known Liberal, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, in his memorandum to the same committee observed :

"I can find no reason why the Indian legislature should be debarred from providing reasonable conditions regarding incorporation, capital, control and similar other requirements which would ensure that companies to be formed under British initiative or control should promote the development of Indian trade and industry and not hamper or restrict it in any way."

Unhelpful Attitudes of British Capital

Sir Tej Bahadur and Mr. M. R. Jayakar submitted a joint memorandum at the end of the Third Round Table Conference in which, among other things, they gave their views on the question of commercial safeguards. Referring to the British view that Indian demands such as those for protection and the control of alien capital were discrimination on purely racial grounds they observed :

"While we agree to the general principle that discrimination in legislation on purely racial grounds should be avoided, we are not sure that the principles accepted in the report of the Committee which considered that question do not go too far. To take only a few instances we are clear in our minds that for the future development of Indian industries, many of which are lying fallow or are struggling in an impoverished condition, it is absolutely necessary to leave in the hands of the Central and Provincial Governments enough power to initiate, subsidise and protect industries which can be briefly described as key or infant industries, even if such initiation, subsidy or protection should occasionally look like discrimination. We are equally strong in our view that ample power ought to be left in the hands of the Government, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, to control the evil effects of unfair competition, such as, sometimes has been practised in the past by powerful organisations against their weaker rivals."

The last sentence of the above extract gives India's principal reason for the demand for economic safeguards, put forward *viz.*, apprehensions based on actual experience that Indian interests are bound to be affected adversely by the presence of powerful organisations backed by foreign capital and controlled by foreigners whose one preoccupation is the earning of profits and, to that end, the destruction occasionally of indigenous enterprises likely to develop ultimately into their rivals.

It may be argued that the suggestions put forward by Indians as regards the regulation of foreign capital are too drastic and that it would be difficult to enforce them. As against this, it may be urged that, without an actual trial, no one can say to what extent the regulation of alien capital on the lines previously indicated will have the effects aimed at. What Indians feel is the need of restrictions and they maintain that if experience shows that the above suggestions have to be modified, withdrawn or substituted by others, it will have to be done. If alien capital is scared away, it should not be difficult to bring it back again if only for the reason that India offers a field for safe investments which is in no way inferior to the other components of the British Commonwealth. In addition, the indigenous capital now lying idle will rally to the support of Indian enterprises once it is realised that it is not likely to be throttled by unfair foreign competition.

British capital may of course argue that it is unwise, if not risky, to adopt a wavering policy, now extending a welcome to it and at another time taking such steps as are likely to antagonise it, in one word shaping India's policy towards it according to the demands of the hour. This has been met by what was said in the Despatch of the India Government dated the 20th September, 1930.

In this document the Government of India submitted its views on "the further progress which might now be made towards the development of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." In the course of its observations on the validity of Indian claims to fiscal autonomy with their implication of the control of alien capital, the India Government in paragraph 119 of the Despatch said :

"There are enterprises which Indians regard as national and which at present are mainly or wholly in British hands. It would be idle to expect that they would be content for an indefinite period to remain without their appropriate share in the conduct of these enterprises, and if the methods at present proposed in order to justify Indian hopes must be ruled out because they involve injustice or are inconsistent with the position which Britain holds in India, Indians may fairly ask that the British business community should co-operate in finding other methods to bring about the desired result."

It takes two to make a bargain and mutual give and take is the only satisfactory method for arriving at a compromise. The recommendations of the Fiscal Commission and of the External Capital Committee did not go far enough to meet legitimate Indian demands while the anti-discrimination clauses of the Government of India Act, 1935, have worsened the situation from the Indian point of view. These have thrown the doors wide open to the unhampered entry of British manufacturing and commercial interests into our economic life where they can, within legal limits, play havoc with corresponding Indian interests so long as they do not accept financial assistance from Government.

These facts have not tended to soothe the exacerbated feelings of Indians. On the other hand, they have strengthened the conviction that India's economic salvation will become an accomplished fact only when she has acquired complete political freedom from foreign domination. And a very grave responsibility lies on foreign commercial and industrial interests which, by their persistence in clinging to their privileged position, rendered possible by their racial, economic and political affiliations, have complicated the whole situation.

And what is still more regrettable is that these interests have nothing to suggest, no proposal sufficiently attractive to Indians to offer, proposals which would at least partly meet the demand for control over foreign capital. Preoccupied with their own affairs, these interests have failed to read the signs of the times and to assess at their correct value the implications of an alliance between Indian capital and Indian nationalism of the extreme type.

The Only Satisfactory Way Out

Britain needs the Indian market as an outlet for her goods. She also needs India as a field for the investment of her capital. Business relations must, however, be reoriented if it is Britain's aim to retain the trade relationships which have existed hitherto, on something like a permanent basis. This can happen only when both British and Indian interests remind themselves of and give effect to the wise advice contained in paragraph 344 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Written a quarter of a century ago, these words have lost none of their force and applicability to conditions existing today.

Referring to the obligations of British capital to India where it has been earning profits for a century and half if not more, the Report says:

"Clearly it is the duty of British commerce in India to identify itself with *the interests of India, which are higher than the interests of any community*; to take part in political life; to use its considerable wealth and opportunities to commend itself to India; and having demonstrated both its value and its good intentions, to be content *to rest* like other industries on the new foundation of Government *in the wishes of the people.*"

The words italicised have a significance all their own *viz.*, that Indian economic interests should have preference to those of any community including those of British capital and that whatever privileges it enjoys must rest primarily on the goodwill of India's nationals. That this has not been the case has been proved already and that the old attitude towards India's economic aspirations must undergo a radical change is also equally clear. And that this change if and when it comes must take into account the Indian demands for the safeguarding of her economic interests is also equally clear.

Equally wise and emphatic is the comment of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on the attitude of Indians towards this important question.

"No less is it the duty of Indian politicians to respect the expectations which have been implicitly held out; to remember how India has profited by commercial development which only British capital and enterprise achieved; to bethink themselves that though the capital invested in private enterprises was not borrowed under any assurance that the existing form of government would endure, yet the favourable terms on which money was obtained for India's development were undoubtedly affected by the fact of British rule; and to abstain from advocating differential treatment aimed not so much at promoting Indian as at injuring British commerce."

Just as it is the duty of Indians to wipe out from their memory all recollections of past economic wrongs inflicted on them by the more selfish sections of British capital, it is equally the duty of British business to forget such wild talk as it may have heard from irresponsible quarters regarding expropriation and differential treatment. Indians and Britons earning their living in India must recognise one another's right to serve India; Indians soliciting the assistance and co-operation of Britons when the necessity for them arises and Britons acknowledging the right of Indians to have the first preference in our commerce and industry.

(Concluded)

MORAL CHALLENGE TO THE BRITISH AND THE ALLIES

By Prof. C. L. GHEEWALA, M.A.

"Any person however great he may be who distorts the proposals I have made will be condemned by history as an enemy of the Allied Cause."

Gandhiji's reply to London *Times*, *Harijan*, p. 203

I.

When the whole world is engulfed in a titanic struggle, the manner in which the present Indian political stalemate is viewed by the British Government makes one suspect whether the British statesmen have a full appreciation of the issues at stake in this second World War. The nature and character of the Indian demand is either less sympathetically understood or deliberately presented in a distorted manner before the world by the huge apparatus of propaganda which is solely controlled by the British Government in this country.

Instead of handling the Indian question with vision and statesmanship, the situation has been allowed to deteriorate since August 9, 1942, the date of passing the famous resolution by the Congress urging the immediate withdrawal of the British rule from India. On the clapping of the responsible Congress leaders, the struggle manifested itself both in violent and non-violent forms, revealing the staggering mass energy of the Indian people. Only a bureaucracy, tied down to a closed static system, with its characteristic lack of imagination, can seek to explain powerful dynamic forces, as mere *disturbances* and fail to see behind the upheaval, the social, political and economic forces struggling for expression. The government with a tragic disregard for the lessons of history, repeats all the follies which the British committed in America in the eighteenth century. One is struck at the policy of sheer repression pursued by the government, unrelieved by any act of constructive statesmanship or bold initiative. Perhaps it is a bureaucratic way to deal with situations the significance of which they fail to grasp and repeat the general verdict, "The operation was a splendid success. Unfortunately the patient died." It is a patent lesson of history that repression always fails to solve any problem; it only aggravates it and drives the movement underground and the oppressed cherish nothing but sullen resentment and bitterness towards the rulers. What Chatham said in his warning to the Parliament regarding America may with equal justice be said regarding India. "Indians have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice." History can pass no verdict but that of utter blindness and bankruptcy, if this is an index to the statesmanship of Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow.

The government seem to think that they have acquitted themselves quite honourably and discharged their obligations by the publication of a White Paper in England and two pamphlets in India, *viz.* (*i*) *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances by R. Tottenham, and* (*ii*) *Some Facts about the Disturbances in India 1942-43,* 'compiled by an Indian Journalist from material supplied by the Government.' The *prima facie* intention of the government seems to be that of fathering on everything that has happened since August 9, 1942, to Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress High Command. It is questionable whether the government have made out any case against Gandhiji or the Congress. Do the government hope to carry conviction to any body in the public by this one-sided document which is full of distortions and misrepresentations of Gandhiji's views and aims? Is the government prepared to undertake any public enquiry into the alleged atrocities and violence perpetrated by the police and the government officers? It is too apt for the authorities to arrogate to themselves the monopoly of truth and justice and fairness, but the experience of the behaviour of governments in the past goes contrary to this presumption. It is forgotten by men who wield authority that power has a corrupting influence and that absolute power is likely to corrupt absolutely.

To take only one example, the attempt made by the government in the first document published in India to justify its action in precipitating the crisis and the evidence and arguments advanced for the same are far from convincing. One feels in the face of the repeated suggestions made by Gandhiji of his willingness for negotiations and understanding, that the government is certainly responsible for precipitating the crisis. Here is a part of the conversation with Mr. Stuart Emeny of the *News Chronicle* which has an important bearing on the issue. After discussing the nature of the non-violent programme Gandhiji says:

"But it is not my intention to undertake at once any overwhelming programme. I want to watch and see, because whatever may be said to the contrary, when in conducting the movement I want to guard against a sudden outburst of anarchy or a state of things which may be calculated to invite the Japanese aggression. I believe that India's demand is fundamental, it is indispenable for national existence as I conceive it to be." (*Harijan*, 26th July, 1942, p. 241. *Cf. Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances*, p. 14).

It is interesting to note that the Government compiler has deliberately omitted this part of the quotation and again conveniently dropped out the latter part of the same which is intended to be read as a whole. Further the same issue from which the compiler has quoted only two lines wrenched out of their context, make entirely a different reading when taken in relation to the whole. The conversation takes place with same Mr. Stuart Emeny and may be reproduced here :

"It will be your biggest movement ?"

"Yes, my biggest movement."

(The Government document ignores the remaining part which refers to the question of time limit)

"But if there is no response," asked Mr. Emeny, "what time limit would you set before launching the campaign ?"

"Assuming that the A.-I. C. C. confirms the resolution, there will be some time but not very long-taken. As far as I can see just now it may be a week or two."

"But you will give time ?"

"Of course as I have always done before launching on every struggle."

"If the Viceroy asks you to go to Delhi, will you accept his invitation ?"

"Oh, yes. And then you forget that the Viceroy and I have become personal friends, if a public man and a Viceroy may be so called."—(*Harijan*, July 26th 1942, p. 241.)

It is only a perverted bureaucracy that can view such willingness for time-limit and delay as intended, not for the purposes of negotiations but for putting the finishing touches to a plan to which its authors were already committed but which might not yet be completely ready to put into execution. (*Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances*, p. 15.) Have the government been able to produce any proof regarding any plot which Gandhiji or his colleagues were hatching in secret, before their arrest ? It is a base insinuation unwarranted by any piece of evidence, except a sinister and subtle reading of motives which did not exist.

The government knew from the public utterance of Gandhiji that he contemplated sending a letter before taking concrete action, urging for an impartial examination of the Congress Case. The government knew that given an oportunity and if convinced, Gandhiji would be prepared to accommodate genuine difficulties. But as Gandhiji has pointed out in his letter of August 12th to the Viceroy, the government was afraid of this very 'extreme caution and gradualness with which the Congress was moving towards direct action,' and that it might make 'the world opinion veer round the Congress as it had already begun doing and expose the hollowness of the grounds for the government's rejection of the Congress demand.' Consequently, the government precipitated a policy of wholesale arrest of the Congress leaders and started a veritable campaign of vilification and misrepresentation of the nature of the demand made by Gandhiji and the Congress. Is this what is meant by statesmanship ? What the government meant by 'wiser counsels,' was that India should abandon her claim to independence and commit political suicide.

The forgoing is just an illustration. Any sober examination of the whole document would lead one to infer from government's own data and assumptions that rather than present an impartial view, it seeks to misrepresent and malign Mahatma Gandhi in the eyes of the world and particularly the Allies. Attempts have been made to represent him as an appeaser, a pro-Japanese, a wily and crooked politician utterly lacking in sense of reality, paying only lip-services to his professed principle of Non-violence and using it only as a convenient mask. Gandhiji's may be a lone voice crying in wilderness, in a world saturated with violence but it is a sheer travesty of justice to misrepresent the world's greatest democrat and exponent of Non-violence, in this manner. It shakes one's faith in the bona-fides of the government when it chooses to play the role of the prosecutor, the judge and the hang-man at one and the same time. Foreign opinion on the White Paper as 'a White-wash Paper' or 'a document that reflects gravely over the honesty and competence of those engaged in the compilation,' as expressed in the *Daily Worker*, can hardly be considered as edifying for the government. All this strengthens the case of a demand for a proper impartial tribunal.

II

However, what has struck the present writer the most is the clever 'Suppresio veri' logic

followed by the government in presenting its case. The compiler of the document, of course with the full sanction of the government, has done the greatest harm and injustice to the Allied Cause and this country, by deliberately suppressing the most crucial, the most important argument advanced by Gandhiji in presenting his case. It is the moral basis of the Allied Cause. Gandhiji has time and again challenged this basis of the British and the Allied Cause which is announced from the Press the Platform and the Radio, as being one of a holy crusade against the brutal forces of Nazism and Fascism and a vindication of the principles of Democracy and Freedom. Here are a few statements from the writings of Gandhiji which adequately represent his demand. Let the British and the Allies face the moral challenge and answer it, if they are genuinely fighting the cause of Democracy and Freedom. The issue had never been posed so pointedly before.

Replying to a question during the Bombay Press interview, Gandhiji challenged the moral basis of the Allies in the following statement:

"Both America and Britain lack the moral basis for engaging in this war, unless they put their own houses in order, while making a fixed determination to withdraw their influence and power both from Africa and Asia and remove the colour bar. They have no right to talk about protecting Democracy and protecting civilisation and human freedom unless the canker of white superiority is destroyed in its entirety." (*Harijan*, 24th May, 1942, p. 168).

And compare with this the grave warning of Pearl Buck re-echoing Gandhiji's challenge:

"The deep patience of the coloured people is at an end. Everywhere among them there is the same resolve for freedom and equality that White Americans and British have, but it is a grimmer resolve, for *it includes the determination to be rid of white rule and exploitation and White Race prejudice*, and nothing will weaken this will. . . . . Are we all-out for Democracy, for total justice, for total peace based on human equality or are the blessings of Democracy to be limited to White people only?" ("Tinder for To-morrow."—*Asia*).

During the course of his interview with the American journalists Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Belldon, Gandhiji most emphatically repudiated the suggestion that there was any intention of helping the Japanese. Here are his own words: "I want to oppose Japan to-a-man. There is not the slightest room for accommodating the Japanese. No, I am sure that India's independence is not only essential for India, but for China and the Allied Cause." Further to the question, "What can the Americans do to have your demand implemented?' Gandhiji unmasking the veil of unreality and hypocrisy that envelops the Indian atmosphere touched upon the same vital issue:

"It is an unwarranted claim Britain and America are making, the claim of saving Democracy and Freedom. It is a very wrong thing to make that claim when there is this terrible tragedy of holding a whole nation in bondage. . . The Allies have no right to call their cause to be morally superior to the Nazi cause so long as they hold in custody the fairest part and one of the most ancient nations of the earth." (*Harijan*, 14th June, 1942, p. 187).

Summing up his attitude in the leading article of the same number, Gandhiji has put his case on unassailable moral and political grounds:

"One thing and only one thing for me is solid and certain. This unnatural prostration of a great nation—it is neither nations nor peoples—must cease if the victory of the Allies is to be ensured. They lack the moral basis. I see no difference between the Fascists or Nazi powers and the Allies. All are exploiters, all resort to ruthlessness to the extent required to compass their end. America and Britain are very great nations, but their greatness will count as dust before the bar of dumb humanity, whether African or Asiatic. They and they alone have the power to undo the wrong. They have no right to talk of human liberty and all else unless they have washed their hands clean of the pollution." (*Harijan*, 14th June, 1942).

III

This second World War is not merely a war of between two groups of powers, between forces of darkness and light, justice and injustice, right and wrong, but in the words of President Roosevelt, we are living in a world revolution in which this war represents one of the decisive stages. If this decisive stage has to fulfil its function the Western capitalist Democracies which represent within themselves the inherent contradiction of being Democrats at home and Autocrats abroad, have to relegate to the scrap-heap of history, the imperialist ways of racial arrogance, the white-man's burden, and the consequent exploitation of the Eastern peoples. The British Empire has left behind it a dark record of the sale of Negroes in the West Indies under the British Flag, the Kaffir wars with Basutos, Zulus and Metabele, the wars of extermination against the Blacks in Australia, the atrocities and corruption of the East India Company, the horrors of the Sepoy Mutiny, the questionable diplomacy of the annexations in India and the present moral prostration and the impoverishment of the Indian masses. Such an empire must be liquidated whether Mr. Churchill wills it or not.

'The way of empire is the way of death,' says E. W. Stratford and unless the British Empire divests itself of hypocrisy and is made

'to disgorge her ill-gotten gains,' the Allied Cause is bound to be tainted with a moral canker. Even if the Allies win the, world will lose the peace and repeat the shameless truce of 1918 and sow the dragon's teeth for the posterity. The moloch of imperialism must be shattered, here and now, never to rise again. The well-known Chinese thinker Lin Yu Tang raises a very partinent question when he asks :

"Certainly we cannot be fighting the war for Democracy and Liberty West of Suez and War of Colonies and vested interests East of Suez. Are we sincere with ourselves ?"

Warning the imperialist powers he says :

"Democracy to-day has its chance, and democracy may forfeit it. The Atlantic Charter has been promised to all countries subjected by Hitler The Atlantic Charter must be equally promised to all countries subjected by England or we shall run into another and greater world catastrophe."

Will the British imperialists face the crucial moral issue ? As Prof. Laski has aptly observed, "Empire possesses a large capacity for self-deception," and the British imperialists are the greatest victims of this huge self-deception. What he has said in his *Where do You Go from Here ?* is more tragically true of the artificial conditions that prevail in India to-day. Mr. Amery might say without any sense of shame that the British have "every right to be proud of what we have done in India." But as Prof. Laski says exposing the myth :

"The few Indians of position we can produce to applaud our rule are men whom we have elevated for that purpose, who without that elevation, as both we and India know, would be against us and not for us. The main interest we support in India, apart from our own financial interests, is a mass of feudal princes of whom, with not more than six exceptions, it can so far as the last half century is concerned be said with literal accuracy that the character of their governance competes in barbarism and squalor, with that of the outlaws of Europe."

It is the age-old British policy of 'divide et impera' to encourage every vested interest openly or secretly so that the minorities and such other interests may always loom large on the political horizon and any accommodation or agreement may be delayed in favour of British domination.

"We patronize," says Prof. Laski, "these dissidents from unity in the same way though much more subtly as the Conservative Party has so long patronized the separation of Ulster; and with the same evil consequences."

He further candidly confesses that

"The character of our rule in India, maintained in defiance of Indian demands has long stained our reputation for plain dealing all over the world; until the advent of Hitler and Mussolini it was the classic example of imperialist exploitation."

Yet, the British imperialists seem to look at the world with the old blinkers on. They are past masters in the art of manipulating pretexts and devices for clinging to their vested interests and at the same time, 'most prolific in their announcement of their yearning for the fulfilment of India's ambition.' Mr. Amery the arch-exponent of what is known as Vansittartism, endlessly goes on recounting the catalogue of benefits derived by India from the imperialist rule of Britain. And, Mr. Churchill clouded in the supreme conceit of his racial arrogance, shudders at the prospect of liquidating 'the ill-gotten empire.'

Are Indians to remain as mere serfs and helots of the empire ? Have not they the right to challenge the implications of high-sounding declarations about justice, preservation of democracy and freedom of speech and individual liberty ? Or, are these phrases just intended to merely serve as a mask for covering imperialist designs to preserve the empire ? For whose democracy, for whose freedom, for whose liberty shall the Indians fight when they are denied all this and 'governed by a tyranny' ? This is a monstrous contradiction. The crucial question is whether the democratic forces in England and in the Allied countries will be able in time to bring their governments to realise 'the wisdom, the stark necessity of setting India free.' The sooner the British end their paramountcy over India the better for Indians and for themselves and the Allies and as Prof. Laski rightly points out, *there is no moment more fitting to end it than in a war where the British claim 'to be the world-defenders of democracy and freedom.'* The Britons who talk glibly of liberty and democracy of the vanquished nation cannot complacently view the performances of Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow in suppressing a popular movement for the self-same ideals in India. Bureaucratic determination to wreck a powerful organization like the Congress will result in sheer futility and such a policy betrays lack of understanding of the powerful democratic forces it represents in this country. To quote Louis Fischer's warning,

"If they crush Gandhi, then one of our biggest successes in this war for democracy and freedom will be the smashing of a great world-known movement for democracy and freedom."

It is imperative to realise that 'India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and affecting the fortunes of the war that is desolating humanity.' It is only by an act of declaration and recognition of India's freedom

that the British and the Allies can announce to the world, to the millions right in Germany and Italy, to the enslaved of Asia and Africa that their aim is truly free, truly democratic New Order in Europe and the world and that they have done once and for all with the prerogatives of imperialism.

Let Britain grant this major premise and all other problems will assume their normal proportions. No one denies the complexity of numerous problems which India has to face but so long as Britain plays the role of the third bargaining party the penumbra of mutual distrust and suspicion makes any solution well-nigh impossible. Independent India fighting to preserve her own independence against the impending menace of the Fascist hordes, will forge new sanctions for unity through continuous co-operation and collaboration between various communities. Let the lurking suspicion that Britain fights only to save her empire and that America is bolstering her up to establish a new Anglo-American imperialism be removed by this supreme gesture.

As Gandhiji has rightly said, "only after the end of British power and a fundamental change in the political status of India from bondage to freedom, will the formation of a truly representative government, whether provisional or permanent be possible." Let it be remembered that, in event the British domination is withdrawn, the Congress does not want the transfer of power all to itself. What the Congress stands for is the organization of the supreme total effort for national defence at this hour of peril. One may certainly feel jubilant over the Italian advance but that need not make us oblivious of the threatening Eastern menace.

The situation demands a bold stroke of constructive statesmanship. Such an act is bound to inspire and enthuse the people to fight for their liberty and thus vitalise men's minds with a new promise and hope. Then 'Democracies would win not only war but the Peace.' But, till then in the words of Gandhiji,

"The Allies are carrying the burden of a huge corpse—a huge nation lying prostrate at the feet of Britain, I would even say, at the feet of the Allies."

HOUSE OF CARDS

By Prof. GANESH PRASHAD, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

Mussolini is sacked; his fascist regime comes to an end. This is an important and surprising event not only of the war but also of the modern age. What was the basic cause of Mussolini's fall? Is it purely an outcome of military reverses? No! The nature of the Fascist polity and economy is responsible for the collapse of Italian resistance and of Fascist administration. An understanding of this polity and economy is, therefore, essential to evaluate the importance of the Duce's resignation.

Before outlining the fascist system, mention must be made of Mussolini's emergence to power. Mussolini started his career as a Radical Socialist, a strong Pacifist and a staunch atheist. When the last war broke out, he characterised it as the "crisis of capitalist society" and asked the masses to revolt against the war-mongers. He preached Pacifism and Syndicalism. On September 25th, 1914 he made a *volte face*. He was bribed by the French big business. His paper, *Popolo de'Italia,* financed by the French gold right since its inception, became an organ of the Fasci—a little interventionist and reactionary group in Italy. A Pacifist became an interventionist. After the war he used this organisational and demagogic strength of his Fascist party and black shirts to bargain with the two rival sections of Italian politics, the socialists and capitalists. He negotiated with the both simultaneously. Having seen that the game of the socialists was up owing to their dissensions, he allied himself with the capitalists. In 1919 his Fascist programme compared fairly well with the 10 points of the Communist Manifesto (1848). This radicalism was a vote-winning device. In 1920 he made a pact with the finance capital and used the Black Shirts as strike breakers. A radical socialist and pseudo-Marxist became an agent of capitalism and champion of reaction. In 1922 he was selected a leader of a proposed military *coup d'etat* by a secret conference of all sorts of reactionary leaders of Italy. He was, it must be remembered, not the first but the third choice for such leadership. It was this clique and not Mussolini who staged the famous "March on Rome." The life-long atheist "asked the assistance of God."

"The Lenin of Italy" as he was called during the 1914 and the postbellum strikes becomes a satellite of the bourgeoisie and an enemy of the working class and socialism. He claimed himself to be a Blanquist. But he brought shame to the fair name of Blanquism by staging "the March on Rome." His Fascism passed from bed to bed like an adulteress. It flirted with Communism, Republicanism, Syndicalism and Blanquism. It had been liberal and anti-liberal; it was anti-monarchist and monarchist; it proclaimed against the church and in favour of the Vatican. Throughout he remained sincere to one "ism" only, *i.e.*, Machiavellian opportunism. He was not the founder of Fascism; he was purchased by it.

Just as he employed every possible trick to capture power, he practised every device, however foul, to maintain and strengthen his rule. He had no programme when he became Premier; his anti-democratic deeds became his programme When he assumed office, he had to face a hostile parliament. He kept up the show of parliamentary government. But gradually he dispensed with democratic opposition. He got assassinated Matteotti, the Socialist genius and leader of Italian Socialist Party and erstwhile colleague of Mussolini in Socialist Camp. Pilati. Amendola, Gobetti, Giaunini and others. In fact, he got murdered or exiled every important and effective leader of public opinion—be he a Liberal, Catholic, Freemason, Socialist or Communist—who opposed or made valuable or even constructive criticism of his regime. Thus he suppressed every opposition or forced it underground. He got votes in the 1924 election by tampering of ballots and other illegal means. Finally in 1928, universal suffrage was abolished and a decree was passed by which voters were presented a list of candidates submitted by the Fascisti. This was decreed shortly after Mussolini had got the Parliament pass a law enfranchising women. The law-courts were Fascistised. Rights of public association and strike were abolished. The work of Garibaldi and Mazzini, the great leaders of modern Italy and Italian Renaissance, was undone by the Duce's decrees. Even a mild and harmless movement like the Freemasonry, founded by the great Garibaldi, was destroyed. He organised the Cheka, a secret organisation consisting of assassins to murder and spy opposition. He did this in 1923 but went on denying its existence for years together. He proclaimed each decree as a measure for self-defence (There were about twenty attempts at his life, some of which might have been staged with his own connivance for propaganda purposes). His programme was oppression and deception. To this end he devoted all his time and energy. When he came to power, he proclaimed, "I could abuse by victory, but I refuse to." He did abuse his "Victory."

Did Mussolini's dictatorship bring peace, prosperity and happiness to Italian people? No, far from it! He, like his friend Hitler, had promised a lot to the people; but Fascist's promises are not worth twopence. Fascist rule bludgeoned workers, peasants and intellectuals; it brought poverty and starvation to the people. When Mussolini came to power, the condition of masses was to a great extent satisfactory. They had won many concessions from the capitalists as a result of strikes to the curtailment of the latter's profits. The capitalists wanted iron rule to increase their profits by lowering the standard of living of the people. They employed the services of the renegade socialist, pacifist, anti-Christ Mussolini for this purpose. Mussolini did not betray his masters. Profits of capitalists went up; standard of living was lowered; budgets were falsified. This is all that Mussolini gave to Italy. In 1928 he himself confessed, "Our ration is probably lower than that of any country in Europe." The economic crisis of 1929 further reduced the standard of living and increased unemployment. Mussolini had admitted during the post-crisis period that the living standard of Italian workers could be reduced no further. He appealed to big business of the Wall Street to save his Fascist State from collapse. His appeals did not fall on deaf ears. The people had to tolerate this state of affairs because they were reduced, to quote Prof. W. Y. Elliot, "to a condition of State-controlled serfdom." The people, deprived of their leaders and the right to organise, were rendered helpless and gave vent to the deplorable conditions only by sporadic and spasmodic strikes and agitation. The Fascist economy, it must be noted, could not avert the inevitability of capitalist crisis and all it means to the poor. In fact, Fascism is nothing but an aggression of capitalism. Even the ephemeral imperial exploits did not save the people, as in other capitalist-cum-imperialist countries, from unemployment, hunger and misery.

Mussolini was an atheist, anti-Christ, he was anti-people too. These two were incompatible with the conditions of Italy, the metropolis of Roman Catholic religion. Hence in order to camouflage his anti-people deeds he had perforce to relinquish his atheism. This

crafty, unscrupulous time-server could change his views overnight. In this art he has not been surpassed by any head of the State, except perhaps his disciple, pal and boss Hitler, in the modern age. On coming to power he issued orders to respect the church and its property. This was not all. He married in the Roman Catholic church, genuflected before the Pope, signed the Lateran Treaty (1929) and finally accepted the Order of the Holy sepulchre. For about ten years constant conflicts in press and on platform, negotiations and tensions continued between the Vatical and Fascism each jealously guarding its power against encroachment from the other. Ultimately a compromise was effected by which the Church was to control the spiritual life of the nation and the State was to look after political and economic life. A happy marriage was performed. After all, the two were not opposed in their secular aims. The Fascist economics of a Co-operate State is identical with the Christian economics, both stand for forcible suppression of 'class war' by banning trade unionism and instead, for creation of associations dominated by 'leaders of industry' under the aegis of the State. The Fascist State of Italy handed over charge of elementary education to the Church; the clergy eulogised the Fascist rule and the Duce. This 'Holy Alliance' was motivated by interests of the two institutions. The Church required strong stable class-ridden state; the Duce required traditional, respectable and metaphysical institution to stabilise his rule. The Church sanctioned all the deeds, rather misdeeds, of the Duce. During the Italo-Abyssinian war, though the Pope did not commit himself, the high Church dignitaries vied each other in bestowing benedictions on the Duce's enterprise. "The Italian flag," said cardinal Archbishop of Rilan, "is at this moment bringing in triumph the cross of Christ in Ethiopia..." The Church officials appealed for recruitment in this "holy and civilising mission." When Italy attacked Greece (1940) the Pope blessed the officers by saying "We bless you all—you who serve the beloved Fatherland with fealty and love." Thus the astute and unprincipled dictator changed himself and availed of the services of the Church for his own sinister objectives.

Not only this, Mussolini had other easy and more docile institutions at his command to poison the minds of the youth, and to misguide and beguile the Italian people. He was the master of the whole State apparatus and hence of all modern methods of education and propaganda. Radio, schools, press and platform were all at his command. The school masters were compulsorily to be friendly to Fascism. Heavy censorship was imposed on the press. The opposition newspapers were suppressed and the remaining ones were to conform to the wishes of the censor. Even their policy and news were to be dictated by the State. The exposition of news was determined by State officials. The plight of foreign correspondents was in no way better. Besides restrictions in getting correct news, they were not permitted to transmit any news not passed by the censor. In a way the censor was the press. This was not all. The radio and the press under Fascism would misquote and distort statements made by foreign statesmen. Such cases are not few. The Italian press published statements allegedly made by the late Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in praise of Fascist Italy. When the poet was told about these statements, that great soul, the Gurudev, repudiated this by saying :

> "It is absurd to imagine that I could ever support a movement which ruthlessly suppresses freedom of expression, enforces observances that are against individual consciences, and walks through a blood-stained path of violence and stealthy crime."

This is the best summation of Fascism. This was the method by which regimentation of ideas was organised. Fraud and deceit were lavishly practised by the Duce and his hangers-on. People were neither told the reality nor were provided means to know it. This was the programme, the base of Mussolini's Italy. A radical journalist muzzles the press. This is pure opportunism.

This enemy of Italian people, culture and heritage extended his paws to other lands as well. He would not hesitate to break a promise at any time he pleased. In 1925 he announced, "Fascism is not an article for export"; in 1930 he flatly disowned this statement. The truth is that right since 1922 he had been clandestinely helping Fascist organisations in European countries. He conspired with Primo de Rivera who established Fascism in Spain in 1923 and who once said, "Mussolini is a torch which affords light to nations." He smuggled arms to Austria, Yugoslavia, Poland and the Balkans to be used by Fascist organisations in these countries. (The St. Gothard Affair and the Hirtenberg Affair are important in this connection). He bribed labour leaders of various countries as revealed by Berthold Koenig's disclosure. Thanks to working class solidarity without which these disclosures would not have

been possible. He wished to create a world empire through pan-Fascism. His plans were dished owing to capitalist contradictions and working class internationalism. Yet he was able to cause lot of bloodshed in different countries by buttressing Fascist *coup d'etat*. He was indirectly responsible for the Spanish Civil War in which his Fascist legions were most active. His aeroplanes bombed the ill-armed and ill-defended Abyssinians, Spanish Republicans and the Chinese Reds. He was responsible for the death of millions of human beings and some of the best sons of humanity.

Mussolini promised to the Italian people to rejuvenate Italy and to recreate a Roman Empire. This strengthened his Black Shirt organisation whose record was as black as his own. The internal economic crisis following the general economic crisis of capitalism could be temporarily staved off by piling up armaments and extending the empire. The Fascist regime could be prolonged only by such devices. He, therefore, attacked Abyssinia and flouted the League of Nations and all post-war peace pacts. He became the master of Abyssinia. He abetted and helped Franco's revolt in Spain. He annexed Albania (1939). In all these enterprises he was backed secretly and indirectly by the French, British and American ruling classes. (The notorious Hoare-Laval pact—1935; the hesitant attitude of the league; the Non-Intervention policy and above all the personal, financial and diplomatic support speak for themselves). He received a rebuff from Hitler and the German finance-capital on the issue of Austria (1938). He joined the present war by stabbing the already stabbed French Republic. He hoped to become the master of the Mediterranean by snatching Jebuti, Tunisia and Corsica from the defeated Vichy Government. Hitler. now his boss, denied those gains to him in order to maintain the European balance. He became a second fiddle in the German-Franco-Italian firm or steel cartel that rules Europe. When his forces, ill-equipped owing to the agricultural base and demoralised owing to years of Fascist tyranny, met reverses in Africa and Greece at the hands of Anglo-America, the major partner, Germany, came to his rescue. He became a tool of Hitler, the Italian people became victims of the Gestapo, Italy became a vassal State, and the Italian finance-capital became subservient to the German armament magnates. People groaned under the double tyranny of the Black Shirts and the Gestapo. His own armies, incapable of fighting at the front, were employed to police Europe and put down the risings of the valiant fighters of freedom. The crisis reached its culmination point when the Axis armies were repulsed by the deadly blows of the Red Army in the east and by the offensive of the Anglo-American forces in North Africa and the Mediterranean. The people's discontent, which was driven underground under Fascist Jack-boots, came to the fore and brought an end to Mussolini's regime.

The most important point is that Mussolini's rule comes to an abrupt end even before the enemy could land on the Italian soil. This fact is of far-reaching importance and brings home important lessons to the military and civil elements of the modern world. This emphasises and corroborates the lessons of the fall of France. It stands in glaring contrast to the mighty resistance of the Chinese and Russian people. While the latter could withstand and repulse the superior Japanese and German hordes, the Italian Fascism falls like a house of cards at the very idea of invasion. This underlines the great truth that people's will and might is far more powerful than the biggest and most powerful mercenary army of imperialist powers. France fell because of the treachery of the Fifth column at the top; Italian Fascism collapsed because of the progressive Fifth column at the bottom. Russia and China go on resisting because they are fighting just wars; Italian Fascism toppled because it was waging an unjust war. An edifice which is constructed on the bones of Matteotti and his like is bound to crumble sooner or later. The will of the people to be free, happy and prosperous cannot long be suppressed. Reaction inevitably meets the same fate as Mussolini's Italy. Mussolini was an opportunist, and lackey of the reaction. That is why Pandit Nehru refused the invitation of the Duce. Nehru's name will go down in history as valiant fighter of people's freedom; Mussolini's name will be inscribed in black words in the annals of world history.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CONTROL

By S. D. SHARMA

The report on Lord Keynes' scheme about the post-war international currency system has been officially published by the British Government. Mr. Morgenthau, the Secretary to the United States Treasury, has also presented a similar scheme for post-war international monetary control. Although both the schemes have been prepared with the same object, namely, stabilisation of foreign exchanges through the medium of an international currency unit, there is a great material difference as to the fundamentals of the British and the American schemes. Both Keynes and Morgenthau talk of International Stabilisation Fund with a world organisation to control it, avoidance of competitive depreciation of currencies and fixing currency values in terms of gold, but their schemes differ in basic principles particularly in regard to the part played by gold *vis-a-vis* the international unit of currency and the extent of monetary autonomy by the countries participating in the scheme. Far more important than such similarity of aims, however, is the basic difference of both the U. S. and British plans with regard to the position of gold and the freedom of foreign exchanges from national control.

Though Britain and America apparently look like pulling together in evolving a common international currency policy for the post-war period, one feels surprised at the fundamental differences between the basic principles of their proposals. It seems inevitable that the sharp conflict between Britain and the U. S. A. with regard to the problem of international finance will lead to anarchy in the economic sphere of the post-war world, such as experienced in 1927-33.

In order to appraise the importance of differences between the American and the British schemes, it will be useful to examine the nature of financial struggle between the two countries and survery the history of pound-dollar tussle in the last post-war period. After the last great war Britain emerged highly indebted to the U. S. A. Her economic resources were very much drained off. The greatest need of the time was to increase the productive activity of the nation and give fillip to the export-trade, for securing a favourable balance of trade. It was indispensable, for saving the British industries from a total ruin, to have a devaluated currency to encourage the exports and discourage the imports. But, the British financier class wanted to have a stronger grip over international finance market. To achieve this aim it was necessary to link the pound with gold and keep its international value appreciated, with a view to restore the British to its former superior position in international exchange market and currency and enable the financier class to trade in and enrich itself by discounting the foreign bills drawn in pound. Before the war of 1914-18 a major part of the world trade was transacted through the medium of the pound-bills; and London was the main centre of international finance. In the post-war period, the conditions were reversed. The dollar came out victorious over the pound on account of the comparative weakness of the British finances; and the centre of the world-trade shifted to the U. S. A. The British financier class, struggling to recover its lost ground, entered into a keen competition with the American finance. When Mr. Churchill, the representative of the British banker class, was the Chancellor of Exchequer in 1925, the pound was restored to the Gold Standard. By this device a part of the international exchange business could be diverted to Britain; but due to appreciated currency the exports declined and Britain had to face a state of acute unemployment. There was a great drain on the gold holdings of the Bank of England. The linking of pound to gold created a wide gap between its real value, in relation to price-structure, and gold value. There was a great efflux of gold to America. The British Government had to provide for unemployment doles at an enormous cost, while the State-revenue from the industries decreased. The deficit budgets caused further flow of gold to the United States. This state of affairs could not be tolerated for long by the politically conscious British working class, and ultimately Britain had to go off the Gold Standard in 1931. The pound was degraded to the position of sterling and once more had to give way before the stronger dollar.

It is almost certain that the economic position of Great Britain after this war will have all the features of the last post-war period in a more aggravated form. The British statesman wants to avoid a recurrence of the past history. Lord Keynes' scheme visualises to achieve in

the post-war period the two-fold object of firstly, reviving London's importance, as far as possible, as an international financial centre, and, secondly, protecting national industries from an artificial appreciation of the sterling in terms of gold. That is why Keynes' plan is opposed to a return to fairly rigorous gold standard, and reserves for Britain the right of manipulating the exchange-value of sterling for facilitating the export-trade in the post-war period.

In the light of these experiences of the past, we can fully appreciate the basic differences between the U. S. Treasury's and the British currency plans, as reported by *Reuters'* City correspondent:

WHERE THE DIFFERENCES LIE?

1. In view of the huge United States Gold stock, the U. S. plan gives gold a much greater role. Unitas (the international currency proposed by the U. S A.) will be convertible into gold or any currency; the Bancor (the Unit proposed by Keynes) will not be convertible into gold, except with the consent of the International Clearing House and hence its link with gold will be less rigorous.

2. The inclusion of gold holdings in the U. S. plans' quotas gives the United States a much bigger vote. Quotas in the U. S. plan are based on a combination of gold holdings, balances of payments and national incomes, whereas Keynes' quotas are based on pre-war trade-balances. If the United States Quota thereby exceeded 20 per cent. the United States, under the four-fifths rule, would have an absolute veto.

3. The U. S. plan involves a much greater surrender of national sovereignty than British plan. The latter proposes only submission to the check of international constitution, whereas under the former member-countries surrender to the fund all powers to fix and change their exchange rates.

4. The U. S plan puts more emphasis on the removal of exchange control, thus restoring foreign exchange markets.

5. The U. S. plan visualises an International Bank, rather than multilateral clearing.

6. Under the U. S. plan a surplus country could be required to take currency of its specific debtor and would not receive a claim under the Funds' general pool.

The chief aim of the U. S. as well as the British plan is to prepare for after-war recovery by export-trade and overseas investment. It seems inevitable that the U. S. will emerge a creditor to Britain after the war. This basic difference in the financial positions of the two countries makes them view the problem of post-war economic rehabilitation from two opposite angles. This leads to divergence of methods by which the two countries propose to achieve their objects.

Britain's war indebtedness will amount to a colossal figure. It will be in her interests to devaluate the sterling, so that the exports may be increased, the imports, specially of manufactured goods, be kept within a prescribed limit and a favourable balance of trade might be ensured. This kind of currency policy will be against the interests of the American industries, as it will mean competitive depreciation of the sterling against the dollar. It is interesting to note that according to the British plan the creditor countries should, at the end of five years, receive goods or services and not gold. Will the U. S. A. be prepared to receive goods and services from Britain and thereby jeopardise the interests of the American industries and agriculture? Will the U. S. A. like to endanger the security of her internal productive activity by the competition of cheaper wares from Britain, enjoying the benefit of depreciated currency? America does not want control of exchanges by the individual nations and insists on surrender of national freedom in respect of currency policy. Can this wide gulf between the two countries be bridged?

The United States possess the largest volume of the world's monetary stock of gold. It is, therefore, her natural desire to install the gold again as the international unit of currency. The fact of the British Empire being the biggest producer of gold will be of no avail, as the mother country cannot count on the output of gold mines of South Africa, which for all practical purposes, is an independent country. So, under the British plan the Bancor will not be convertible into gold without the sanction of the Clearing House, while the Unitas will be freely convertible into gold. As the economic position of Britain after the war will be marked by a shortage of gold, she does not want a firm link between gold and the Bancor. Thus the British and the American interests clash with each other in regard to the future value of gold in international money market.

INHERENT CONTRADICTIONS

The troubles of international finance have their origin in the inherent contradictions of the capitalist order, in the sharp struggle between the financier and industrialist classes in major capitalist countries, causing disequilibria between the currency policies and the needs of productive activities of the nations. In 1927-33, at the dictates of the financier class, the U. S. A. adhered to the gold-standard and the value of dollar was kept appreciated. On the one hand, the foreign investments were attracted to the U. S., and New York became the chief

centre of international finance, while on the other the American industries and agriculture suffered terribly from the resulting slump, because the appreciated value of the dollar discouraged the exports and attracted the imports. The Administration had to raise high tariff walls, causing further shrinkage in the volume of international trade. The American financiers *swelled* their vaults, while the American industries and agriculture faced a great catastrophe. The problem of unemployment became so acute that the very existence of the social structure was threatened. Then came the depreciation of dollar and the New Deal by Roosevelt to retrieve the situation.

This warfare between the financiers and the industrialists clarified the nature of international finance capital, which transcends the national boundaries and patriotic considerations. Karl Marx in his *Capital* has vividly described how, in the last stage of contradictions of capitalistic method of production, the major portion of the surplus-value is expropriated by the international finance capital, depriving the national industrial capital of its old privileges. According to Marx, these contradictions would ultimately sound the death-knell of the world capitalist order, when it would become a drag upon the human progress, and a new order based on Socialistic Economy will usher in.

The American statesmen, in their desire to save the present economic order, are making strenuous efforts to find a *via media* to reconcile the conflicting interests of the financier and the industrialist classes. The New Deal of Roosevelt and the Hull programme of reciprocal trade pacts with the different countries, on the basis of bilateral exchange of goods were moves in this direction. Mr. Cordell Hull, the U. S. Secretary of State, has again recommended to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Law. By this programme the U. S. wants to have the modified free trade with the countries coming under the trade treaties. The negotiation of trade pacts with Iran, Iceland and the Latin American countries only shows that the U. S. A. Administration wants to prevent a repetition of a large-scale industrial and agricultural crisis in the post-war period; the dollar area is intended to be kept free from the evil effects of gold-standard and high tariffs to find an outlet for the American exports on the basis of reciprocity, while the sterling area will be open for the American financiers to mint money by the aid of the exceptionally strong position of dollar. The Democrats led by Roosevelt represent the American industrialist class, and the Republicans the financier class. Unless the Republicans gain victory in the election of 1944, the financier class will not be allowed to have a monopolistic control over the entire economic system, and thereby adversely affect the interests of the national industries and the agriculture.

To lessen or modify the privileges of Great Britain in countries like Iran and Iceland, the U. S. A. wants to take recourse to trade treaty technique on the basis of favoured nation treatment, even at the expense of high tariff interests. The low tariff plan, on a bilateral basis, is intended to be worked out by reciprocal foreign trade programmes. The main purpose of these trade-pacts and the Morgenthau scheme of international monetary control is to secure for the U. S. A. the leadership in the post-war economic sphere. The U. S. plan of separate collaboration with so many countries on the principle of reciprocity and mutual assistance is bound to diminish the importance of Britain in the economic and financial sphere.

Both the American and the British schemes do not take into account Soviet Russia, whose economic system is organised on a basis fundamentally different from that of the capitalist countries. If Soviet Russia defeats the Nazi Germany, there is a likelihood of the whole continent of Europe being sovietised. If the whole of the European continent is re-organised on the basis of Socialist Economy after the war, and the *status quo* is maintained in the U. S. A. and Britain, it is difficult for us to visualise, how the two antagonistic world economic systems can be reconciled to each other even in the field of international trade and finance. On the above presumption, there will be sharp contradictions on one hand, between the two leading capitalist countries—Britain and the U. S. A., and on the other between the capitalistic and the socialistic economies on the higher spiral. Will not this economic and financial anarchy involve the nations in a Third Great War, far greater in dimension and more savage in nature than ever witnessed in human history.?

THE TEMPLE OF MARTAND IN KASHMIR

• By Śwami JAGADISWARANANDA

This year I had come on a pilgrimage to the sacred cave of Amarnath. On my way back from Amarnath to Srinagar I halted at Martand, a small but very old town named after the temple of Martand whose ruins are now preserved there by the Archaeological Department of Kashmir Government. Martand is about 35 miles distant from Srinagar. There is a good motor-road and a regular bus service from Srinagar to Martand. Martand is a beautiful town and, like Srinagar, is over 5000 ft. high above the sea-level. The temple of Martand has been rightly described as the wonder of Kashmir. Pandit Ananda Koul, a Kashmiri antiquarian, observes in his *Archaeological Remains in Kashmir* (p. 55)—" The most impressive and the grandest of all the ruins in Kashmir are at Martand—the Cyclops of the East. Occupying undoubtedly the finest situation in Kashmir, this noble ruin is the most striking in size and position, of all existing remains of Kashmir grandeur." The great archaeologist, Sir Alexander Cunningham, who visited Kashmir in November, 1847, thinks that the erection of this Sun Temple was suggested by the magnificent sunny prospect which its position commands. He remarks :

> " It overlooks the finest view in Kashmir, and perhaps in the known world. Beneath it lies the " Paradise of the East," with its sacred streams and glens, its orchards and green fields, surrounded on all sides by vast snowy mountains whose lofty peaks seem to smile upon the beautiful valley below. The vast extent of the scene makes it sublime, for this magnificent view of Kashmir is no pretty peer in a half-mile glen, but the full display of a valley 30 miles in breadth and 84 miles in length, the whole of which lies beneath the ken of the wonderful Martand."

It is now impossible to ascertain the actual date of the erection of this temple of Martand (Sun). According to Kalhan's *Rajatarangini*,[1] the classical history of Kashmir, the main temple was built by Ranâditya who reigned in Kashmir in 223 A.D. and at least one of its side chapels by his queen, Amritaprabhâ. The outer edifice was, however, made by the famous king Lalitaditya who reigned in Kashmir from A.D. 701 to 751. Lieutenant H. Cole[2] is of opinion that this large temple dedicated to the sun is probably of earlier date and may possibly have been erected by Samdhimati Aryarâja (of 35 B.C.) who was one of the predecessors of Ranâditya. Mr. R. C. Kak, former Director of Archaeology in Kashmir State in his *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* also supports this view about the probable date of this temple. The whole building was irreparably destroyed by Sultan Sikander the Idol-breaker (1319-1414 A.D.) by means of



Martand Ruins, Kashmir

gun-powder and otherwise. The local tradition goes on saying that the work of destruction continued for months !

Sister Nivedita, who visited this temple in July 1898, leaves an interesting account of her impression in *The Notes on Some Wanderings* (p. 112). She writes :

> " It had been a wonderful old building—evidently more abbey than temple—in a wonderful position, and its great interest lay in the obvious agglomeration of styles and periods in which it had grown up. Never can I forget the deep black shadows under the series of arches that confronted us, as we entered the temple in mid-afternoon, with the sun directly behind us, in the

1. See Kalhan's *Rajatarangini* translated by Sir Aurel Stein. Mr. R. S. Pandit's translation of the same book known as *The River of Kings*, is excellent.
2. *Kashmir Monuments* by H. Cole.

west. There were three arches, one straight behind the other, and just within the farthest of them, at two-thirds of its height, a heavy straight-lined window top. The arches were all trefoil, but only the first and second showed this, as we saw them at the moment of entering. The place had evidently originated as three small rectangular temples built with heavy blocks of stone round sacred springs. The style of these three Chambers was all straight-lined, severe. Taking the middle and furthest east of the three, some later King had built round it an enclosing wall, placing a trefoil arch outside each low lintel-formed doorway, without interfering with the original in any way and then had added to it in front a larger nave with a tall trefoil arch as entrance. Each building had been so perfect and the motive of the two epochs of construction was so clear that the plan of the temple was pure delight, and until one had drawn it one could not stop. The cloister round the central building was extraordinarily Gothic in shape."



Martand Ruins, Kashmir

The temple itself is 60 ft. long and 38 ft. wide and its height when complete must have been 60 ft. The courtyard that surrounds and encloses the temple is a remarkable thing than the temple itself. Its internal dimensions are 220 ft. by 142 ft. On each face is a central cella larger and higher than the colonnade in which it is placed. The height is 30 ft. and the pillars on each side are 9 ft. high and have a Grecian aspect. It is thought that the whole of the interior of the quadrangle was originally fitted with water to a level upto one foot of the base of the columns and that access to the temple was gained by a raised pathway of slabs supported on solid blocks at short intervals which connected the gateway flight of steps with that leading to the temple. The same kind of pathway stretched right across the quadrangle from one side doorway to the other. A constant supply of fresh water was kept up through a canal from the river Ledari, which was conducted along the side of the mountain for the service of the village of Simbarotsika close by.

The solid walls and bold outlines of the temple towering over the fluted pillars of the surrounding colonnade give it a most imposing appearance. There are no pretty details but all are distinct and massive and most admirably suited to the general character of the building. The mass of buildings consist of one lofty central edifice with a small detached wing on each side of the entrance, the whole standing in a large quadrangle, surrounded by a colonnade of fluted pillars with intervening trefoil-headed recesses. There are in all 84 columns—a singularly appropriate number in a temple of the Sun, if, as is supposed the number 84 is accounted sacred by the Hindus in consequence of its being the product of the number of days in the weeks and the number of signs in the Zodiac. It has been conjectured that the roof was of pyramidal form and that the entrance chamber and wings were similarly carved. There would thus have been four distinct pyramids of which that over the inner chamber must have been the loftiest, the height of its pinnacle above the ground being about 75 ft.

The gateway standing on the middle of the western side resembles the main temple in width, disposition of parts, and decoration of pediments and pilasters. It was open to west and east and divided into two distinct portions forming an inner and outer portico by cross-walls with a doorway in the centre which was fitted with a wooden door. Its roof like that of the main temple was pyramidal in shape and the walls are decorated internally and externally, the chief motif of decoration being rows of double-pedimented niches alternating with rectangular panels. The former contains either standing figures of gods or amorous groups and the latter sitting groups, floral scrolls, pairs of geese, etc. The two large niches of the side walls of the inner chamber of the gateway contains figures of the three-headed Vishnu standing between attendants. The main temple 60 ft. long and 38 ft. wide on the eastern side and 26 ft. on the western has three distinct chambers—Ardhamandapa (half temple) 18 ft 10 inches square,

Antarala (mid-temple) 18 ft. by 4½ ft. and Garbhagriha (womb of the edifice) 18¼ ft. by 13 $^5/_6$ ft. The first and the second being highly decorated and the last plain images carved on the walls of the first are representations of



A carving in the wall of Martand Temple

Vishnu with three faces, boar, man and lion and those on the right and left walls of the second are river-goddesses—Ganga and Jumna riding their vehicles—crocodile and tortoise. Frontage of each side of the inner platform of the main



A view of Martand Temple

temple are decorated with the carvings of the gods, while that of the outer platform with the depicting of the sportive life of boy Krishna. In the centre of the either side of the longer interior chamber is a window reaching the floor and about eight feet in height. The walls thus divided quarterly are filled with the single figures in relief, two of Surya and two of Lakshmi, one on each panel.

Another view of the Temple

Bates remarks that the interior must have been as imposing as the exterior. It is now difficult to realise the wonderful beauty of the external decorations as the stone carvings have been hopelessly mutilated by Mohamedan icono-



The gate of the Temple

clasm. Enough however, says H. Cole, is existing to prove that the temple had been covered with ornamental carvings of high class beauty. Sir Francis Younghusband writing about the temple of Martand in his *Kashmir* (p. 99) says :

"There is something of the rigidity and strength of the Egyptian temples and something of the grace of Greece. Though Hindu, it differs from usual Hindu types and is known distinctively as Kashmirian and owes much to the influence of Gandhara. It is, however, decidedly Hindu and not either Buddhist or Jain while the sculptures show according to Marshall[3] a close connection with the typical Hindu work of the late Gupta period."

Among the antiquities found here, the most remarkable is the Sanskrit Inscription (excavated in 1930) incised in Sharada script on stone of a subsidiary temple on the east side of the main temple, recording construction of an image of Martand by Avanti Barman (856-883 A.D.). The Inscription which now lies amidst the debris of the temple is mutilated and hence none of its eight lines is found complete. Yet its full import has been made out. The Sharada script in which it is written is, like Kharoshti and Brâhmi, a dead script of India. Sharada script derived its name from the place—Shārada[4]—which was a seat of learning and a University in Kashmir and was visited by Sankaracharya. A true copy of the Inscription is reproduced below from an authoritative reading made by the Archaeological Department of Kashmir :

..................हतः यश्चायं.................. ......

·· पद्मोभवहेतुतः......स्वान्नाभिपद्मोभवाद्ब्रह्मप्राप्तिकृतोऽद्य ...

...व्याप्युग्रधामोत्करश्लाघ्यः कर्तुरपि प्रजां प्रतिदिनं कुर्वन्

निवास्याम्नवाम् ॥ वि...

...वाद्व्याप्तजगन्त्रयधितदयः कुर्वन् सदैवोदयं । चक्रांकान्ति-

समुज्ज्वलः परिप...

...तो मुरारेरपि ॥ कान्तानन्तस्तदिगम्बरात् करपरिव्याप्त

त्रिलोकीतलात् गोभि...

...मतानि ज्ञानशशभृत्खण्डस्य धामः प्रभुं भ्राम्यन्

नृत्यविधायिनोऽपि जगतो यशस्कर ...

...प श्रियोऽस्य यक्ष्मोपेन्द्राद्धजानाम् प्रसभं अपः

हृताशेषरक्षाश्रमस्य श्रीमा...

...श्रीमृताद्धस्य बिम्बं श्रीश्रोवर्मा सपर्य्याहितमतिरकृतः

श्री......सप्ततिराज्य...

A gist of the Inscription is as follows :

The glorious Shri Varma who on account of his illustrious achievements excelled the members of the Trinity of Hindu gods—Brahma, Vishnu and Shankar—and who therefore relieved them of the burden of protecting the Universe got constructed under the strong impulse of devotion an image of Martand the Sun-God on the tenth year from the reign of........

The temple of Martand in Kashmir is as famous as, if not more than, the Konarak (Sun) Temple in Orissa. There is a number of Sun Temples in Kashmir and as Sun is a great boon to them due to excessive cold of this mountainous region, people adore the sun more than other gods.

(*Copyright*)

3. See *Note on Archaeological Work in Kashmir*" by Sir John Marshall.

4. Kalhan refers to Sharada in his *Rajatarangini*.

THE GOD AND THE MAIDEN

By SERAPIA-SAVITRY SPERA

In dew-fresh, flower-perfumed, calm retreat,
At Krishna's ruby-tinted lotus-feet
Sweet Nilima most tenderly adored;
Wo! since her early childhood, daily poured
From the unspotted, sacrificial vase
Of a pure heart, her selfless love. Her gaze
Caressed the image of the God, her soul
Seemed to well up, so clear and limpid, whole
And uncorrupt, as a resplendent tear
Shed in the joy of seeing some one dear.
What holy thoughts, what lofty feelings rare
Uplifted her bright spirit, oh, what fair
And childlike prayers did she thus address
To the Beloved? No human mind can guess;
But there appeared a clear and faithful trace
Of Krishna's own expression on her face,
A strange resemblance which increased and grew,
Till, like the moon in sparkling morning-dew,
Or the young sun within a stainless shield,
The God's enchanting beauty was revealed,
And mirrored in her self.

The image fair,
And Nilima's dear picture, witness bear
To that bedazzling likeness and console
With tender hope each fondly mourning soul.
For she has gone from us. Her earthly part
Has been dissolved in flame and air; her heart,

Her charming form, no longer could enshrine
A love so vast, a longing so divine.
And dying, gazing at the God's bright face
She sank into His heavenly embrace
To mingle with the mystic melody
Of His eternal flute, that boundless sea
Of endless music whose entrancing call
Had lured her fervent soul at evenfall,
At noontide and at dawn, oh, night and day
And in her hour of death...........

* * * * *

Hope; long; aspire; oh, that we might depart
Like Nilima, to mingle with that love
Which even round her earthly beauty wove
A veil of heaven-born, exalting grace
And cast its own reflection on her placid face



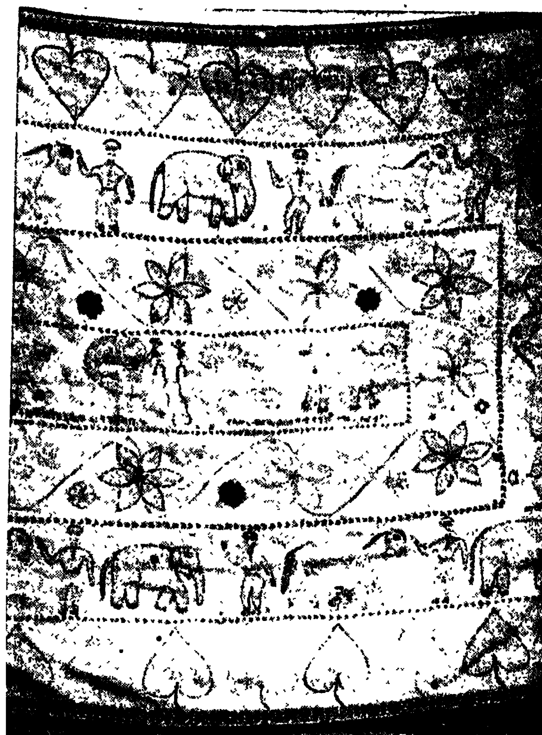
KANTHAS (EMBROIDERED WORKS).

By AJIT MOOKERJEE, M.A. (Lond.), F.R.A.I. (Lond.)

PREPARATION

KANTHAS are generally made by the women of all classes in Bengal, but chiefly in Eastern Bengal. The word Kānthā means embroidered work made mostly on discarded saris which are sewn together almost invisibly. Discarded saris, according to the size and thickness required are arranged one on top of the other until the desired thickness is obtained and the edges folded in. They are first tacked loosely round the edges. The field is then filled in with fine quilting work by means of white thread. Coloured threads from the borders of saris are stitched along the border line and the surface is filled with various designs.

Generally speaking, the embroideries in the Kānthās have a *dorokha* or obverse and reverse character. Ordinarily the designs appear distinctly only on the obverse face and are comparatively indistinct on the reverse face. In the most finished types of Kānthās, however, the stitches are so skilfully made that the details of each design appear in identical forms and colours on either face of the Kānthā. Indeed, it is often extremely difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the obverse face from the reverse face.



Sujni Kantha—a ceremonial one and also used bed-spread

METHOD OF CARRYING OUT THE EMBROIDERY.

It is necessary to trace the design before the quilting is made as this only forms the background. Where the linen shows in the design this is usually unquilted and held in place by embroidery stitches. The chief stitches used are darning, satin stitch, loop stitch and for the outlines, stem and split stitches are used.



Kantha for covering articles. Smaller and square in size

The Kānthās are made in both large and small sizes, from small squares to large rectangles.

SEVEN TYPES

The following are the different types of Kānthās :—

(1) *Lep* : wrap for the body and worn in winter. This is about six by four feet; and thickly quilted.

(2) *Sujni* : a ceremonial Kānthā and also used as a bed-spread. *Sujni* Kānthās are usually large and rectangular in shape. The average size is six by three feet.

(3) *Bayton* : wrap for books and valuables of all kinds. It is usually square shaped, being approximately three square feet in size. It has a wide border of several rows of human or animal design. In the centre there is usually a design of a lotus in concentric form round which is grouped a multiplicity of various designs of familiar objects. In the four corners there are *Kalkās* (decorative leaves or else conventional trees, or lotuses).

(4) *Oār* or pillow cover. It is rectangular and the size is two feet long by one foot and half wide. It is generally of a very simple design which may either be a number of parallel longitudinal border patterns or conventional trees with birds. There is always an extra decorative border sewn round the edges.

(5) *Arsilatā*: or wrap for mirrors and combs. It is narrow and rectangular in shape, the size being about eleven by six inches. Creepers, lotuses or trees generally form the subject-matter of the design.

(6) *Durjani Thaliā* or wallet cover. A square piece of cloth is embroidered with a border and a lotus in the centre. To make the wallet three of the corners are folded inwards, so that their apices meet at the centre. The edges are then sewn together. A string is attached to the loose upper end and wound round the wallet to fasten it.

(7) *Rumāl* or handkerchief. It is small and square in shape. The design of 'Kānthā' handkerchief is usually a central lotus round which are grouped a variety of motifs.

Some of the ritual designs on Kānthās particularly *Mandala* and *Kalása* designs are frequently to be seen. These designs are also executed by women only on festive occasions in fulfilment of certain vows (*Bratā-Alipanā*). The form of the *Mandala* design in the Kānthā is of particular interest. The centre of the *Mandala* is almost invariably filled with the '*Satadāla padma*' or hundred-petalled lotus.

The petals are not always exactly one hundred in number but they are made as numerous as possible so as to suggest a hundred-petalled lotus. This design is surrounded by several concentric rings of thread work. They are always different from one another. The entire design is then circumscribed by radiating *Kalasa* (pot-design) and sometimes by *Samkhas* (conch-shell design).

INFLUENCE OF TEXTILE PATTERN

Another style of Kānthā has a border with repeating design, similar to that sewn on saris. These Kānthās are embroidered by women of the weaver class and the designs are clearly inspired by the older craft. The pattern is chiefly carried out in darning stitch which gives the similar effect to weaving. When the stitch is of considerable length, it is broken one or more times by making a short stitch on the reverse. This gives a characteristic dotted appearance . The result of the above technique is that while Kānthās of the former type have a 'dorokhā' character, in the latter the forms and designs which appear on one face are complementary to those on the other and the right face is easily distinguished from the reverse face.

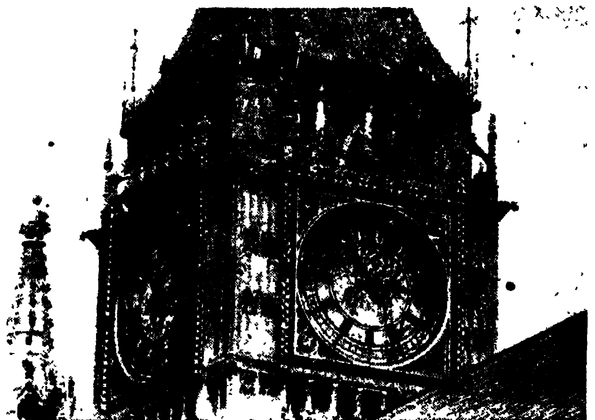
The repetition of designs either in a linear or in a circular arrangement gives an appearance or regimentation in Kānthās of this style which is entirely absent on 'dorokhā' Kānthas where the object is to make each design different from the others. Kānthās are worked by women each of whom invents her own designs; and it is considered dishonourable to copy another woman's work. Original designs may be perpetuated in each family, mainly by association with the Kānthās, but the women are encouraged to cultivate their inventive faculty by using their original design. None of the preserved Kānthās are earlier in date than the early 19th century, and some are the work of more than one generation.

PARLIAMENT CARRIES ON

BY G. E. CHRIST

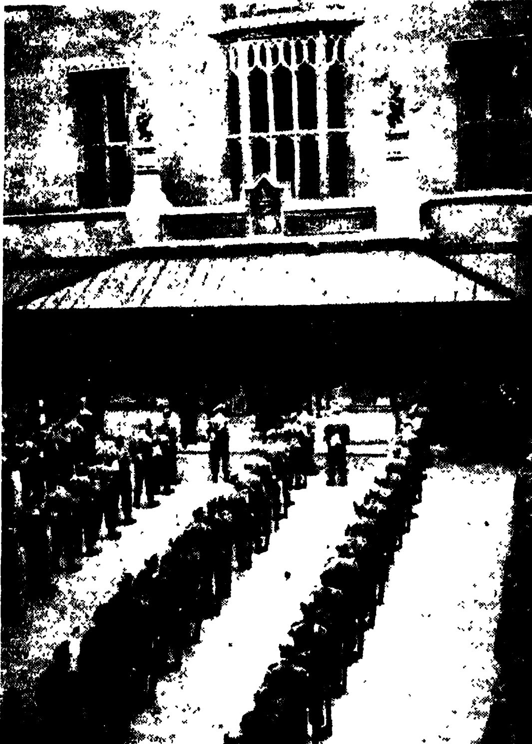
[Mr. Christ is the Lobby Correspondent of London's *Daily Telegraph*. In the following article he describes how the traditional British Parliamentary system of government, evolved over many hundreds of years, has overcome all the difficulties with which it has been faced in modern warfare.]

FOR at least three centuries, every meeting of the House of Commons has opened its proceedings with a simple but dignified procession. Preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms, who carries the Mace, and followed by his chaplain and his train-bearer, who wears court dress with a silver sword, the Speaker moves through the Lobby to take the chair in the House. Enemy action has forced the House of Commons to move to more than one temporary home, but never once since the war began has the traditional procession been abandoned. It is watched nowadays by visitors from all corners of the world, who see in it a symbol of Britain's determination to preserve her ancient heritage of Parliamentary Government.



Big Ben, the world-famous clock overshadowing the Houses of Parliament, suffered slight damage in a raid, but never ceased to tell the world the hour

Although they may not be very ready to admit it now, a question much in the minds of most Members three years ago was whether Parliament, in anything like the form Britain had known it for over a century, could continue to function in a modern war. Would regular meetings be possible in face of the heavy and continuous air attack everyone expected to follow immediately after, if not indeed to precede, the declaration of war? And even if



Parliament's Home Guard Unit, composed of members and messengers, clerks and cleaners, who volunteered for these additional duties

Parliament found a safe home would there be any useful work for it to do?

When the House of Commons assembled at noon on that historic Sunday, September 3, to hear from Mr. Chamberlain the official news of the declaration of war, the wail of the first air raid sirens accompanied the arrival of M. P.s. Instead of going into the Chamber, they were marshalled into the basement. Many of them thought that that session would be the last Westminster would see of the House of Commons. Plans had been made to transfer Parliament to a place of greater safety in the country. Those first sirens seemed to suggest that the time to carry out the plan had come.

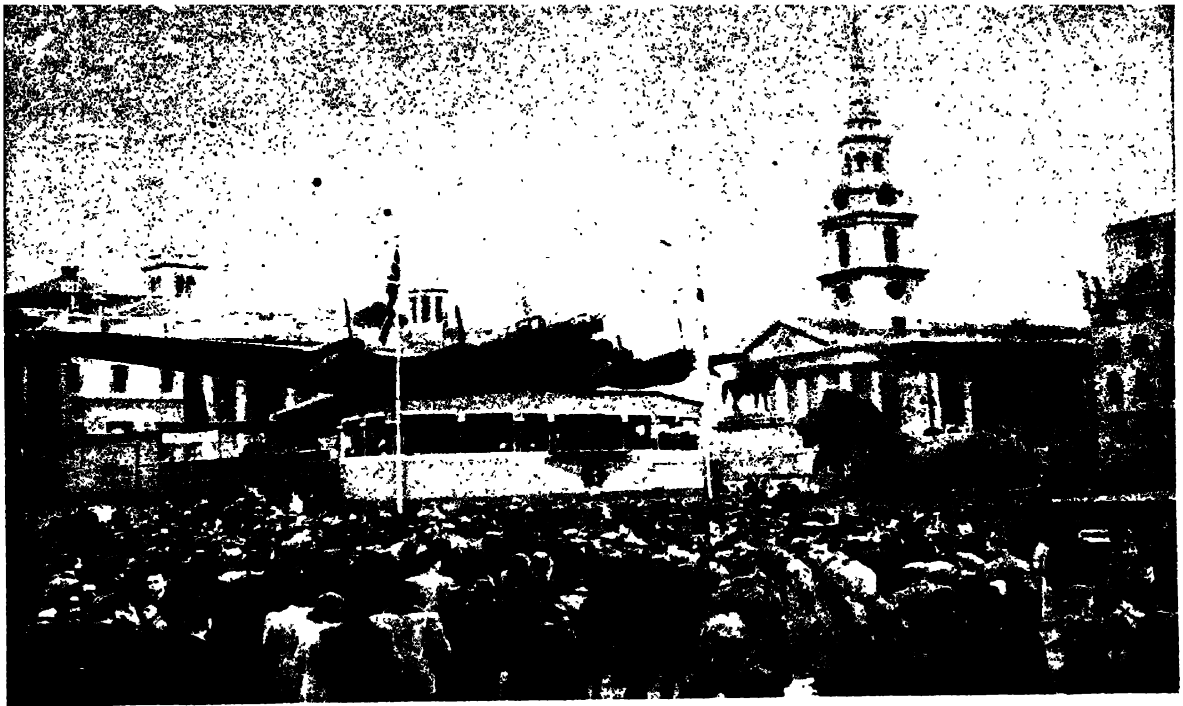
When, a year later, the full fury of the Luftwaffe's large-scale raids burst on London, nothing was heard of the evacuation plan. Parliament, down to the last man, was determined to stay out. Some time was lost by air raid alerts, but not a great deal. In the early days sittings were suspended as soon as the sirens sounded, but it was not long before M. P.s. chafing at this interference with their work, decided to carry on until a roof watcher gave warning that radiers were actually close at hand. Parliament was one of the first public institutions to adopt this system, which was soon followed by industrial and commercial concerns up and down the country.

The Chamber was damaged; a new home was found. The Chamber was finally destroyed. The famous despatch boxes, dented by the rings of such legendary Victorians as Disraeli and Gladstone, as they thumped them to beat home their arguments in long-forgotten controversies —the Speaker's oak chair—all were reduced to ashes. Only a burnt-out shell, and a mass of twisted metal remained of the home which the House of Commons had occupied for ninety-years.

The House carried on without the loss of a single day's sitting. In their new home, they reproduced all the features of the old—down to the thin red strip on the green carpet which marks the point where a Government supporter would be in sword's reach of a Member on the other side of the House. What matter that swords have not been worn for over 100 years;



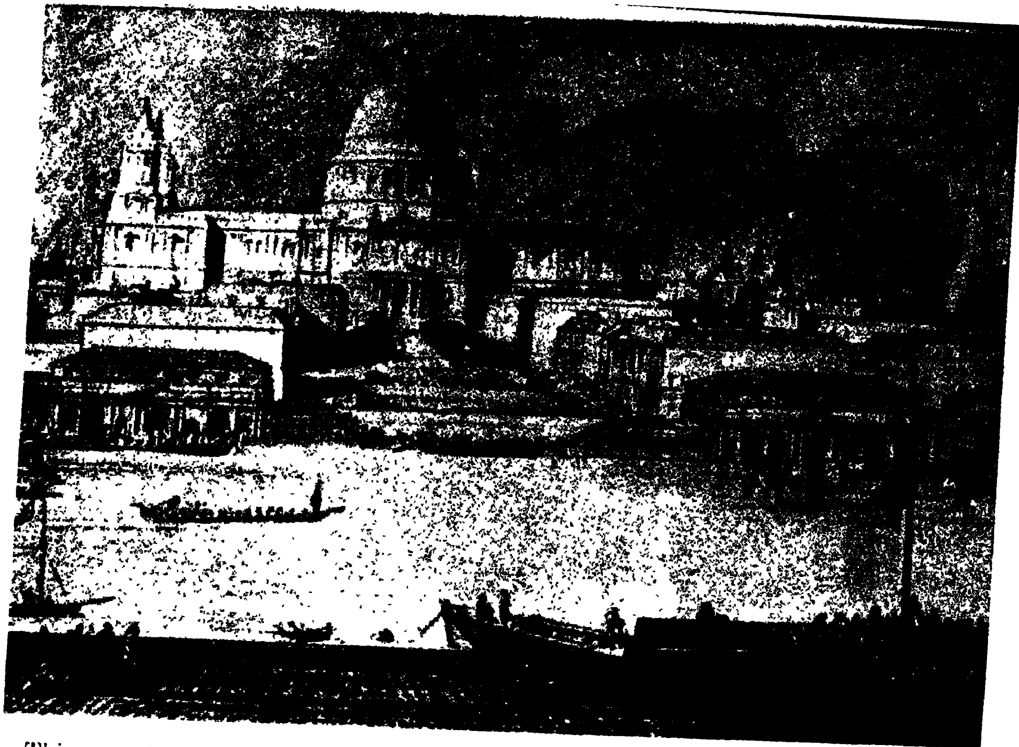
The Chamber of the House of Commons was badly damaged in a German air-raid. Workmen cut the fallen girders before they are sent away to be made into tanks



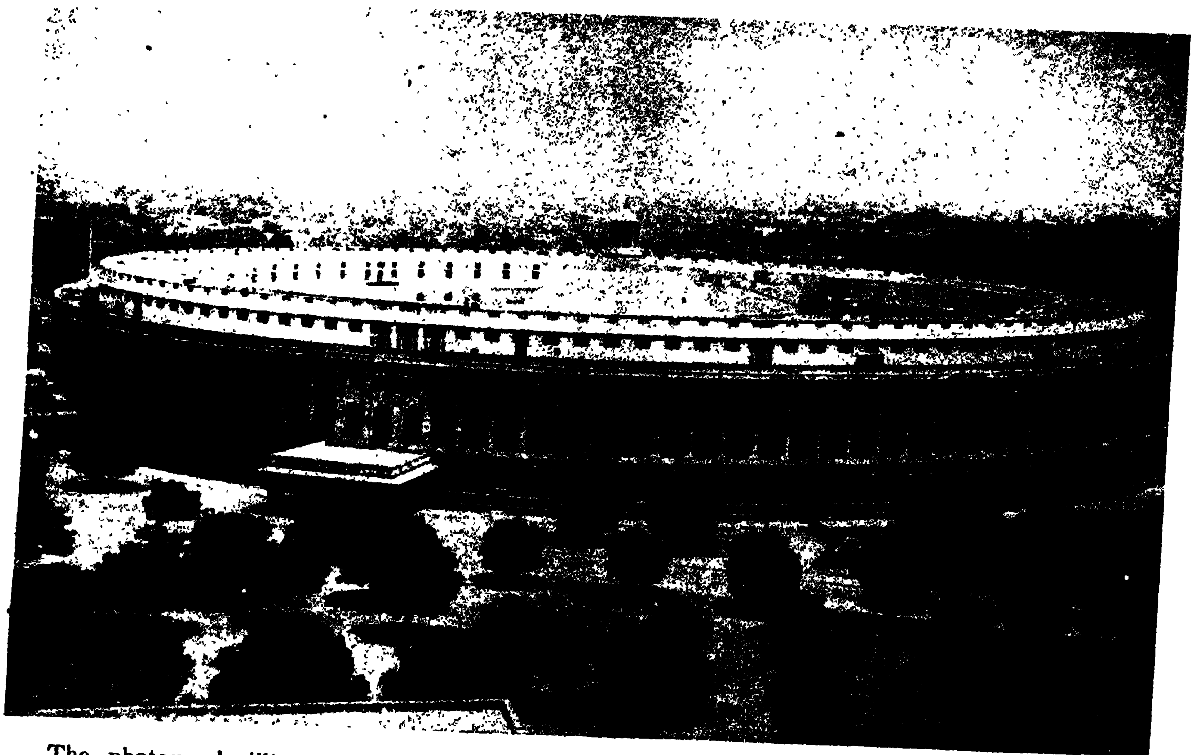
London celebrating a "Wings for Victory" week. Many of the spaces cleared in London by enemy bombs are being used to show off bombers or fighter planes. The biggest crowd gathered in Trafalgar Square where a Lancaster bomber, which has been on sixty-seven raids, is on show



A party of influential Swedish journalists on a visit to Britain are here seen walking round a damaged area in the city of London



This is a photograph of an impression of the vista of St. Paul's Cathedral from the River Thames, based on one of the plans for the development of Greater London, prepared by Sir Charles Bressey and Sir Edwin Lutyens



The photograph illustrates one of the best known architectural triumphs of Sir Edwin Lutyens—the Government Buildings in New Delhi, the new capital of India

or that by now, with an all-party Government, the two sides of the House no longer represent any cleavage? The thin red line had become a Parliamentary tradition, and why should Hitler be allowed to interfere with even the least of those traditions?

In the first three days of that September, 1939, Parliament passed some fifty Acts, equipping the Government of the day with all the powers it could conceivably need, whatever surprises the war might have in store. Gradually the House of Commons settled down to be a candid friend of the Government. The Opposition criticised rather than opposed. Then, when Parliament had established the present Government of all the parties, it transformed itself into a Council of State—not, it should be noted, by any changes in its rules or constitution, but simply by the attitude of its members.

Remarkable since the war has been the growth in the number of Parliamentary committees, which keep touch with Ministers and help them solve their problems. Some of the committees have official status, like the one which goes through all the items in Britain's colossal daily war bill and regularly makes suggestions to ensure that the money is wisely spent. Others are unofficial, but not less useful. They watch agriculture, the troubles of the small trader, health problems, scientific developments, the Home Guard, the woman's side of war, pension questions, the interests of serving soldiers and a host of other matters. Some exist to plan for the peace years and to promote better understanding with Britain's Allies.

Then there is question time, that daily hour when every Minister, from Mr. Churchill downwards, can be called upon to answer for the job he is doing. Even in wartime, M. P.'s. have retained their right to raise publicly the grievance of any citizen in the country, to call any Minister publicly to account.

One change the war has made in Parliamentary life may prove to have an important bearing in the post-war years. That is the new spirit of camaraderie war conditions have brought about. Air raids and fire bombs necessitated providing the House with watchmen. Members volunteered for the job, as they did for the Parliamentary Home Guard. An all-night vigil with an M. P. of different party level and social background, a midnight meal shared with him in the canteen, followed by a game of cards in the small hours, a night of danger on the roof with bombs falling uncomfortably close—it is difficult after that to get back to the old relationship of pre-war party politics!

ARCHITECT OF AN EMPIRE

Sir Edwin Lutyens

BY JOHN FISHER

[Sir Edwin Lutyens is one of Britain's most versatile architects. His work ranges from cottages, "pubs" and week-end houses to such vast achievements as the new capital of the Indian Empire, New Delhi, and the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Liverpool, in the North of England, which is still under construction.]

VISITORS to Britain know from guide books where to look for old cathedrals, Wren churches and Tudor cottages; but not so many could pick out the best example of English twentieth century mansions and street architecture or name the man who influenced their style more than any other one figure, Sir Edwin Lutyens.

Yet those who lay wreaths on the Cenotaph, the nation's memorial to those who fell in the war of 1914-1918, are looking at work of his design; so are those town planners who have come from many parts of the world to look at don's garden suburb at Hampstead, or at his country houses in any county from Hampshire to Northumberland.

At the age of seventy-three Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens is the official spokesman, in brick and stone, of Britain and her Empire. He has been responsible for the new British Embassy in Washington, the memorial to the missing on the Somme at Thiepval, the South African War Memorial at Johannesburg, the British School in Rome, and of course New Delhi, the capital of the Indian Empire, which was planned on a scale larger even than that of Washington.

Above all, Lutyens is an English architect.

His lovely houses surrounded by equally beautiful gardens, are designed to suit English landscape and are built with a real love of the soil.

To meet Sir Edwin Lutyens is a pleasant surprise. Outwardly a courteous and affable professor, he has a sharp wit. Once when, after a trip to the U. S. A., he was reported by Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* to have criticised New World architecture, he wired back to his hosts, "*Regret Express, Express Regret.*" If you sit next to him at dinner, he will sketch you a nimble caricature or make you a trick drawing of a man who jumps a fence before your eyes.



Britain's foremost architect, Sir Edwin Lutyens

There are many stories about him. One of them relates to a week-end which he spent with the Viceroy of India, the origin and authenticity of which cannot be vouched for, before New Delhi was built. It was a wet day. The Viceroy suggested that Lutyens might like to explore the house, and the two men, after wandering from room to room, finally reached the attic. It was a large attic, apparently ideal for an indoor game of Badminton, except for one drawback—a large nut and bolt which protruded through the top of the floor. Though Lutyens prophesied that strange things sometimes happened when bolts were unscrewed the Viceroy decided to have the job done. The house carpenters were sent for and Lutyens, twinkle in eye, watched them laboriously unscrew the nut. As they reached the last turn the screw vanished rapidly through the floor and a tinkle of broken glass followed. A vast chandelier in the room below was the casualty.

Lutyens started early to be successful—which was just as well, since he was eleventh in a family of fourteen. His father, an army officer turned artist, educated him privately; and young Lutyens then went to study at the Kensington School of Architecture. His approach to his future profession was, however, as unconventional as it could be. When he first took his examination for an architectural diploma, he failed in free-hand drawing. It did not interest him and he did not think it necessary. Soon after this he was given the chance of proving that he could be an architect without it. At the age of nineteen he designed a cottage at Thursley, in the county of Surrey, and at twenty-one he had his first big commission for a private house at Crooksbury, also in Surrey. From then on he never looked back. His style, original and yet curiously reticent, attracted attention almost at once, and photographs of Lutyen's houses soon began to appear in *Country Life*, an English magazine largely devoted to that type of subject. Lutyens has spent more time designing country houses than any other type of architecture. Few of his houses are alike in detail, some having great tent-like gables and other the simplest of roofs and facades, but in all the Lutyens' houses built round London, I have yet to see a failure.

The Great War of 1914 slowed up the demand for country houses, but Lutyens continued to progress, and became one of the Committee to advise the Government of India on a new capital for the Indian Empire. The idea was conceived at the Delhi Durbar of 1911, when the newly crowned King-Emperor George V received the homage of India.

Across the years of the Great War, and for a dozen years afterwards, plans and buildings of the £10,000,000 city at New Delhi continued, with Lutyens in charge. Trim white bungalows and gardens were laid out—shops, banks and churches for 60,000 people. Half a million tons of stone had to be carried 200 miles (320 kilometres) for the job. Crowning all was the red stone and white marble Viceroy's Lodge, approached by the King's Way a mile (1·6

kilometres) long and a quarter of a mile broad. Among its rooms the Viceroy's House, as it is modestly called, has a special Durbar Hall, as well as a banqueting hall and a ballroom, and it took *Reuters'* correspondent about three and a quarter hours to walk round !

But before New Delhi was finished, more honours were heaped on Lutyens at home. There was of course the Cenotaph, which, with its freedom from symbolism, records that men of all creeds fought and died for freedom.

One of the greatest tributes to Lutyens was paid when he, a Protestant, was asked to design the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Liverpool. Among its features are 53 altars, an organ and choir completely hidden from sight, an uninterrupted view of the high altar from all parts of the cathedral, a chapter house and library built as part of the cathedral, and the projected dome—the largest in the world.

The cathedral is a vast undertaking and will almost certainly not be completed in the twentieth century; however, in October, 1937, the first Mass was celebrated in the crypt chapel. By 1939 the various elements had been joined into the whole. The care with which the cathedral is being built can be gathered from the fact that 600 hours were spent in work on a single pair of stones.

So far I have shown Lutyens as the architect of the public and of the rich man; it is an incomplete picture of his versatility. In Westminster stands a vast block of flats housing 600 families and leased by the Duke of Westminster to the London County Council for 999 years at a nominal rent of 1/- a year; Edwin Lutyens designed these flats. There is a Lutyens "pub" at Cockington near Torquay. He has built many cottages too.

To-day Lutyens' prestige stands higher than even before the war. After three years he is still—an unusual honour for an architect—President of the Royal Academy. This year he received Britain's Order of Merit, the highest award with which the Crown can honour an outstanding achievement in the arts and sciences.



One of the lovely country houses designed by Lutyens early in his career

At present Lutyens is leading a Planning Committee of the Royal Academy engaged on a scheme for a new and better-built London after the war, a fitting task for an architect who throughout an era when taste was never more fickle, has earned for himself lasting popularity.

FAMOUS AMERICAN POEM ON INDIA

One of the greatest American poems ever written is *Passage To India* by Walt Whitman who believed that the historical search for a new route to India symbolized the world-wide search for the secret of all nature, Mr. Robert Rand, Calcutta Director of the U. S. Office of War Information, told the All-India Hindi Poet's Conference at the University Institute Hall.

After reciting extracts from *Passage To India,* Mr. Rand said the poem reflected Whitman's spirit of world brotherhood. The speaker declared, "Whitman was a universalist in the sense that he borrowed from every philosophy and every religion. The Hindu Scriptures, the Koran, and the Bible had a strong influence on his belief that the world needed a renaissance of the religious spirit. His wide experience with modern American life and yet his love for the clarity of Homer, the frankness of Rousseau and the beauty of Shakespeare contributed richly to his poetry."

Extracts from

Passage to India

By Walt Whitman

Singing my days,
Singing the great achievements of the present,
Singing the strong light works of engineers,
Our modern wonders, (the antique ponderous Seven outvied,)
In the Old World the east the Suez canal,
The New by its mighty railroad spann'd,
The seas inlaid with eloquent gentle wires;
Yet first to sound, and ever sound, the cry with thee O soul,
The Past ! the Past ! the Past !

The Past—the dark unfathom'd retrospect !
The teeming gulf—the sleepers and the shadows !
The past—the infinite greatness of the past !
For what is the present after all but a growth out of the past ?

Not you alone proud truths of the world,
Nor you alone ye facts of modern science,
But myths and fables of old, Asia's Africa's fables,
The far-darting beams of the spirit, the unloos'd dreams,
The deep diving bibles and legends,
The daring plots of the poets, the elder religions;
O you temples fairer than lilies pour'd over by the rising sun !
O you fables spurning the known, eluding the hold of the known, mounting to heaven !
You lofty and dazzling towers, pinnacled, red as rose, burnish'd with gold !
Towers of fables immortal fashion'd from mortal dreams !
You too I welcome and fully the same as the rest !
You too with joy I sing.

Passage to India !
Lo, soul, seest thou not God's purpose from the first ?
The earth to be spann'd, connected by network,
The races, neighbors, to marry and be given in marriage,
The oceans to be cross'd, the distant brought near,
The lands to be welded together.

A worship new I sing,
You captains, voyagers, explorers, yours,
You engineers, you architects, machinists, yours,
You, not for trade or transportation only,
But in God's name, and for thy sake O soul.

Passage to India !
Struggles of many a captain, tales of many a sailor dead,
Over my mood stealing and spreading they come,
Like clouds and cloudlets in the unreach'd sky.

Along all history, down the slopes,
As a rivulet running, sinking now, and now again to the surface rising,
A ceaseless thought, a varied train—lo, soul, to thee, thy sight, they rise,
The plans, the voyages again, the expeditions;
Again Vasco de Gama sails forth,
Again the knowledge gain'd, the mariner's compass,
Lands found and nations born, thou born America,
For purpose vast, man's long probation fill'd,
Thou rondure of the world at last accomplish'd.
Year at whose wide-flung door I sing !
Year of the purpose accomplish'd !
Year of the marriage of continents, climates and oceans !
(No mere doge of Venice now wedding the Adriatic,)
I see O year in you the vast terraqueous globe given and giving all all
Europe to Asia, Africa join'd and they to the New World,
The lands, geographies, dancing before you, holding a festival garland,
As brides and bridegrooms hand in hand.

Passage to India !
Cooling airs from Caucasus far, soothing cradle of man,
The river Euphrates flowing, the past lit up again.
Lo soul, the retrospect brought forward,
The old, most populous, wealthiest of earth's lands,
The streams of the Indus and the Ganges and their many afluents,
(I my shores of America walking to-day behold, resuming all,)
The tale of Alexander on his warlike marches suddenly dying,
On one side China and on the other side Persia and Arabia,
To the south the great seas and the bay of Bengal,
The flowing literatures, tremendous epics, religions, castes,

Old occult Brahma interminably far back; the tender and junior Buddha,

Central and southern empires and all their belongings, possessors,
The wars of Tamerlane, the reign of Aurungzebe.
The traders, rulers, explorers, Moslems, Venetians, Byzantium, the Arabs, Portuguese,
The first travellers, famous yet, Marco Polo, Batouta the Moor,
Doubts to be solv'd, the map incognita, blanks to be fill'd
The foot of man unstay'd, the hands never at rest,
Thyself O soul that will not brook a challenge.

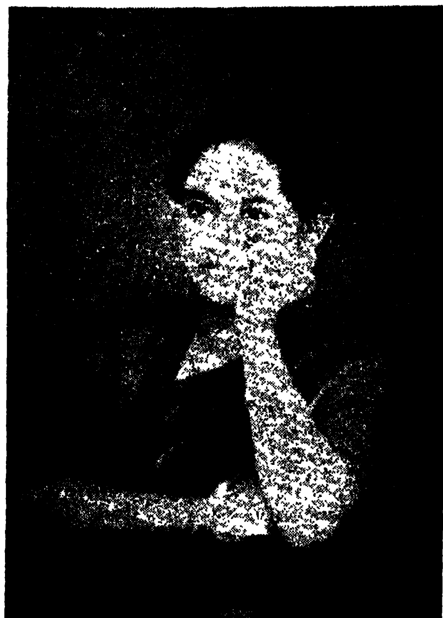
Passage to more than India!
Are thy wings plumed indeed for such far flights?
O soul, voyagest thou indeed on voyages like those?
Disportest thou on waters such as those?
Soundest below the Sanscrit and the Vedas?
Then have thy bent unleash'd.

Passage to you, your shores, ye aged fierce enigmas!
Passage to you, to mastership of you, ye strangling problems!
You, strew'd with the wrecks of skeletons, that, living, never reach'd you.

Passage to more than India!
O secret of the earth and sky!
Of you O waters of the sea! O winding creeks and rivers!
Of you O woods and fields! of you strong mountains of my land!
Of you O prairies! of you gray rocks!
O morning red! O clouds! O rain and snows!
O day and night, passage to you!

Sail forth—steer for the deep waters only,
Reckless O soul, exploring, I with thee, and thou with me,
For we are bound where mariner has not yet dared to go,
And we will risk the ship, ourselves and all.

O my brave soul!
O farther farther sail!
O daring joy, but safe! are they not all the seas of God?
O farther, farther, farther sail!


Miss Arati Bose

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Arati Bose, the eldest daughter of Mr. S. M. Bose, Managing Director of Bengal Waterproof Works (1940) Ltd., has stood first this year in Geography with First Class Honours in the B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University. She was a student of the Asutosh College, Calcutta.

ERRATA

The Modern Review for September, 1943:
P. 183, col. 1, last line: *Read* 39-39 *for* 38-39.
P. 183, col. 2, line 2: *Read* 29-127 *for* 29-27.

THE CHARCOAL KILN

BY J. N. SINHA

THE Matha hill rises a thousand feet sheer out of the surrounding countryside. It is rocky, rugged and looks menacingly reckless. Perhaps the grandma quietens the turbulent child by a hushed show of the finger towards the mighty black unknown. In a straight line the hill races for two miles, then swings in and out again. At intervals it raises the head in circumspect vigilance like the pre-historic python guarding its citadel. These points of circumspection are marked by desperate-looking bare craggy moundy peaks of uncompromising gneiss. One would think as if the ocean had splashed out a whole towering wave by a shrug of its bosom, and that wave had petrified as it fell on land. The green sea water had remained green but the white frothy crests had turned black and wan at the shame of dislodgment from the laps of eternity on to "this dim spot which men call Earth." There is in evidence a continuous life and death struggle between vegetation and rock. On the steep hillsides vegetation is visible in patches, dots, streaks or bands while the rest is covered by dark rocks of potential mobility. Along the fringe of the hill there is a soothing band of fine greenry. Up along the depressions of the streams the vegetation travels. It diminishes as it ascends. *Sal, piasal* and bauhinia climber are all left behind. The hardy *salai* then takes up the relay. Stray clumps of thin gnarled bamboos stand frankly defeated on that soil-less rocky hillside but are waving in joy of the attempt as if proclaiming—it is more glorious to fight and lose than be a coward and not fight at all. Higher still the bareness gets more intense. The *salai* finally lays down the frail challenge of its leaves and seeks compromise by merging itself in the adversary. The hardy ficus tree, that crack fighter of the vegetable kingdom, here and there still carries the banner. But it is a losing fight. The Spirit of the hill shows impatience. It seems to say that too much liberty has already been taken of its tender moods. And as if in stern recollection of its real self finally and fretfully jerks up its stark bare head of a million ton of gneiss where not a blade of grass will grow.

On the peak at the western end resides Matha Goddess. In the days of yore legends say there used to be human sacrifice to propitiate the Goddess. Now in these days of decadent humanity she has relaxed her terms. Goats now amply fill her bowl. On the day following *poush sankranti* strings of goats go up the hillside, and rows of their heads and bundles of their bodies freight down the hillside. They protest when they go up. They protest no more when they come down. It is a gala day for the countryside around. A small *mela* is held in the shadow of the Goddess. Maidens bedecked in their tinsel fineries, youthful dandies with their flowing locks of hair oiled to the saturation point, children with beads and buntings, old women dressed in what once was gaudy—all leap up towards the top. For the time being the law of gravity seems reversed. Behind the sacrificial altar is a huge rock, about fifteen feet high, standing almost vertically. At the base of it one or two of the roadside *pan* and sweets shops have established themselves. The maidens open their little purse and buy *pan*. The young men have also eaten *pan* and have taken up vantage points on the rock above. From there they shower gentle glances and sweet smiles. The maidens look up and smile, then they chew *pan* and smile again, proud of having captured the lover's heart. Presently they turn round to go as their parents arrive. Their lips are red with *pan* and from their hands dangles the goat's head, the blood still dripping. From their features it is hard to tell which is of more value to them—the lover's heart or the goat's head !

Of the powers of the Goddess for good or for evil legends also say a great deal. Even now the thatch grass on Matha hill may not be cut before the *poojah* on *poush sankranti*. Recently a forest contractor unwittingly cut the grass before the correct date to build sheds for his coolies working on charcoal kilns. For several nights a tiger was heard roaring in the immediate vicinity of Matha village. The tiger came closer and closer to the village as nights went by, roared louder and louder, and announced dire consequences. Then the *naya* (priest of the Goddess) went to the Goddess at dead of night, sat in contemplation and was told the cause. The contractor paid the price of seven goats and the tiger roared no more.

From the top of Matha hill the red-tiled Forest Rest House looks like a pretty toy house, or like a child playing under the eyes of the mother giantess. The District Board road like a neat thin line emerges from space and after skirting the hill vanishes into space again,

as if it were the writing on the wall of the destiny of all things. Along it are creeping strings of bullock carts like little match boxes pulled by white ants. They hardly seem to move, scarcely a yard to the minute, as if benighted in a nightmare, never reaching the journey's end. The proud kite that hovers in the sky is now flying below us. The stretch of paddy land with the delicate poetic curves of its embankments looks like a beautiful landscape painting. Cattle are grazing the stubble of freshly cut paddy. White herons patiently awaiting their prey of fish by the pond resemble petals of white lily which some wanton waster has torn and scattered. The Dalma hill can be seen in vague outlines. And to the right in the far misty distance the broad course of the Subarnarekha as it meanders through the undulations of Manbhum on to its home of eternity appears and disappears in patches like visions of dream.

The Forest Rest House stands subdued down below at the very foot and mercy of Matha Goddess. If she were to release one of those giant overhanging threatening massive boulders there would no more be a Rest House. From here a path ascends the hill. It threads through the dense foliage at the bottom, then winds in and out the spaces between large black gneiss blocks, skips across streams, and clambers up rock-walls. It is a gruelling ascent. Finally after a great deal of sweat and many moments of despair a small plateau is reached. Here the forest has been partly cleared in course of silvicultural operations. The contractor has built a number of charcoal kilns. Scattered about the green surroundings like large inverted brown cups and lazily ejecting dense clouds of smoke they look romantic. The scenery is superb. Guarding this beautiful amphitheatre stand three peaks of the hill at the points of an equilateral triangle. Through the eastward opening you see unending miles of forest and hill tops. Through the other two openings the countryside below is visible—serene, distant, misty. It looks like a colossal picture of a dim distant sleepy world set in a giant V-shaped easel of which the base is the edge of the plateau and the two side supports are the sharp slopes of the hill peaks. Villages can be discerned and houses like pin points. In those houses live little human beings. They think themselves big. How many have looked back from here to realise how small they look even from the Matha hill? And how much smaller still they must be from the Creator's pedestal! Generations have come and gone, while this gigantic picture frame has thus stood. Why is man born? And why does he die? Where did the world start? Where will it end? What is the purpose of life? Who can answer? Perhaps in those villages there is a miser who thinks that his life's purpose is frustrated because a trifle of his usurious interest has remained unrealised. There may be a patriot believing that the purpose of his life is emancipation of his country. There may again be a housewife who having haggled with the fishmonger to her advantage thinks her life's purpose fulfilled. Or there may be a maiden despairing that men do not know the love of the soul. Yet many a miser has hoarded but to leave all behind, many a country has risen and fallen in what is a twinkle of an eye for the Maker. We are like figures on the slate. God writes, then rubs it clean and writes again. Who can tell the purpose of life?

It was a winter morning. The sky was overcast with clouds. Cold breeze was blowing. It was so exhilarating to stand near the charcoal kilns and imbibe the warmth. Coolies, men and women, poorly clad, were working. They were loading a kiln here, emptying another, carrying charcoal to the thatched hut, or cutting firewood into billets. At one of the kilns sat Putli and Soma. Their hands outstretched to the mouth of the kiln, the palms beseeched the warmth to come. Dense yellow smoke was emerging. It made eddies and curls which danced in joy or whined in pain. It thinned out as it ascended and gradually lost itself in the atmosphere. More smoke emerged, took the place of that which had vanished, and the process continued. It seemed to be the picture of life itself, of the relentless continuity of the world. The individual does not count. It is the process that matters. Putli and Soma sat with uplifted eyes. Quietly, gravely, intently, lost in deep thought, they were gazing at this drama of the smoke career, as if they were solving the mysteries of Creation, enquiring the purpose of life. Suddenly a sharp chill gust of wind came and went by. Suddenly and involuntarily Putli threw herself into Soma's arms. Suddenly and involuntarily Soma threw himself into Putli's arms. Immediately they disengaged themselves, felt embarrassed, shyly looked up, smiled, and whispered "Hi-i-i..."

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE Russians are now in a far more favourable situation than could be even imagined a few months back. The position now is that of the Germans being unable to stem the thrusts made with superior force by the Soviets' armies. Even if the German apologia for this "strategy of defence" be accepted at full value, the position now clearly indicates that either the Germans have renounced for good all dreams of an outright victory in Russia, or that they consider that an Allied offensive, of far greater intensity than that at Italy, is imminent in the West. Whatever be the real truth, it is now clear that with the fall of the Italian State, Germany is now faced with a "forlorn hope" defence, with inferior resources and with inadequate supply of fighting forces. The best that she can hope for under those conditions is that the Allies might come to agree to a negotiated peace, at some distant date if Germany could hold on till such time. But even this prolonged war of attrition that Germany aims at would become impossible once the Soviets can rebuild and reorganise the vast tracts already liberated from the invader.

But the Soviets must have time, adequate aid and, above all, the chance to devote undistracted attention to the job of reconstruction. Otherwise the very situation aimed at by the Nazis will arise. Germany is still immensely strong and, given the chance, still able to recuperate and become formidable again. Therefore, Germany must not be given the chance to recuperate, or else the job of re-construction will remain unfulfilled in the Don and the Donetz basins and in the granaries of Ukraine. That is to say Russia must be relieved of all but the secondary parts of the job of carrying war into the enemies' territories. Uptill now Russia is doing most of the fighting against the Germans—and she is fighting Finland, Roumania and Hungary as well. This winter is going to be the most trying of all the winters since 1939, for Russia, and the Soviets' forces must not be called upon to conduct another major scale winter-campaign. Before winter comes the Germans must be engaged by the other Allied forces, so that the demand on the Soviets' gallant troops be substantially lessened, and yet the Germans do not get the chance to revitalize their weakened forces.

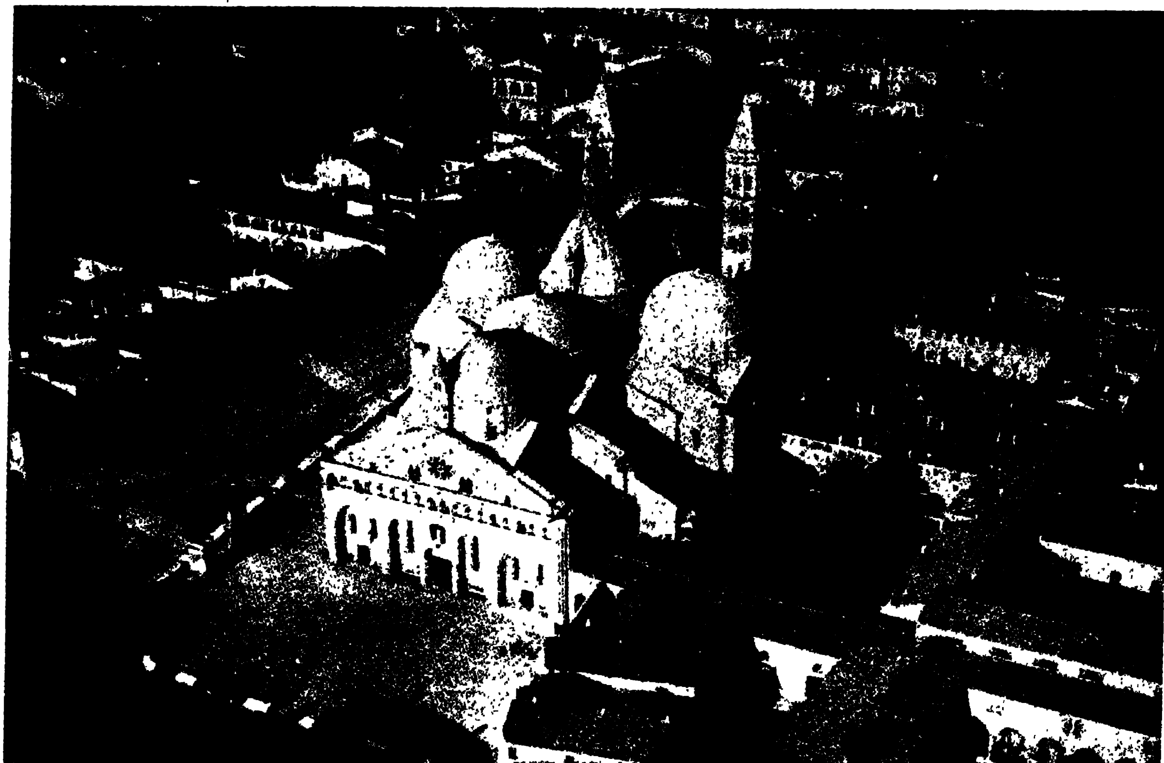
The going is good for the Soviets' forces and in Italy too the Allied armies have broken through the defence lines thrown up by the Germans. In South-Italy winter's grip may not substantially hamper Allied operations, but in Russia the time is coming near fast when large-scale operations will have to be stopped owing to the terrific handicaps that are placed on the combatant forces through the action of the winter of Russia. It is to be hoped, therefore, that large-scale operations against the Germans, on a wide-front, would be initiated in Western and Southern Europe without allowing the Nazi High-Command to avail itself of a hiatus.

In Asia the most hopeful news is that of successful thrusts—on a minor scale, it is true—against the Japanese in New Guinea. The time is drawing near when a fully developed campaign against the Japanese will be climatically possible. Under these circumstances, the news about dissension between the pro-McArthur group and the pro-Mountbatten group is very disturbing indeed. It is now fully recognised that the campaign season in Burma is not a very long as it lasts one, only for about seven months. If part of the coming season is wasted in determining the route and command of the campaign, then the Japanese will get another extension of time for consolidation, which might vitally affect the course of war in Asia. We can be sure that the Japanese are not wasting any of the time at their disposal and there can be no doubt now that the war cannot be split up in two acts like a drama on the stage, and therefore the Allied Supreme War-Council must come to quick decisions and take action without further delay.

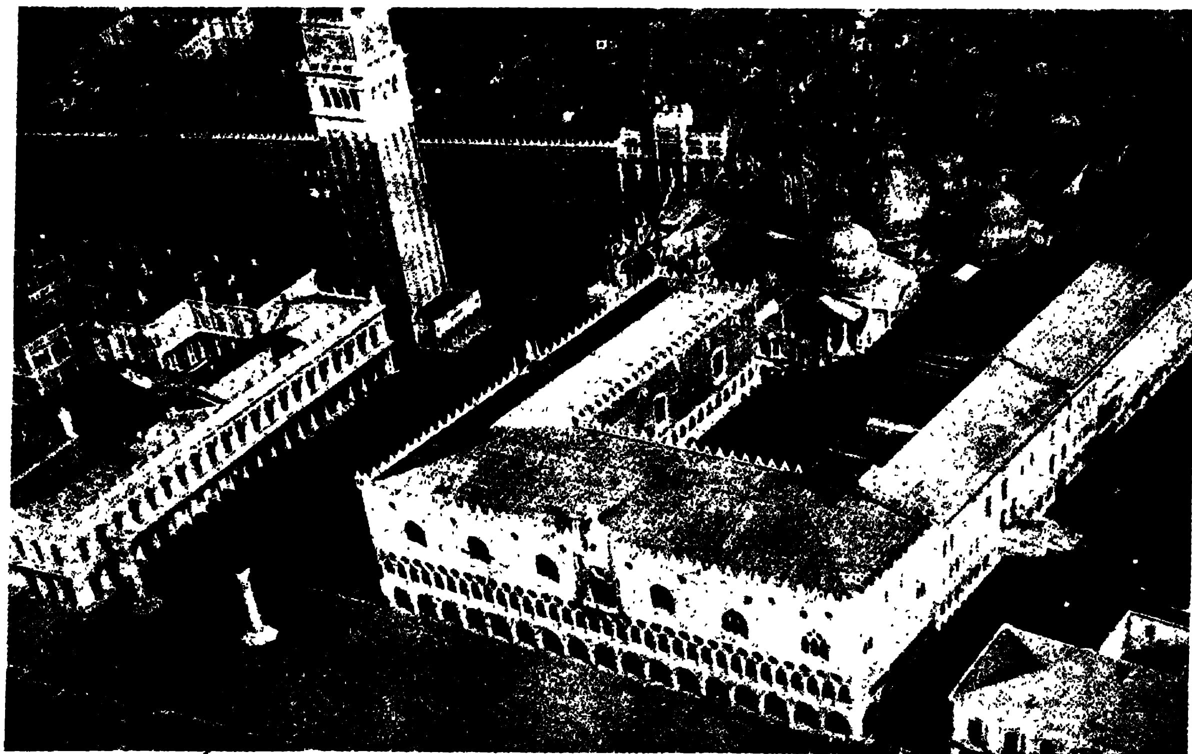
St. Peter's and the Vatican. Rome



• The Sforza Castle. Milan



View of St. Anthony's Basilica. Padua



Piazza San Marco, the heart of Venice, in all its beauty

BENGAL'S COTTON MANUFACTURES : TWO CENTURIES OF STRUGGLE

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

Calicoes and muslins were manufactured in various parts of India, more particularly in Bengal, of singular beauty and endless variety, and had from time immemorial formed the grand staple commodity of India. Schoff says, "There can be little doubt that the fine muslins of Eastern Bengal known under such names as "Textile Breeze," "Evening Dew," or "Running Water," were made there before the Aryan invasion. Spinning and weaving were both by hand."[1] He has also stated that "It appears certain that the cotton textile industry at the time of Christian era was far in advance of that of any of the western countries,"[2] and has made the significant remark that

"The manufacture of cotton cloth was at its best in India until very recent times, and the fine Indian muslins were in great demand and commanded high prices, both in the Roman Empire and in medieval Europe. The industry was one of the main factors in the wealth of ancient India and the transfer of that industry to England and the United States and the cheapening of the process by mechanical ginning, spinning and weaving is perhaps the greatest single factor in the economic history of our own time."[3]

Schoff has made it clear that

"At several places in Northwestern India fine muslins were produced, but nowhere of quality equal to those of Bengal. These also were shipped westward appearing in the Periplus as exports at the mouth of the Indus and at the Gulf of Cambay."[4]

In 73 A.D. Pliny seemed well-informed of the trade and manufactures of India, and he spoke highly of the superior excellence of the Bengal muslins.

When the English came, they found the textile industry of Bengal well established and stabilised. Leaving enough for her own consumption, Bengal piecegoods formed the principal article in her world commerce. By the 16th century, calicoes mostly of Bengal manufacture, formed a very considerable part of the Portuguese imports into Europe. Milburn writes :

"Soon after the English began to trade in India, and piecegoods formed a part of their cargoes homeward in 1615, it appears, from Sir Dudley Digges' pamphlet, that large quantities of calicoes were exported from England to foreign parts; and in 1628, Mr. Munn estimates the annual importation of calicoes to be 50,000 pieces; that they cost on an average 7s. per piece in India, and sold in London at 20s. per piece. The East India Company, in 1625, in answer to some objections which were started against the India trade, say that, instead of paying £500,000 annually to Holland and France for linens, lawns and cambrics, half the consumption of those articles is now superseded by the use of India calicoes, and foreigners now pay us money for the cloths they formerly received in payment for those goods."[5]

Tavernier, a French traveller, who had visited India six times during the second and third quarters of the 17th century, has given the following account of the quality of muslin then manufactured :

"White cotton cloths come partly from Agra and the vicinity of Lahore and partly from Bengal. These cloths are sold by *corges*, and they cost from 16 upto 300 to 400 rupees and more according as the merchant directs them to be made. . . . Muhammad Ali Beg when returning to Persia from his embassy to India, presented Cha Sefi II (Shah Safi) with a cocoanut of the size of an ostrich's egg, enriched with precious stones; and when it was opened a turban was drawn from it, 60 cubits in length and of a muslin so fine that you would scarcely know what it was that you had in your hand. On returning from my voyages, I had the curiosity to take with me an ounce of thread of which a livre's weight cost 600 mahmudis (about £22-10s.) and the late Queen Dowager, with many of the ladies of the Court, was surprised at seeing a thread so delicate which almost escaped the view."[6]

Tavernier had paid his first visit to Dacca, the centre of the muslin industry, in 1640. He visited Dacca for the second time on 13 January, 1666.

The exact date for the first introduction of Indian cotton manufactures into England has not yet been clearly ascertained. Authentic information about it does not extend beyond the beginning of the 17th century. Mention of the import of cotton into England brought by the Genoese has been made by Hackluyt in 1430.

In 1631, a proclamation issued by King Charles, which enumerated all the goods that were allowed to be imported from India included painted calicoes.[7]

According to Milburn, the first authentic document concerning the cotton manufacture in England is contained in a work entitled *Treasures of Traffic* published in 1641. It states "that Manchester buys cotton-wool in London, that comes from Cyprus and Smyrna, and works the same into fustians, vermilions and dimities, which they return to London, where

1. Schoff *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. Milburn : *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II. 1813.
6. Tavernier : *Travels in India*, First Fr. Ed. 1676.
7. Robert Renny : *A Demonstration of the Necessity and Advantages of a Free Trade to the East Indies, 1807.*

they are sold." Scotland was far advanced in respect of cotton manufacture, and by a law enacted in 1621, she had prohibited the use of silk by the servants and had laid down that servants shall wear only cloth, fustians and canvas of Scotch manufacture.[8]

Baines however gives a date earlier than that as the beginning of the cotton manufacture in England.[9] He is of opinion "that this art was imported from Flanders by the crowd of protestant artisans who fled from Antwerp in 1585, some of whom settled in Manchester."

The condition of cotton manufacture in England about 1656-7 is described by MacPherson.

"The quantity of linen manufactured in the British dominions was so trifling not to be equal to, perhaps, the thousandth part of the consumption; and thence it was evidently good national economy to encourage the use of India calicoes, which were much cheaper than linen. Afterwards it was thought expedient to make the linen manufacture the staple of Ireland and Scotland; and then the same policy discouraged the use of calicoes."[9a]

Although the exact date of the beginning of the cotton manufacture in England has not yet been established, it is not in any case likely to go beyond 350 years, while definite proof of cotton manufacture in India has been found as far back as the days of Mahen-jo-daro. At a time when England was learning the art of weaving, Bengal was manufacturing muslin which had become the wonder of the world. Dr. Forbes Royle, F.R.S., has clearly stated that

"The cotton manufacture was no doubt established in India long before we find it noticed in any reliable history."[10]

Beginning of the Competition

About 1675, the fashion of wearing India muslins had become pretty general in England, and "they in a great measure supplanted the French Cambrics, French and Silesia lawns and other flaxen fabrics of Flanders and Germany, the prices of all of which they also reduced very considerably."[10a] In 1677, half a century after the beginning of her cotton textile industry, England imported calicoes to the value of £160,000, and by 1680, she consumed East India manufactured goods including printed and painted calicoes for clothes, beds, hangings, etc., worth £300,000 annually.[11] Till the close of the 17th century, England was dependent on India for piecegoods, the British industry could not meet the home requirements although it was making steady improvement.

About 1699, the Company's charter was forfeited and large numbers of persons embarked in the India trade. The supply of India piecegoods in the British market was large, and its price came down to such a level that it became ruinous to the English manufacturers.

'Company's trade gave birth to the business of printing India calicoes in England, in imitation of the printed chintzes of India, another article of general use in female dress. This branch of manufacture soon rose to such a height as to render unnecessary the India painted stuffs. . . . The calico printers very soon began to raise a clamour against the Company for importing India chintzes."[12]

At this crisis of a national industry, the Parliament came forward and granted protection to the infant textile industry of Great Britain. In 1700, an Act was passed which provided "that from and after the 29th day of September 1701, all wrought silks, Bengals, and stuffs mixed with silk or herba, of the manufacture of Persia, China or the East Indies; and all calicoes, painted, dyed, printed or stained there, which are or shall be imported into this kingdom, shall not be worn or otherwise used in Great Britain; and all goods after that day, shall be warehoused and exported again."

Indian calicoes had become so popular in Great Britain, that even the Acts of Paliament prohibiting the use of printed India calicoes failed to give adequate protection to the British industry. Further measures were necessary and in 1721 another Act was passed which made use of coloured Indian piecegoods a penal offence. The law provided that no person shall wear India calicoes, printed, painted, stained or dyed, in apparel, household stuff, furniture and otherwise, under the penalty of £5, no mercer, draper, etc., shall sell utter or expose to sale any printed, painted stained or dyed calico, or any bed, cushion, window curtain, etc., made of it, unless for exportation, under the penalty of £20; no such calico to be used in any bed chair, etc., under the penalty of £20.

Although the Parliament was anxious to protect and encourage British cotton manufactures, the industry had not made much progress

8. Milburn : *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II.

9. E. Baines : *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain.*

9a. MacPherson : *History of European Commerce with India, 1812.*

10. Royle : *Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India and Elsewhere.*

10a. MacPherson : *History of European Commerce with India.*

11. Milburn : *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II.

12. MacPherson : *History of European Commerce with India.*

till 1750. "At this period the goods manufactured were strong and coarse compared with those of the present day (1813); and little or no thread finer than from 16 to 20 hanks in the pound, each hank measuring 840 yds. was then spun; and one person could with difficulty produce a pound of thread, by close and diligent application, the whole day."[13] Forbes Royle states that "About 1739 and 1740, East India yarns, we learn, were commonly used for the finer kinds of goods, and upto the year 1760, the machines employed were nearly as simple as those of India."[14] Import of Indian calicoes had been prohibited but the British industry had still to depend on Indian yarn for the finer kinds of her produce.

Strengthening of the Competition

So long as the machines for spinning and weaving, and the method of production remained the same in both the countries, England was unable to beat India in equal and fair competition. In spite of the grant of protections, British fabrics failed to acquire the fineness and delicacy of the Indian manufacture. It was owing to the infinite care bestowed by the Indian spinners and weavers on every part of their work, that the beauty of the fabric was due, aided as they were by that matchless delicacy of touch for which the Indians have long been famous. The Indian spinner and the weaver had proved that the first, the best and the most perfect of instruments was the human hand.

The method of spinning practised in India till the middle of the 19th century is illustrated by the following account:

"In Dacca, the Hindoo woman first cards her cotton with the jaw bone of the *boalce* fish; she then separates the seeds by means of a small iron roller, worked backwards and forwards upon a flat board. An equally small bow is used for fringing it to the state of a dawny fleece, which is made up into small rolls to be held in the hand during the process of spinning. The apparatus required for this consists of a delicate iron spindle, having a small ball of clay attached to it, in order to give it sufficient weight in turning, and imbedded in a little clay there is a piece of hard shell, on which the spindle turns with the least degree of friction."[15]

While the Indian methods of manufacture remained stationary, England moved on and made inventions to abridge labour and multiply production. The real danger to the Indian industry began from this time. In 1738, Wyatt and Paul took out a patent for spinning by rollers. In 1748 Paul invented carding by cylinders. In 1767, Hargreave constructed the spinning jenny by which one person could spin 100 hanks, of 840 yards each, in a day. In 1768, Arkwright perfected the spinning machine. About this time the imitation of Indian calicoes was successfully attempted. The machines hitherto invented not being adapted for the finer kinds of yarn, the mule-jenny was invented and completed by Crompton in 1779.

All attempts to manufacture imitation muslins with weft spun by the jenny had failed "owing to the coarseness of the yarn. Even with Indian weft muslins could not be made to compete with those of the East. But when the mule was brought into general use in 1785, both weft and warp were produced in this country sufficiently fine for muslins and they soon so completely succeeded as to banish all fear of the competition of India goods."[16] In this year, Arkwright's machines were thrown open to the public. By 1787, not less than 500,000 pieces of muslins (usually of 20 yds. by 1 yd.), including shawls and handkerchiefs, were annually made in Great Britain.[17]

In 1787, Great Britain had 143 cotton mills, £1,000,000 was invested in machinery for the industry, 350,000 people were employed in all branches of cotton manufacture and the consumption of cotton, which in 1781 was 6,000,000 lbs. was now 22,600,000 lbs, and the approximate value of the manufactured goods was £7,500,000.[18]

The mechanical improvements in Britain had their inevitable effects on the industsy in India. "The city and district of Dacca, before the prevalence of the East India Company's influence and authority, manufactured annually to about three hundred thousand pounds value in cloths. In the year 1776," that is within eight years of Arkwright's discovery, "it had fallen to about two hundred thousand, or two-thirds of its former produce."[19]

Rivalry Between British Traders and Manufacturers

The year 1787 marks an important date in the history of Indian textiles. Britain had by this time strengthened her position against

13. Milburn : *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II.
14. Royle : *Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India and Abroad.*
15. Royle : *Arts and Manufactures of India.*
16. Royle : *Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India and Abroad.*
17. Milburn : *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Evidence of Burke in the Ninth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated 25th June, 1783.

the India goods by fully stabilising her spinning industry although she was even using handlooms for weaving, and for the first time she now stood in the position of commanding an export market. The interests of British traders and manufacturers now ran counter to each other. The former's advantage lay in dealing in Indian goods while the latter viewed India with the same jealous feelings with which they contemplated foreign rivals. The East India Company had an additional advantage in trading with India or Bengal goods which they could never expect by dealing in British products. By an organised system of paying advances, they had brought the entire artisan class of Bengal within their grip and purchased cloth at dictated prices. Burke said, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on June 25, 1783:

"They (Company's Commercial Servants) fixed the Company's mark to such goods as they thought fit, (to all goods, as stated in one complaint), and disposed of them as they thought proper, excluding not only all the native dealers, but the Dutch Company, and private English merchants, that they made advances to the weavers, often beyond their known ability to repay in goods within the year; and *by this means, having got them in debt, held them in perpetual servitude.* Their inability to keep accounts left them at the discretion of the Agents of the supreme power to make their balances what they pleased, and they recovered them not by legal process, but by seizure of their goods, and arbitrary imprisonment of their persons. *One and the same dealer made the advance, valued the return, stated the account, passed the judgment, and executed the process.*"[20]

This organised system of paying advances started after 1773. The Company's Directors had been shrewd enough to observe that as a result of the scientific improvements in Britain, the price of textiles was sure to fall within a short time. Finding fair competition between British and India goods impossible, specially when the Parliament had been eager enough to back the former, the Company resorted to all sorts of oppression in India in order to *make* the India goods cheap. It was under such circumstances that the payment of advances to the weavers so far practised as a method of oppression by individual merchants had been systematically followed by the Company and used as an engine for the cheapening process. Indian brokers were ousted from the field and Company's commercial servants were thenceforward entrusted with the duty of purchasing cloth. Mr. Rouse, Chief factor of Dacca, who struggled against these evils. said:

"That in the year 1773 there were no balances due, as the trade was then carried on by the native brokers. In less than three years these balances amounted to an immense sum; a sum lost to the Company, but existing in full force for every purpose of oppression. In the amount of these balances almost every weaver in the country bore a part, and consequently they were almost all caught in this snare."[21]

Rouse in a letter to General Clavering wrote:

"The native mechants, called *Delals,* were removed from their influence, as prejudicial to the Company's concerns."

The nature of the oppression is further illustrated from the following passage in Burke's speech before the Select Committee:

"The Dacca merchants begin by complaining that in November, 1773, Mr. Richard Barwell, then Chief of Dacca, had deprived them of their employment and means of subsistence; that he had extorted from them 44,224 Arcot Rupees (£4,731) by the terror of his threats, by long imprisonment, and cruel confinement in the stocks; that afterwards they were confined in a small room near the factory gate, under a guard of Sepoys; that their food was stopped, and they remained starving a whole day; that they were not permitted to take their food till next day at noon, and were again brought back to the same confinement, in which they were continued for six days, and they were not set at liberty until they had given Mr. Barwell's Banyan a certificate for forty thousand rupees; that in July, 1774, when Mr. Barwell had left Dacca, they went to Calcutta to seek justice; that Mr. Barwell confined them in his house at Calcutta and sent them back under a guard of Peons to Dacca; that in December, 1774, on the arrival of the gentlemen from Europe, they returned to Calcutta, and preferred their complaint to the Supreme Court of Judicature."[22]

When these ingenious processes of cheapening the Indian cloth were being practised in India, the rivalry in England had also become acute. In 1787 a pamphlet entitled "An important crisis in the Calico and Muslin Manufactures of this Country Explained" was published in England. The object of the pamphlet was to warn the nation of the bad consequences which would result from the rivalry of the East India cotton goods, which, it was stated, had then begun to be poured into the market in increased quantities, and at *diminished prices.* Milburn writes about this rate war between British manufacturers and British traders:

"The manufacturers having embarked large sums, and *made larger quantities of goods than a vent could be found for,* the East India Company's imports of piecegoods being considerably increased, the manufacturers presented a memorial to the Privy Council (in 1788) charging the Company with having purposely augmented the quantity of their goods and lowered their prices, in order to ruin them and destroy British industry; and among other plans of relieving their distress,

20. Ninth Report, from the Select Committee of Parliament.

21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*

were desirous of excluding the Company from importing any white cotton goods."[23]

The East India Company presented a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, in reply to that of the manufacturers, in which they stated:

"That of the goods imported into England, 17/20ths of the coarse sorts of goods, known by the name of calicoes, and 3/5ths of the goods under the denomination of muslins, are sold for exportation, as well as all coloured goods manufactured in India;—that by restricting the Company from importing them, no real benefit would result to the British manufacturer, for as the Company decreased, other nations would increase their importation of the cotton goods of Bengal and the coast into Europe: while the selling price necessary to keep the British manufacturer employed, would so much exceed the prices the Indian goods could be supplied at, that the prohibition laid upon the Company would only give encouragement to the illicit trade to supply the home consumption, and leave to other maritime States to furnish the continent with those large foreign orders for calicoes and muslins, hitherto supplied from the Company's sales;—that the white cotton piecegoods, under the denomination of muslins and calicoes, annually sold by the Company, the greatest part of which are furnished for foreign markets, do in this country fetch 127 per cent. on the invoice cost. Several of these goods are printed or stained in this country, before exported; in case the British manufacturers of cotton goods under the above denomination, cannot meet the Indian manufactures at a price considerably below the profit here stated, though the Company should be annihilated foreign importers of these goods into Europe will find means to convey them into Great Britain. Stained or printed goods seem to furnish a wide field for the ingenuity and industry of the British manufacturers, or the Company cannot import any goods under those descriptions for home consumption."

This struggle continued with equal ups and downs for both the British and Indian manufactures. The Company's oppressive measures in Bengal had considerably brought down the prices of calicoes and muslins thus giving the company a great advantage to compete with the British products.

This is illustrated from the following figures beginning from 1785, *i.e.*, the year in which the muslin was successfully manufactured in Britain for the first time, till 1792.

Years	Bengal Piecegoods Pieces	Sale Value £
1785	768,228	1,426,252
1786	764,173	1,458,416
1787	745,449	1,317,934
1788	594,728	978,507
1789	614,839	943,096
1790	866,282	1,485,080
1791	709,540	1,131,717
1792	607,329	1,194,875

Bengal piecegoods constituted nearly three-fourths of the total export from India, two other principal centres of export being Madras and Surat.

23. Milburn: *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II.

In 1791, France imported the following Bengal piecegoods:

Bengal Calicoes ..	£143,748
Bengal Muslins ..	£318,343

This competition went on unabated till 1793, the year of the renewal of the Charter. From this year, Britain had been almost constantly in a state of war; and during the period following, her manufactures made rapid headway. There was marked decline in piecegoods trade as a result of these two causes. The war had saved the British manufactures. Milburn, in the middle of this war, had made the significant remark that "the British manufacturers must be convinced that, in the event of peace, every attempt to check the importation of Indian muslins and calicoes upon the continent will be ineffectual."

The following table will illustrate the competition during the crucial years 1797 to 1810:

Years	Import of Bengal Piecegoods into Britain by the Company £	Years	Export of British Manufactures £
1797-8	651,926	1797	2,569,941
1798-9	1,228,308	1798	3,775,962
1799-0	1,056,840	1799	6,058,552
1800-1	1,406,879	1800	6,032,652
1801-2	1,131,531	1801	7,160,463
1802-3	664,317	1802	7,910,306
1803-4	672,079	1803	7,378,879
1804-5	444,114	1804	8,561,224
1805-6	621,862	1805	9,857,110
1806-7	498,233	1806	10,750,724
1807-8	260,307	1807	10,851,045
1808-9	317,516	1808	12,839,624
1809-10	333,768	1809	18,634,614

The Sale value of Piecegoods exported by the Company and individuals from the British Settlements of India, about three-fourths of which was from Bengal, from 1771 to 1810-11 was as follows:

In 22 years, 1771 to 1792 ..	£31,624,889
In 17 years, 1793 to 1809-10 ..	£33,260,551
In the year, 1810-11 ..	£ 1,064,370
Total in 40 years ..	£65,949,810

In this competition, Bengal retained her trade in finer piecegoods. British factories supplied the coarser varieties of fabric replacing to a large extent lighter kinds of woollen and worsted staff formerly in exclusive use. Milburn stated in 1813 that "India maintains her superiority in the finer kinds of muslins, some of which are of most exquisite beauty and fineness. The common kinds, or such as are more adapted to general use, are also preferred by

the English ladies to those of home manufacture, on the score of enduring great hardships, and retaining their whiteness better; and in respect to the coloured, or prohibited goods, for the foreign markets, they will always retain their superiority."

This keen competition went on between an industry backed by a very powerful government having at its command all the scientific genius of a nation which spent money for the discovery of improved machinery, and an oppressed nation without any voice in the Government of her land or in the foreign trade carried in her name, employing the most crude machinery and implements unaided by science or mechanical power. During the Anglo-French and Anglo-American wars, production of Bengal piecegoods went down in quantity but still retained the fineness of their texture, their durability, whiteness and superior dyeing qualities.

World Commerce in Bengal Piecegoods

Bengal successfully maintained a large commerce with countries in the world other than Britain even during the period of the stiffest competition. Detailed figures for Bengal's world trade in piecegoods for 1805 only are available and are given below:

Export of Piecegoods from Bengal in 1805

Countries	Piecegoods S. Rs.	Total Merchandise S. Rs.
Denmark	3,37,632	6,51,308
Lisbon	12,13,353	13,96,343
Ceylon	1,03,994	4,00,073
Sumatra	85,089	4,93,491
Persia and Arabia	8,45,788	21,85,287
Pegu	82,254	1,61,198
Pulo Pinang	8,16,612	34,80,416
Manilla	9,15,796	9,84,956
China	3,79,469	70,79,641
Total to all Parts of the World	118,49,670	373,95,877

Commerce with America deserves special mention. It is illustrated by the following statement for the decade 1796-97 to 1805-6:

Year Ending 31st May	Bengal Piecegoods Exported to America S. Rs.	Total Merchandise Exported Rs.
1796-97	20,77,886	25,60,305
1797-98	14,38,667	20,25,602
1798-99	8,30,459	11,63,177
1799-1800	28,44,333	37,85,937
1800-01	52,36,364	61,06,733
1801-02	41,52,244	45,65,828
1802-03	40,21,943	40,09,905
1803-04	54,50,835	67,60,056
1804-05	24,80,599	33,44,593
1805-06	47,63,132	62,78,055
Total	333,05,462	415,00,191

Like the Anglo-French war, the Anglo-American War of 1812-14 had also hit the Bengal piecegoods industry beyond repair. In March 1809 America declared non-intercourse with France, England and their Allies. The result was a considerable falling off in the trade between India and America. The official reporter on the external commerce of Bengal observed in his Report for 1811-12, "with America our intercourse has almost entirely failed; the importation thence amounts to the trifling sum of S. Rs. 585,434 which includes S. Rs. 459,869 of Specie."[24] The war between England and America from 1812-14 put an end to the American trade in Bengal piecegoods. During this war, the American textile industry underwent a rapid expansion. In 1808 there were only 15 cotton mills in America with 8000 spindles; in 1815 the number of her spindles rose to 1,30,000 and in 1830 it reached 12,46,000.[25] It is interesting to note here that the first cotton mill was started in America as late as in 1787. This factory though it had obtained help from the State Treasury, was unsuccessful. An English Committee had reported in 1791 "that the American cotton manufactures were of a coarse grade, of worse quality and of higher price than those produced at Manchester." And the Manchester stuffs, in their turn, were still far behind the Indian fabrics in point of excellence.[26]

The most striking feature of this world commerce was that the trade was entirely in foreign hands while the production was completely Indian.

Cause of Bengal's Sustaining Strength

The cause of the astonishing sustaining strength of Bengal which enabled her to withstand a formidable competition for about two centuries is not far to seek. She had always had one hand on the plough and the other on the cottage loom. Agriculture and the spinning and weaving industries were complementary to each other; a state of full employment prevailed. Menfolk attended the field and the loom, and the womenfolk did the spinning. Earnings from both were sufficient to yield a decent income according to the standard of living then prevailing. A good idea may be obtained from the following accounts of Buchanan-Hamilton's

24. J. C. Sinha: *Indo-American Trade*, J.A.S.B., 1929.
25. Lippincot: *Economic Development of the United States.*
26. J. C. Sinha: *Ibid.*

report on the survey of the Rungpore and Dinajpore districts during the opening decades of nineteenth century :

"The preparation of cotton thread is a principal manufacture, and occupies the leisure hours of all the women of higher rank, and of the greater part of the farmers' wives. Even the women of the Brahmans here employ themselves in this useful industry, and in fact every woman is employed in it, more or less, except those belonging to trades, in which both men and women are engaged, such as weavers, tanners and the like. The farmers' wives are however the greatest spinners, and are usually thus employed during the whole afternoon. Whole time work pays a woman 11½ annas a month, afternoon work 4 annas."

That this income was substantial may be seen from the economic condition as represented by the following prices and general incomes :

PRICES :

Fine rice Re. 1-4 per md.
Coarse rice Re. 1 per md.
Ahrar and Mug Dal Re. 1-8 per md.
Flour Rs. 2 per md.
Ghee As. 7 per seer.
Mustard oil As. 2 per seer.
Dress of a common labourer did not exceed As. 9 a year.

INCOME :

Common labourer As. 2 per day.
Clever labourer As. 3 per day.
Carpenters Rs. 6 per month.
Brass workers Rs. 4-14 per month.
Weavers Rs. 3 per month.
Dyers Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per month.

Montgomery Martin gives an estimate of the expense of the family of an artisan in easy circumstances, consisting of a man and a wife, two children and one widow or dependent. It is reproduced below to illustrate the standard of living at the beginning of the 19th century, *i.e.*, at the teeth of the stiffest competition between Bengal handloom and British machine products :[26a]

FOOD				
Coarse rice, 2 mds. @ -/14/-	Rs.	1	12	0
Dal, Khesair or Masur, 10 srs.		0	3	0
Salt, 4 srs.		0	7	0
Oil, 5 srs.		0	8	0
Murki (sugar and rice prepared for eating without being dressed)		0	6	0
Firewood, pots and baskets		0	12	0
Total	Rs.	5	8	0
CLOTHING :				
For the wife, one red bordered fine sari	Re.	1	8	0
4 coarse saris		2	8	0
(In cold weather, they wrap on old sari round them).				
For the man—1 fine dhuti		1	0	0
6 coarse dhuti		2	0	0
1 turban		0	12	0
1 gelap or sheet for his shoulders		1	4	0
2 gamocha		0	4	0
Total	Rs.	5	4	0
Total Food and Clothing	Rs.	10	12	0

STATE OF EMPLOYMENT IN RUNGPORE :

Population—
Moslem—15,36,000
Hindu—11,94,350
Idler—3,43,000
Artificer—3,26,000
Cultivator—20,66,000

Earners : Cotton weavers 6,755, women cotton weavers 21,600 looms, satranji weavers 100, farmer weavers of megili (coarse cloth) 60,000, sugar boilers 52 boilers, indigo factories 78.

This shows that barely 11 per cent of the population were idlers.

STATE OF EMPLOYMENT IN DINAJPORE :

"The whole cotton cloth woven in the district may amount to 16,74,000 rupees of which 140 or 150 thousand are exported, leaving about 15,13,000 for consumption. The cotton thread spun in the district has been estimated at 11,65,000 rupees; allow 65,000 to enter into mixed cloth, the profits of the weavers of cotton will be about 5,74,000 rupees. The total population was at this time, 30 lakhs, 21 lakhs Muslim and 9 lakhs Hindu."[27]

CAPITAL REQUIRED FOR THE WEAVING BUSINESS :

One loom	Rs.	2	8	0
Sticks for warping and a wheel for winding		0	2	0
A shop		4	0	0
Thread for 2 pieces worth Rs. 6 each		5	0	0
Total	Rs.	11	10	0

To this was added one month's subsistence. The man and his wife warp, wind, and weave two pieces in a month thus giving them a profit of Rs. 7-0-0.[28]

The names of a few of the numerous kinds of Bengal piecegoods and the places of their manufacture in the first decade of the nineteenth century is given below :

Baftas—Chittagong, Birbhum, Luckipore.
Cossas—Hurrial, Santipore.
Doreas—Dacca, Santipore, Haripal.
Mulmuls—Dacca, Santipore, Midnapore, Maldah.
Terrindams—Dacca, Santipore, Badal, Haripal.[29]

The economic conditions had been almost uniform at least since 1752, five years before the battle of Plassey. In that year, there was a scarcity of food and the maximum price of rice in all markets was fixed at 35 seers to the rupee for fine quality and 1 md. 10 seers for the coarse variety. Conditions were easier before that date. The income from spinning and weaving, supplemented the agricultural income and although apparently small, was sufficient to balance income and expenditure in a family budget.

26a. M. Martin : *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, Vol. II.

27. Buchanan-Hamilton : *Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Dinajpur*, 1833.
28. *Ibid.*
29. W. Hamilton : *Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan*, Vol. I, 1820.

THE CRASH

The success of the powerloom in Britain dealt the final blow. Cartwright had invented the first power loom in 1784 to be operated by water. In 1791 a Manchester firm contracted to take 400 of the Cartwright looms. But there had been no appreciable improvement till 1813. "Not much was made of the invention before the close of the first decade of the nineteenth century, and in the meantime, while the spinning industry had been taken largely out of the hands of the domestic workmen and concentrated in mills, handloom weaving in the homes of the working men continued much as before."[30] Parliament, however, continued to encourage the industry by subsidising inventions. In 1809 Parliamtnt voted a subsidy of £10,000 for Cartwright in recognition of his services to the industry. In 1813 Horrock's inventions perfected the power loom. By 1815, the new machine came into common use and the weavers were enabled to catch up with the spinners. The rapid progress of the power loom may be seen from the following figures :

1813—2,300 power looms in operation in England and Scotland.

1820—15,000 power looms in operation in England and Scotland.

1833—1,00,000 power looms in operation in England and Scotland.

Since 1800 Watt's steam engine had also begun to be popular. In that year, there were 32 steam engines in Manchester alone.

The effect on India was now decisive. The spinning wheel and the handloom in this country had remained in the same miserable condition. No national government existed in this country to help improvement, encourage scientific invention and give protection against foreign competition. Prices of piecegoods were rapidly coming down. India longcloths which, in 1813, sold for 44s. 8d. per piece came down to 14s. 2d. in 1829. The price of baftas in 1813 was 11s. per piece, in 1828 3s. 6d. would be the utmost that could be obtained. In 1778, the Company's exports of India piecegoods to England amounted to 1,152,467 pieces, while 50 years later, in 1829 it was reduced to only 203,927 pieces.[31] The American industry had also consolidated itself during the Anglo-American war of 1812-14 and there was a rapid decline in Bengal's trade with America as well. The following statement will illustrate :[32]

Years	Export from Bengal in American Ships S. Rs.
1815-16	44,21,435
1817-18	48,91,053
1816-17	59,98,251
1818-19	70,26,531
1819-20	45,87,438
1820-21	19,25,079
1821-22	38,53,916
1822-23	30,63,019
1823-24	12,25,000
1824-25	22,89,719
1825-26	26,10,785
1826-27	6,64,318

In Bengal, the balance between income and expenditure was now broken. Imported piecegoods were so cheap that spinning and weaving by hand had become absolutely unremunerative. The womenfolk were now forced out of employment and rendered helpless dependents on their menfolk. The only source of income was from agriculture, unaided by irrigation, manure, up to date implements and any other scientific improvement, and by itself was insufficient to meet both ends meet in a family budget. With the increase in the complexities of the permanent settlement, land revenue and expenses of litigation increased. With the consolidation of the governmental power, taxation went up step by step. Debts grew. Misery increased with increasing expenditure and decreasing income.

The *John Bull*, an organ of the British traders in India, wrote in its issue of March 9, 1829 :

"By the aid of the improved machinery of England, the cotton manufacturers of Manchester and Glasgow are enabled to undersell the native manufactures of India in his own market; and it is a fact that cannot be denied, that of late a vast number of native weavers in this country have been thrown out of employment and plunged in great poverty. . . . As it had been by means of their improved machinery that the English and American manufacturers have been enabled to undersell the Indian in his own market, would it not, so far as India is to be regarded, be a truly patriotic scheme to introduce and encourage the establishment of this machinery in Hindoostan ? No one can doubt for a moment that the natives might be instructed, with the utmost ease, in the management of this machinery, and with the cheapness of labour, for which this country is so much distinguished from either England or America, who can doubt that we should turn the table on both ? We should like to know what our reformers say to this. Are they afraid of the main pillar of their arguments for a free trade—the enormous exportation *from* England to India of manufactured cotton goods giving way, and bringing down the whole fabric ?"

30. Ogg and Sharpe : *Economic Development of Europe.*
31. *Asiatic Journal*, August, 1829.
32. *Ibid.*

INIDAN MONETARY POLICY IN RECENT TIMES

By Prof. P. C. THOMAS, M.A.

III

How far is price-stabilization possible in India ? The large size of the country, the vast disparity between city price-level and those of the rural areas, the rich variegation of Indian economy which allows for a considerably diversified consumption standard coupled with the incompleteness of the statistical material make stabilization of price-level a supendous task. If price-stabilization is made an objective of monetary policy some Index numbers or other have to be relied on for achieving the same. Index numbers, put to this use, are not without limitations.[1] A further difficulty would be to select suitable Index numbers—Index number of wholesale prices, or Index number of retail prices or cost of living. Lord Keynes wrote :

"There is at present a most serious lack of satisfactory index numbers of purchasing power. Hitherto no official authority has compiled an index number which could fairly be called Index Number of Purchasing Power. They generally deal with one or other of secondary price-levels, such as wholesale or cost-of-living price-levels."[2]

If conditions in England could thus be described, Indian conditions are still more difficult.

"In India there are special difficulties in the way of constructing a representative index figure owing on the one hand to the great size of the country and the cost of inland transport and on the other to defects in the statistics on which the compilation is based, defects which have been pointed out in the report of the recent Indian Economic Enquiry Committee."[3]

The Index numbers chiefly used in India are :—

(1) The Calcutta wholesale Index numbers, with 72 price-relatives, 45 commodities; (2) the Bombay wholesale Index-numbers, with 44 price-relatives and 30 commodities; (3) the Karachi wholesale Index numbers, with 28 price-relatives and 27 commodities. Thus, the Index numbers mostly in use in India are wholesale Index-numbers. Of wholesale Index-numbers Keynes says :

"When we are considering short period phenomena, as in the credit cycle, this index number has the defect that its movements do not occur at the same time or in the same degree as the correlated movements in the purchasing power of money. And when we are considering long period phenomena, it is open to the objection that it omits altogether or weights inadequately certain important objects of consumption—in particular, personal services and complex manufactured goods (*e.g.*, motor cars)."[4]

The cost of living Index-numbers in use in some parts of India are local and put only to limited uses.

Again, does India possess the requisite machinery to undertake so stupendous a task ? Is it not beyond the Indian Reserve Bank of India to undertake when many other more experienced and favourably estimated Central Banks have not attained any appreciable measure of success in the endeavour. On the whole it is agreed, despite disclaimers, that the Federal Reserve Board of the U. S., during the twenties of the present century, consciously aid at price-stabilization. Governor Strong of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York when asked, "Do you think that the Federal Reserve Board could, as a matter of fact, stabilize price-level to a greater extent than they have in the past, by giving greater expansion to market operations and restriction or expansion of credit facilities," replied, "I personally believe that the administration of the Federal Reserve system since the reaction of 1921 has been just as nearly directed as reasonable human wisdom could direct it toward that very object."[5] The Governor of the Philadelphia Bank (George W. Noors) said that the Federal Reserve Board "as a body have followed the policy as far as it lay within their power under the existing law, of establishing credit to the extent that stabilization of credits might have influenced prices."[6] Lord Keynes complimented the Federal Reserve Board for the successful management of the Dollar :

"The successful management of the Dollar by the Federal Reserve Board from 1923 to 1928 . . . . was a triumph for the view that currency management is feasible."[7]

Mr. Robertson says :

"A monetary policy consciously aimed at keeping the general price-level approximately stable . . . has apparently been followed with some success by the Federal Reserve Board in the United States since 1922."[8]

Regarding stabilization of prices, Joseph Stagg Lawrence says :

"It not only can be done, but has been done."

1. J. M. Keynes : *Treatise on Money*, Vol. I, Chapter IV.
Irving Fisher : *The Making of Index Numbers*, Appendix IV.
2. J. M. Keynes : *Op. Cit.*, p. 57.
3. Hilton Young Commission Report, para. 179.

4. J. M. Keynes : *Op. Cit.*, pp. 57-58.
5. Stabilization Hearings, Washington, 1927, p. 307.
6. Hearings on the Strong Bill, House of Representatives, Washington, 1927, p. 396.
7. J. M. Keynes : *Op. Cit.*, pp. 258-59.
8. D. H. Robertson : Article on the "Trade Cycle," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th Edn., Vol. 22, p. 354.

The joint authors of *Banking and the Business Cycle* are emphatic that the American central banking system aimed at price-stability. They said, "It is the writers' opinion that we witnessed from 1922 to 1929 the world's greatest laboratory experiment with a "managed currency" within the gold standard, involving stabilization of price-level."[9]

It is not proposed here to discuss the American experiment in any great detail, much less to pronounce judgment on the success of the experiment. If for such a vast country as the U. S. the Federal Reserve system could attempt stabilization of prices, it suggests an obvious parallel for India where the need for stabilization of prices is perhaps greater as also the difficulty of achieving any measure of stability. Some of the impediments incident in the Indian situation were already mentioned. What prices in India are to be stabilized?—the price of staple food crop, the price of commercial agricultural products, or the manufactured goods? Again the difficulty is further accentuated by the lack of a common consumption standard.

It remains to examine whether there is any fundamental conflict between the two policies—the policy of maintaining the stability of the internal value of money and the policy of keeping its external value stable. We are not entitled to assume that the two ends will always be in harmony.

"Whatever may be the position at some distant future time, it is for the present quite impossible to stabilise both exchange rates and internal prices. We cannot fix both the internal and the external value of our money."[10]

Why is it that both cannot be done at the same time? If world prices were stable this could be done, says Mr. Cole; for, in stabilizing exchange rates we should be relating our own price-level to a fixed price-level outside.

"But world prices are not stable and accordingly anything that serves to fix the value of our money in relation to them involves in stability in our own level of prices which must under such a system, respond to changes in the level of prices in the world as a whole. Some day, perhaps, the world will be enough of an economic unit to possess a common currency and a single international credit policy; but the day is certainly not yet."[11]

Certainly, the question can be asked, could not this be obviated by all countries stabilizing prices, or varying their prices equally in relation to gold and wouldn't this be possible if all countries have gold standard? But there is yet another factor, *viz.*, cost of production. And so far, it has not been possible to make the "real" cost of production the same in all countries. The real difficulty in fixing both exchange and internal prices is that for keeping either fixed the other has to be moved. Fixed exchange party which gives room for fluctuation only within the gold points demands that all readjustments should be made through pressure on the internal structure. The economic development in the various component units of an international gold standard system can be in different degrees with reference to the relative importance of foreign trade, their debtor or creditor position on balance, the division of the economic activity of the nation between industry and agriculture and so forth. Also, there may be varying degree in the flexibility of their cost structure. And the movement of prices calculated to meet the ends of one country may not be suitable at all for another. To give one instance. The years 1925-1929 was for the U. S. a period of rapid mechanization and therefore of falling costs; but wages did not rise correspondingly. Therefore, the best price-level for the country during that period was one which fell more than it did. During the same period Great Britain's wholesale price-index moved down slowly in step with America's and thereby severely straining her national economy. In contrast to the U. S. Britain's needs could best have been served, in view of her less rapid technical advance and more rigid wage rates, by a price-level which fell less rapidly than it actually did.[12] About the same situation Professor Hayek observes:

"The case which has figured most prominently in their discussions in recent years, and which is apparently supposed to represent the relative positions of England and the U. S. is that of two countries with unequal rates of technological progress, so that, in the one, costs of production will tend to fall more rapidly than in the other. Under a regime of fixed parities this would mean that a fall in the prices of some products produced in both countries could be faster than the fall in their costs in the country where technological progress is slower, and that in consequence it would become necessary to reduce costs thereby scaling down money wages, etc. The main advantage of a system of moveable parities is supposed to be that in such a case the downward adjustment of wages could be avoided and equilibrium restored by reducing the value of money in the one country relative to the other country."[13]

It is partly because of the uniformity which the gold standard imposes, despite divergent

9. C. A. Phillips and others: *Banking and Business Cycle*," p. 181.
10. G. D. H. Cole: *Op. Cit.*, p. 29.
11. G. D. H. Cole: *Op. Cit.*, p. 30.
12. A. O. Gayer: *Monetary Policy and Economic Stabilization*," p. 158.
13. Hayek: *Monetary Nationalism and International Stability*, p. 36.

rates of economic development, that so many countries have had recourse in increasing degree to the expedient of trade barriers and similar restrictions, in order to secure that domestic freedom which they find imperative for their national economic needs, but which is denied them by participation in an international system. Under an international Gold Standard, the monies of the different countries are of the same substance and the difference implied in the expression of a given quantity of Gold as Dollars, Pounds or Marks is only a difference in nomenclature.[14]

14. Hayek: *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

(*To be continued*)

GHANASYAMA

Court-poet and Minister of Tukkoji I of Tanjore

BY PROF. J. B. CHAUDHURI, Ph.D. (London)

FROM one of the introductory verses of the Uttara-Rama-carita-vyakhya of Ghanasyāma, it may be calculated that Ghanasyāma was born in 1700 A.D. In many works Ghanasyāma himself says that he was the Minister of Tukkoji I of Tanjore. Tukkoji ruled from 1729 to 1735. So it is evident that he became Minister when he was 29 years old. That he survived Tukkoji is expressly stated in the Nilkantha-campū-samjīvanī. As he began to write books at a very early age, the extant record being a composition of his eighteenth year, *viz.*, the Yuddha-kānda, his literary activities must have continued from 1715 to 1750. He was a native of Maharāstra; he, however, resided in Tanjore as Minister for a long time.

His Family.—Ghanasyāma was the son of Mahādeva and Kāsī. His elder brother was Isa who appears to have assumed the name Cidambara Brahmacārin in his later life when he became an ascetic. Sundarī was his first wife. Only her name is mentioned in all the works until the poet married Kamalā. Ghanasyāma's fondness for Sundarī and Kamalā is manifest throughout his works. He pays a glorious tribute to their talents in one of the introductory verses of his Abhijñāna-Sakuntala-Samjīvani. Ghanasyāma's father's father was Caundo Bālāji and mother's father Timmaji Bālāji. Ghanasyāma had two sons, Candrasekhara and Govardhana by name. The former commented upon his father's work Damaruka and the latter who was blind commented upon the Ghatakarpara-kāvya. Our poet was a worshipper of the Pañcāyatana-Devatā and pays homage to almost all the celebrated gods and goddesses.

Works of Ghanasyāma.—Ghanasyāma claims to have composed works in various languages—Sanskrit, Prakrit as well as Vernaculars. Thus in his commentary on the Nīlkantha-campū, he says he composed sixty-four works in Sanskrit, twenty in Prakrit and twenty-five in Vernaculars. Fortunately, Ghanasyāma himself refers to his works on many occasions and Sundarī and Kamalā too refer to many of them in their commentary Camatkāra-taranginī on the Viddha-Sālabhañjikā of Rajasekhara. Unfortunately, the works are mostly lost to us. Still not less than twenty-five are extant of which only two works have as yet been published.

That Ghanasyāma was a precocious person cannot be doubted. His early extant work is the Dhātu-kosa, in which even he does not fight shy to criticise an author of the standing of Amarasimha. This work was composed at a very tender age. He composed the Rāmāyana-campū at the age of 18 and the Madana-sanjīvana as well as the Kumāra-vijaya Nataka at the age of 20. The Damaruka was his eighth book and composed when he was twenty-two. A close examination of the manuscripts of his works reveals that he composed three or four works in every year till very late in life, when chill penury repressed his genial soul and became a deadly barrier to his literary work. Further, it is also evident that Ghanasyāma devoted the early part of his life to making original compositions whereas he dedicated the later part of his life to commenting upon various dramas and kāvyas. Though Ghanasyāma usually writes in a very heavy style, his composition is not devoid of interests. Some of his verses are indeed very attractive.

Ghanasyāma, however, proves annoying for two reasons, (1) lack of chronological sense; (2) extreme self-conceit. Regarding the latter, it may be pointed out that he ridicules even Kālidāsa and Bhavabūti. He has nothing but contempt for the authors of all the works he comments upon and goes so far as to declare outright that he does them a great favour by commenting upon their works, as by doing so

he makes them immortal. Ghanasyāma's genius was, no doubt, defiled by his excessive self-conceit; but it cannot be doubted that his commentaries deserve whole-hearted praise. One who has thoroughly studied any one of them will at once recognise his other commentaries. He richly deserves the epithet Kosāvalī-vallabha which he applies to himself in one of his verses in the introductory part of the Uttara-Rāma-carita-samjīvanī.

AUTOCRACY SUPERIMPOSED ON STATE AUTOCRACY

By SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI

THE powers that be in India appear to have found the present to be a very convenient and opportune moment for confirming and imparting added strength to irresponsibility in the States by quietly superimposing their autocracy over that of the Indian Rulers. While the Indian public has insistently urged the adoption of measures for an effective liberalisation of the administration of Indian India by the introduction of proper and suitable popular control, efforts are being made in a quite unobstrusive manner to further protect the States against the influence of popular movements in British India, at a time when many of the more prominent among the political leaders are under restraint and widespread famine conditions along with the war situation engross the attention of the public.

It is announced in a Notification relating to the Crown Representative and the Authorities subordinate to him, published in a recent issue of the *Gazette of India*, that nearly 500 "semi-jurisdictional" and "non-jurisdictional" States, talukas, and estates have, for certain purposes of control and development, been already attached to certain Indian States, in the Western India States Agency and the Gujarat States Agency, mentioned in the Notification. The scheme involves the general assumption, subject to certain safeguards, of the functions and responsibilities, at present performed by the Residents and Political Agents, by larger States with which the aforesaid small units have been attached. The difficulties of a proper solution of the problem will be realised when it is seen that there is quite a large number of such estates or talukas, actually falling within the category of Indian States, scattered over certain areas, which, owing to the slenderness of their resources, are unable to undertake any adequate scheme of progress and development and fulfil the responsibility that a civilised government owes to its subjects.

In cases in which such small areas have been attached to States like Baroda, for instance, the undertaking appears to be in the right direction. But there are instances in which such transfers have been made also to much smaller States. In such cases the difficulties and inconveniences involved in the existing arrangement cannot be said to have been overcome, although the scheme does not exclude future intervention by the Crown Representative in the interests of the subjects concerned. The arduous and complicated nature of the problem will appear obvious when we find how the responsibility that the Crown Representative owes in the matter of establishment of conditions in which the subjects of the States concerned are to secure and enjoy proper opportunities for progress and development, is being attempted to be fulfilled in certain areas in Indian India.

There is another category of States which though exercising full jurisdictional rights, on account of their slender resources are incapable of carrying out even the minimum obligations resting on them as independent administrative units. The Eastern States Agency, for example, embraces a considerable area, contains a number of comparatively important States, and includes a large population. The Agency comprises 25 Orissa States, 14 Central Provinces States and 3 Bengal States. It is proposed to set up for the present a Joint High Court for the Orissa and Chhattisgarh States. The scheme includes States, some of which already possess high courts of their own. When the Joint High Court is established the present high courts of the States, included in the scheme, will, of course, be abolished and the former will be regarded by the States concerned as their own high court. Among the special features of the scheme are, it is understood, that the joint high court will be a court of circuit, its judges will visit each State, and it will entertain specially urgent applications of an *interim* or interlocutory character at its headquarters. It will have a Chief Judge and not less than two Puisne Judges.

While agreeing that the present system of judicial administration in the States concerned requires improvement and modernisation, it cannot be denied that there are features in the

scheme which render it extremely defective and its practical operation may ultimately prove objectionable. The whole scheme requires detailed criticism, but as this is not possible within the limits of the space available to us, we propose to refer to a feature to which exception is taken. We understand that it is proposed that the aborigines and the backward people of the States will be excluded from the jurisdiction of the joint hight court. These people will be dealt with by the States executive, subject to the control of the Resident or Political Agent, on the analogy of certain backward tracts in British India. The section of the population proposed to be excluded from the scope of the joint high court comprises, perhaps, by far the majority of the population of the States. We fail to realise how the new scheme can be approved and accepted as an improvement upon the existing system in States in which high courts function, which do not exclude any part of the population from their jurisdiction.

The superimposition of the autocracy of officials of the political department in the judicial sphere is a characteristically repugnant aspect of the scheme of joint high court proposed to be introduced. Besides, in certain departments other than judicial, in the States, a policy is being enforced, under which joint administrative machinery is being set up for serving groups of States, at the instance of the political authorities, such machinery being directly or indirectly controlled by them. In effect in this way an overriding autocracy is being superimposed upon the autocratic authority of these States. In a letter to the Press, published a few days ago, a responsible correspondent, Rai Bahadur Chunilal Ray, formerly Dewan Bonal State, Eastern States Agency gave an instance of ill-judged, and unwise intervention. He pointed out how the price of rice, purchased in the States, by an agent of Bengal Government, was raised for the consumer, virtually with a "commission at a rate bordering on 200 percent." It is understood that the rulers and their people were quite helpless in the matter of safeguarding their interests in this affair because the political officers are stated to have virtually controlled all such rice transactions, on behalf of the States. We have specially referred to the matter so that the public, and specially the Rulers of States and their subjects, may realise the grave danger that lies ahead of them in the near future unless they become sufficiently alert and vigilant betimes.

A GRAND DURGA PUJAH AND A BLOODY REVOLUTION

The Story of Religious Wars in Assam

By PRANGOPAL CHANDRA DAS

It was the Mahāstami day of the Durga Pujah. The royal palace of the King of Assam was *en fete* for the occasion. The reigning queen Phuleswari was herself coming to perform the Pujah; and the Pujah was held with all the pomp and glory befitting a royal court. Durga Pujah was only newly introduced there and its grand performance in the palace was a novel affair. Hundreds of animals were kept close by for sacrifice before the goddess. All persons of leading and light in the State were invited and to it all sorts of folks had flocked. It was no mere formal invitation. It was the reigning monarch's command which must be obeyed. Among those present in the palace were Vaishnav Mahantas and Gosains of Moāmariā and other *sattras* (religious institutions). Everybody stood up; and lo and behold, the lovely queen was come to the Pujah pandal. The Pujah was performed duly and *prasad* (offerings) was distributed. But strangely enough the Vaishnav Gosains did not bow their heads to the image of the mighty goddess nor did they partake of the *prasad*. These Vaishnavite Gosains of Assam did not acknowledge any other deity except one Supreme God. The queen was filled with wrath and rage at the seemingly insolent conduct of the Mahantas which she interpreted as personal insult to the throne. In her consummate anger and zeal of a neophyte, she ordered the Mahantas and Gosains to be brought to the image of the goddess where sacrifices were being offered and there caused the distinguishing marks of the *sākta* sect to be smeared with the blood of the victims upon their foreheads and then forcibly fed them with the Pujah *prasad*. This senseless act of oppression caused a terrible revolution after sometime which shook the long-established Ahom Kingdom to its very foundation and hastened its downfall. The Moāmariā Gosain more than any one else was the principal actor of the horrible drama.

The Moāmariās are a sect of the Vaishnavas in Assam. Sankardev (1449-1569 A.D.) with

his devoted disciple Madhavdev preached a form of purified Vaishnavism known as the Mahāpurushiyā in Assam. He inculcated the doctrine of salvation by *Bhakti*-faith and prayer, rather than by sacrifices. Sankardev preached the doctrine of one Supreme God, abhorrence of animal sacrifices, uncompromising hostility to idol-worship, freedom from esoteric rites and a simple ceremonial consisting only of hymns and prayers. The new religion appealed to the masses who had only known a debased form of *Tāntrikism* prevailing in the country before the advent of Sankardev. Goddess Kāli was popularly named *Kesai Khali*.—eater of (raw) flesh. During the seventeenth century his tenet was adopted as the national religion of the Assamese people throughout Kamrupa and Upper Assam districts.

Aniruddhadev was a disciple of Sankardev. But one day he quarrelled with his guru and leaving him founded the Moāmariā sect. He was a saint and great mystic. Come of Kalita caste (caste next to the Brahmans), he established a Sattra near North Lakhimpur in Upper Assam which exists till to-day. The Moāmariā sect included many persons of low social rank, such as Kaivartas, Morāns, Kachāris, Haris, and Chutiyas. As events proved it, it was the most militant sect of the Neo-Vaishnavism preached by Sankardev.

Rudra Singh was an Ahom King who ruled in Assam from 1696 to 1714 A.D. Historians are of opinion that he was the greatest of " kings of the Ahom dynasty which ruled in Assam for an unbroken period of about 600 years till Assam passed under the British in 1826. The Ahoms entered Assam from the South-East in 1229 A.D., and belonged to the Tāi (or Thāi) race and were originally Buddhists by religion. But gradually they began to adopt Hinduism. Rudra Singh's father King Gadādhar Singh was a Hindu. Rudra Singh's interest in Hinduism increased as he grew older and he at last decided formally to embrace this religion and become an orthdox Hindu. The common people were all Vaishnavas by that time. Embracing the Hindu religion in Assam involved a ceremony known as *Saran-lowa*—taking the Sarana. The neophyte prostrates himself before the guru who teaches him a secret text or mantra and takes him under his spiritual protection. Now King Rudra Singh was a very proud man by nature. He could not brook the thought of humbling himself in this way before a mere subject of his, however saintly he might be. He sent a messenger to Bengal and summoned Krishnaram Bhattacharya, a famous Mahanta of the *sāktā* sect who lived at Santipur in the Nadia district. When he arrived the King changed his mind and refused to become his disciple. Shortly afterwards he recalled the same Mahanta but still he hesitated to take the decisive step. He however enjoined on his five sons to accept him as their guru; this satisfied the Mahanta. Rudra Singh died at Gauhati on the eve of his projected grand invasion of Bengal. On his death Siv Singh, his eldest son ascended the throne in 1714. He gave up the invasion of Bengal but obeyed his father's order to become the disciple of the *sāktā* Mahanta. Siv Singh was completely under the influence of Brahman priests and astrologers. In the eighth year of his reign, he was greatly alarmed by the prediction of the astrologers that his "Chatravangayoga" —(that his rule would shortly come to an end) was near at hand. In order to avoid it, he resorted to a subterfuge by which he declared his chief queen Phuleswari to be *Bar Rajā* or chief ruler and caused coins to be struck jointly in her name and his.

Thus Queen Phuleswari was acting as *Bar Rajā* or chief ruler in place of her husband Siv Singh. To make matters worse Phuleswari's authority was far from nominal. She wanted to rule as she was pleased. She was even more under the influence of the Brahmans than her weak husband. She was only newly converted and in her eagerness for her new-born love for *sāktā* Hinduism she committed a most foolish and oppressive act which was destined to have far-reaching and disastrous consequences on the reigning dynasty itself. She heard that Gosains and Mahantas of Vaishnava sect in Assam refused to worship Durga or any other gods and goddesses. They were her humble subjects and she was pursuaded to believe that they ought to follow her religion *i.e., saktism*. The recalcitrant preachers must be forced to recognise and worship Goddess Durga, she was advised. With this end in view she decided to hold a grand Pujah in the palace. What happened there has been stated above.

The Moāmariā Gosain was one of those who was thus roughly treated. It was a most foolish and stupid act, but the Moāmariās never forgave this insult to their spiritual leader. After his return from the palace, the Moāmariā Gosain from his seat at his Sattra in Upper Assam was secretly sowing seeds of dissatisfaction against the king and the people were told the horrible religious persecution perpetrated by the royal personages on the innocent religious preachers. Thoughtful men had long foreseen some evil

coming as a result of these religious persecutions. And at last the revolution came.

The immediate causes of the revolution are as follows. Lakshmi Singh,* Rudra Singh's last son to become King, had an arrogant minister named Kirti Chandra Barbariā who really managed the State affairs. One day the Barbariā insulted the Moāmariā Gosain for not noticing him while saluting the King. The Gosain was greatly incensed and his dissatisfaction towards the King increased violently. Soon afterwards the haughty Barbariā insulted and physically mutilated the chief of the Morān tribe who also hastened to the Moāmariā Gosain and invoked his aid. The Gosain at once resolved on rebellion. He collected his disciples and appointed his son Bāngan to lead them and entered Namrup. He was received with great enthusiasm by the populace of Namrup all of whom became his disciples. The King's brother Barjanā Gohain joined the rebels in the hope of being placed on the throne by them. Many other banished princes followed suit. There were many bloody battles between the rebels and the royal forces. And for nearly half a century the country was ravaged by bitter fighting which left it almost desolate.

In October 1769, the revolutionaries led by their leader Raghav defeated the royalists in several battles and the King fled to Gauhati. In this battle, Radha Rukmini, the gifted wife of Raghav, also fought with bow and arrow like one inspired and rumour soon spread that Ranachandi (Goddess of War) incarnate was herself fighting whereupon the royalist forces fled in confusion. Raghav arrived at Rangpur the King's capital, but he was too late to prevent the King's flight. But he sent men in hot pursuit and the King was brought back as prisoner. He was confined with many of his nobles in the temple of Joysagar. Barjanā Gohain who joined the rebels aspiring after throne was then put to death under Raghav's orders.

Raghav then hailed Bāngan as King but his father, the Moāmariā Gosain forbade him to accept the honour and caused Ramakanta, a son of the Morān cheif Nahar to be raised to the throne.* The other leaders of the Revolution were appointed to various offices of state. Raghav himself remained Barbariā—chief minister. Coins were minted in Ramkanta's name but the real power vested in Raghav.

For several months the rebels had been in power but the people still looked to the dismissed officers of Lakshmi Singh as their real rulers. This infuriated Raghav who after taking counsel with his followers resolved to seize and put all the old officers to death. The execution of the King who lay in prison was also decided on.

When this horrible decision was heard by the old officers they met together and determined before it was too late to make a last effort to overthrow the usurpers and restore the king. As luck would have it, the majority of the rebels were away at their homes and Ramakanta was living in the town with a very small number of his supporters. In April next year, on the night before the *Bahāg Bihu* festival, Raghav's house was surrounded and he was dragged out and put to death. According to some, he was struck from behind by the Manipur Princess, wife of Lakshmi Singh, whom Raghav took into his harem. Lakshmi Singh was brought back in triumph from his captivity and installed on the throne again.

After Lakshmi Singh, his son Gaurinath Singh became King. He was a bitter enemy of the Moāmariās and on his ascent to the throne a vigorous persecution was set on foot. At last these severities led to a second rising. The Burha Gohain—the prime minister, succeeded in dispersing them. This capable officer advised the king to be mild and conciliatory in his treatment of the rebels, but the vndictive king thought otherwise; instead many thousands of Moāmariās including women and children were put to death. There were several conspiracies but all failed.

But the Moāmariās were not sitting idle; they were determined to avenge the atrocities committed by Gourinath Singh. They for the third time rose in rebellion in the sixth year of his reign. This time they organised the revolt on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. From the beginning under the capable leadership of Bharat Singh, the Moāmariās began to carry everything before them. The forces that were sent to meet them were cut up. The whole resources of the Ahom Kingdom, the tributary chiefs of Luki, Rani and Beltola and the Manipuri and Kachari and Jaintia Kings, were employed against the Moāmariās, but all in vain. Everywhere the Royalists and their allies were beaten decisively. At last the king fled to Gauhati with his nobles leaving behind only Burha Gohain Purnananda to resist them. The rebels took Garhgaon and burnt the palace there. Then they invested Rangpur—the capital, and after some time the Burha Gohain had to beat a retreat. But he continued to resist the onslaught of the Moāmariās. Reinforcements from all parts of the

extensive kingdom proved unavailing. Everywhere the Moāmariās this time proved supreme and invincible. Times were bad for the king in every respect; former dependent kingdoms such as Kachari, Jaintia and Darrang proclaimed their independence. The king at last decided to approach the East India Company for help. In 1792, Captain Welsh was sent to help the Ahom King with a number of trained soldiers. Captain Welsh was able to subdue the chiefs of Jaintia and Darrang. Contact was made with the Moāmariās and battles were fought in 1794. The rebels could not stand well before the trained soldiers; they lost far more heavily than those under Captain Welsh. Then, due to the Non-intervention policy, Captain Welsh was recalled. On hearing of the departure of the British troops, the Moāmariās advanced and once again occupied the capital. Meanwhile in Upper Assam steps were being taken to form a standing army on the lines adopted by the East India Company With these the Royalists were once more able to show a bold stand against the Moāmariās and other internal enemies. Full Moāmariā domination lasted for seven years and their leader Bharat Singh, who became king struck coins in his own name.

After Gourinath Singh, Kamaleswar Singh ascended the throne. The Moāmariās continued to hold sway on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. The Royalists were also involved in battle with the Kacharis in whose territory a number of Moāmariās had taken refuge. Once again there was a more serious rising of the Moāmariās east of the Dibru river. At last the wise Burha Gohain made peace with them by recognising their chief and gave him the title of *Bar Senāpati* who ruled the country around modern Sadiya. Though the power of the Moāmariās was broken during the reign of Kamaleswar Singh, still they continued to give him trouble and the trouble seems to have ceased only when the Ahom power was finally broken by the terrible Burmese invasions after which the country passed into the hands of the British in 1826. It is remarkable that the only part of the old Ahom Kingdom which escaped the temporary Burmese domination was the territory ruled by the Moāmariās under the leader, called the *Bar Senāpati.*

The Moāmariā rising was a very terrible affair. It was really a great revolution in the history of Assam, nay of India. The Moāmariās were instrumental in bringing about the ruin and downfall of the Ahom power. During these 'internecine wars,' whole villages were destroyed and once fruitful and smiling countryside were scenes of ruin, desolation and desertion. Rice was extremely scarce and the people led a precarious existence by eating wild fruits, roots and the flesh of unclean animals. A state of uncertainly and anarchy prevailed during all these years and the whole country was very terribly depopulated. The Assamese were always a martial people who successfully and triumphantly held their own against the repeated invasions of the Muslims for no less than seventeen times. Of all the peoples of India, Assam is the only country which could not be conquered by the Muslim powers. But these devastating civil wars caused so much loss of man-power in the country and so much distraction by jealousy and mutual distrust and sapped their vitality and prowess that they were unable to present a united front and so they fell not a very difficult victim to the formidable Burmese invasions in the first quarter of the 19th century.

Yet the root cause of all these catastrophic wars was religious persecution. Perhaps it is the only revolution of its kind in India. In India there are numerous instances of religious persecution. Sometimes whole communities have been forcibly converted into different religions, but that did not occasion such terrible revolution. It was left to the Assamese people to rise in violent revolution against the religious persecution of one small but powerful sect over another of the same religion. Due to the militant teachings of the Sikh Gurus, especially of the tenth Guru Govind Singh who 'linked devotion to God with devotion to the sword,' the Sikhs were converted into fanatic warriors, who could contend successfully with the Muslim power. In Assam, teachings of Sankardev radically reformed existing religious institutions, but he was no militant theologian like Luther and did not attempt to violently overthrow the established government. The preachings of his disciple Aniruddhadev, the mystic saint-founder of the Moāmariā sect, cannot be very different. But their teachings indirectly and growth of religious organisations called Sattras directly sapped the authority of the Ahom Kings to some extent and prepared the mind of the people for revolt. So when time came, this revolt of the Moāmariās could release such tremendous forces as to overthrow a long-established kingdom. All these might have never happened if Princess Phuleswari in the consuming zeal of a fanatical neophyte had refrained from persecuting a militant religious sect on the advice of a spiritual preceptor.

DIAMONDS IN INDIA

By PARASURAMAYYA PINGALY

For several centuries, India stood alone as the supplier of diamonds to the world. Most of the celebrated diamonds which found their way to Europe were taken from India. It was Southern India which produced the historic Pitt or Regent diamond, which was purchased in 1796 from a dealer by the then Governor of Madras, Mr. Pitt, and subsequently sold to the Duke of Orleans for £135,000 and is now valued at £452,000. The still more celebrated Kohinoor, now the largest diadem in the British Crown, is also of Indian origin, having been found in one of the Golconda mines, near the Kistna river. Most of us know the legend that this brilliant stone was worn 5,000 years ago by Karna, one of the heroes of the Mahabharata. It was seen in 1665 by the great French traveller, Tavernier, who noted that it weighed at the time 280 carats, although its previous weight was slightly over 793 carats. After several vicissitudes, it passed at length into the possession of the late Queen Empress Victoria in 1850, at which date its weight has come down to about 186 carats, and by further re-cutting has now been further reduced slightly over 106 carats. It is not possible to say what was the exact extent to which India supplied the world with precious stones in the past, for though the diamond is frequently alluded to in our ancient sacred literature and though the earliest European travellers to this country make mention in their writings of the high value of the Indian diamonds and of the means adopted for their collection, no statistical or detailed accounts have come down to us. About the middle of the 17th century, the French traveller, who was both a traveller and a diamond merchant, went round the then existing diamond mines and wrote the first systematic and connected account of them. Very much later, the late lamented V. Ball drew up a list of all the known Indian diamond mines, and from this it is seen that there were eleven in Cuddapah district, four in Anantapur, twenty-seven in Kurnool, thirteen in Kistna and some in the Central Provinces and Bengal. At the present day, it may be said, that our diamondiferous area occurs over three wide strips of territory, comprising (1) the Eastern side of the Deccan from the Pennar to the Sone, (2) Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Kistna basins, and (3) Chota-Nagpur and the Central Provinces to Bundelkhand, the best diamonds being from the Kistna district and from Panna in Bundelkhand. Although the surface workings in several portions of these areas show signs of exhaustion, it is the opinion of both scientific and practical miners that rich beds lie below, as yet untouched. There are promising diamond-bearing areas in the Nizam's Dominions while in North-East Panna there is an important tract where large diamonds are obtained, which though not of the first water are believed to exist in inexhaustible strata.

The Kistna and the Godavari diamond tracts, lying partly within the jurisdiction of the Madras Presidency and partly within the Nizam's Dominions, were long famous all over the world, as the Golconda mines. Indeed, before the discovery of the diamond in Brazil and the Cape, Golconda in India, and Borneo in the Indian Archipelago, were the only two diamond-bearing countries known to the world. Even so recently as in the time of Tavernier the Golconda Diamond Mining Industry was flourishing on a very ambitious scale. The first time Tavernier visited the diamond-bearing locality of Kollur in the Sattenapalli Taluk of Guntur district in the Presidency of Madras, he found about 60,000 persons at work,—men, women and children—the men being employed to dig and the women and the children to carry the earth.

At the present day, the value of the diamonds produced in this country is very much below a half of a lakh annually. More than a third of the present total value must be placed to the account of the Panna mines. On the other hand, the Kimberley mines of South Africa which, as is known, are only a creation of yesterday, had yielded 10 tons of diamonds valued at 60 millions sterling. There can be no doubt that the diamondiferous tracts of India have by no means been exhausted. The output of Indian diamonds is comparatively so small, only because of the rough and primitive methods which are still adopted by our diamond diggers. These methods do not permit of anything more

than mere surface workings, whereas the precious gems are to be sought for at varying depths from the surface, in several localities deep digging being necessary if the earth is to be made to yield up her treasures. By the systematic exploitation of those mines which are now being more or less worked, as well as by the re-discovery and restoration of some of the ancient workings and by the introduction of up-to-date scientific processes, it should be quite within the range of the practicable to restore to India some portion of its former high importance as a diamond supplier of the world. To accomplish this, a vast amount of capital will have to be invested, and the question is whether this capital will be forthcoming in this country. The records of the geological survey of India have been drawing attention to the future possibilities and potentialities of the Indian Diamond Mining Industry, and there is every probability therefore, of the foreign capitalist coming along and monopolising one more rich field of Indian industry. Let us hope our countrymen will wake up to the situation and will not leave it to the foreigner to appropriate our most precious natural resources.

FREQUENCY OF RE-MARRIAGE OF WIDOWS AMONG THE MUHAMMADANS OF BENGAL

By J. M. DATTA

THE Bengali Muhammadans are of the same origin as the Bengali Hindus. [See *The Modern Review*, March 1931]. Yet they have been increasing at a faster rate than the Bengali Hindus. Increasing frequency of widow remarriages seems to be a major cause. Sir Edward Gait speaking of the Muhammadans of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1901 says:

"Amongst Muhammadan widowers are very rare. When a man's wife dies, unless he is already advanced in life, it is the almost universal practice to marry again. Widows also are comparatively fewer than amongst Hindus, but they still number more than a sixth of the total female population, whereas amongst the Animistic tribes only one woman in nine is a widow. The difference is due mainly to the influence of Hinduism. The marriage of widows is enjoined by Muhammadan law, and the Prophet himself married several widows, including his first wife, Khadija. But in India the example of the Hindus has gradually created a prejudice in the other direction, and at the present day it is seldom that a man takes a widow as his first wife. Widows who marry again usually become the wives of widowers or of *men* who have already got another wife. At the same time women who lose their husbands while fairly young find little difficulty in marrying a second time, and the proportion who fail to do so is not large until after the age of 30, when it increases rapidly."

The Muhammadans regret this Hindu influence. The Urdu translator of the *Khalasat-at-Tawarikh*, written about 250 years ago, laments that the Hindu notions about widowhood have infected the Muhammadans, especially in the villages, and have led to their women remaining widows contrary to Muhammadan law. [*J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 748]

It is said that the Farazis and other reformed sects strongly advocate widow-re-marriage, and that in consequence the practice is gradually coming into greater favour. The census statistics lend support to this view, and the proportion of widows appears to be steadily falling; while that of the widowers has varied comparatively little since 1881.

As the statistics for Bengal alone previous to 1911 have not been given separately we shall first give those of the combined provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa first; and then those of Bengal since 1911.

Year of Census	Number of Muhammadan— Widows per 1,000 Females Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Bengal	Widowers per 1,000 Males Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Bengal
1881	193	..	27	..
1891	180	..	27	..
1901	171	..	27	..
1911	160	157	26	24
1921	158	155	29	27
1931	141*	140	25*	22
1941	..†	136*	..†	34*

* Calculated by us. † Figures not available.

As the Bengal Muhammadans form more than 87 per cent of the combined Muhammadan population of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa there can be very little doubt that much of the steady decrease in the proportion of widows from 193 per 1,000 in 1881 to 160 in 1911 is due to the Bengali Muhammadans alone. Similarly the steadiness in the proportion of widowers is mainly due to them alone.

An estimate of the number per 1,000 Muhammadan females in each age-period who are living as widows and living as wives of second husbands was made by Mr. W. H. Thompson, the Census Superintendent of Bengal in 1921. His estimate is given below :

Number per 1,000 Muhammadan females in each age-period who are———

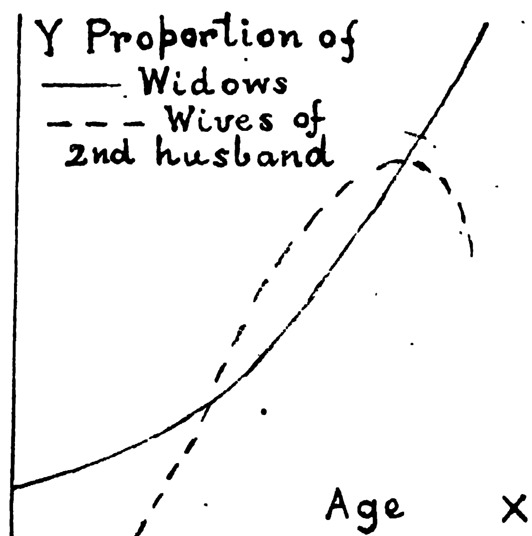
Age	Living as widows	Living as wives of second husbands
0-5	1	0
5-10	4	0
10-15	18	10
15-20	41	40
20-25	61	70
25-30	105	115
30-35	196	125
35-40	321	60

The above estimate shows that at certain age-periods there are more re-married widows than widows.

Census statistics represent an instantaneous demographic photograph. But social forces and social actions and social conduct are dynamic. In interpreting census statistics we must take into account the effect of these dynamic forces. We shall illustrate our meaning by a hypothetical example. Suppose in a society all widows are compulsorily remarried after a year. Yet whenever the census is taken there will be a certain number of widows, *viz.*, those who have become widows within a year of the census. It will not do to say of such a society that a certain percentage of women, more or less constant, remain widows.

If we plot Mr. Thompson's figures with x-axis representing age and y-axis representing the proportion remaining widows or living as wives of second hunbands we get the following curve :

The fact that the curve representing the proportion living as widows cuts and goes under that representing the proportion living as wives of second husbands means that at earlier ages almost all those who become widows remarry after a certain length of time.



Under the Muhammadan law, a husband can divorce his wife at his sweet will without assigning any reason. The only check is the dower money which he has to pay. The minimum sum is 10 *dirhems* equal to Rs. 2-10 as. The usual sum fixed as dower among the cultivating Muhammadans *i.e.*, ordinary cultivators and field labourers (who form 85·1 per cent of the total Muhammadans of Bengal) is anything between Rs. 15 to Rs. 50. So it is easy to divorce a wife. As a matter of fact, we know there are many divorces, though we do not know the exact magnitude. It is common knowledge also that most of the divorced women remarry after the period of *iddat*. "**Iddat**" may be described as the period during which it is incumbent upon a woman, whose marriage has been dissolved by divorce or death to remain in seclusion, and to abstain from marrying another husband. The abstinence is imposed to ascertain whether she is pregnant by the husband so as to avoid confusion of the parentage. When the marriage is dissolved by *divorce*, the duration of the *iddat*, if the woman is subject to menstruation, is three courses; if she is not so subject, it is three lunar months. If the woman is pregnant at the time, the period terminates upon delivery. When the marriage is dissolved by *death*, the duration of the *iddat* is four months

and ten days. If the woman is pregnant at the time, the *iddat* lasts four months and ten days or until delivery, whichever period is longer.

In 1941, the total of divorced Muhammadan females numbered 1,343 out of the total Muhammadan female population of 159,96,004. The number is very very small. It is less than ·008 per cent. It may mean either (1) that *talak* or divorce is very rarely practised among the Muhammadans of Bengal or (2) that almost all the divorcees re-marry soon after the period of *iddat* is over. The first alternative can hardly be true. So we are forced to accept the other alternative.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Cotton Growing in Bengal

I have read with interest Babu Debajyoti Barman's illuminating article in the June number of *The Modern Review* dealing with the history of cotton cultivation in Bengal. Very valuable material has been collected in the above article relating to the historical aspect of this important subject.

In view of the requirements of the growing number of Cotton Mills in Bengal, who have to procure the whole of their cotton from outside Bengal, the question of growing cotton of suitable variety in Bengal, is, just now, a question of vital national importance. It is therefore worthwhile to consider the present position of cultivation of long-stapled cotton in Bengal.

It has to be admitted at once that the cultivation of long-stapled cotton in Bengal suitable for machine spinning has not yet attained success on a commercial scale. Such work as is being done is still in an experimental stage. Efforts are at present being directed, mainly, towards acclimatisation of Egyptian and American varieties of field cotton. For the purpose of cotton cultivation Bengal may conveniently be divided into two zones, *viz.*, (1) Eastern Bengal with a heavy rainfall and humid climate, (2) Western Bengal with a comparatively arid climate. I shall, for the present, confine my remarks to Eastern Bengal of the conditions of which I have direct experience. As I have stated already, growing of exotic varieties of long-stapled cotton in Eastern Bengal cannot yet be called a success from the commercial point of view. Yet, with a little patient work, success would seem to be quite probable. Apart from the attempt to acclimate exotic varieties, I would recommend two other lines of action.

(1) There is a species of field cotton known in trade as Comilla Cotton which has been growing in Hill Tipperah and Chittagong Hill Tracts from time immemorial. This plant can stand the heavy rainfall of Eastern Bengal quite well. But the staple of Comilla cotton is short, harsh and woolly and is unsuitable for machine spinning except for the lowest counts. This cotton has however got good strength and good ginning percentage. Comilla cotton yields 1 md. of lint for 2½ mds. cotton with seed, whereas other cottons yield 1 md. of lint for 3 mds. of cotton with seed. The most promising line of action in my view would be to produce a hybrid with Comilla as a base. Such a hybrid is likely to stand the climate of Eastern Bengal quite well and also to yield staples long and fine enough for machine spinning. In fact a cross between the Bani cotton of Bombay and Comilla cotton has already been produced by a Cotton Breeding Expert in Bombay and named *Banilla* cotton. I procured seeds of this variety and tried the same. But unfortunately the results obtained by me were not up to satisfaction. This may be due to some error in respect of the time of sowing. Anyhow, my view is, that sustained work in the above lines offers the greatest chance of success.

(2) Although Mr. Debajyoti Barman's article would show that the cotton used for making the celebrated muslins of Dacca were derived from a field cotton, which is now extinct, I am inclined to believe that Dacca muslins might possibly be made also from certain varieties of tree cotton with very fine staple, which are still in existence. Experiments should be carried out with a view to ascertain whether a suitable variety of tree cotton, already in existence in Eastern Bengal, can produce staple suitable for machine spinning and can be grown successfully on a commercial scale. It appears to me that possibilities in this direction have been completely ignored so far.

In certain parts of Western Bengal where the climate is comparatively arid, conditions more favourable to the growth of exotic varieties of cotton exist. In such districts certain varieties of long-stapled cotton may probably be successfully grown as a commercial proposition, with comparatively little difficulty.

J. C. Bhattacherjee

Cultivation of Long Staple Cotton in Bengal

In an article entitled "Cotton Cultivation in Bengal—Its Present Position," published in the May (1943) issue of *The Modern Review*, the author, Mr. Anath Gopal Sen, has made the statement that "the Indian Central Cotton Committee has not done anything appreciable for Bengal." The correct position is that in April, 1938, a five years' scheme financed jointly on a 50:50 basis by the Bengal Government and the Mill-owners' Association was put into operation. This scheme was concerned with the examination of the possibilities of introducing the cultivation of long staple cotton in certain highland areas of Bengal. The Indian Central Cotton Committee was requested in the third year of the working of the scheme to provide a supervising officer to hold charge of the scheme, and it sanctioned a grant of Rs. 8,360 spread over a period of two years for the appointment of a Supervising Officer. In January last, the Indian Central Committee considered proposals for the continuance of the exploratory work of acclimatisation and spread of American and Egyptian cottons in Bengal and sanctioned the extension of the scheme for a period of three years at a total cost of Rs. 18,662, the Committee contributing Rs. 12,662 and the Bengal Mill-owners' Association paying Rs. 6,000. The programme of work includes, in addition to the continuance of the present work on the introduction, acclimatisation and spread of American and Egyptian cottons, work on agronomic and cultural experiments also. In addition, the Committee has financed a scheme at Rangamati at a cost of Rs. 46,133 from 1934 to March, 1943 for the improvement of the commercial characters of the Comilla cotton—a coarse type grown on the Hill Tracts of Chittagong.

Secretary, *Indian Central Cotton Committee.*



Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

INDIA IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER: *By R. K. Khanna. Published by Minerva Bookshop, Lahore, 1942. Pp. 304+viii. Price Rs. 5.*

This well-got-up and interesting volume is intended to be a "powerful plea for the Gandhian economy for India"; and is thus principally concerned with pointing out the dangers associated with industrialism, European progress and the prescriptions of "men of science and their followers." The author is keen on keeping Indians moored to "the safe harbour of quiet contentment with their simple and sublime (*sic*) industries."

The title of the book is misleading for the book has nothing to do with plans and projects relating to the new world order. In fact, the book apparently was written before the war, "pakistan" agitation, recent economic developments and even the National Planning Committee, as there is no reference to these in chapters where the discussion of related topics is brought to a conclusion.

The author's thesis is a simple one. According to him, "in saving the people of India from the *evils* of the industrial system we shall be saving the country from the anarchy of socialism, communism, or *some* form of ruthless dictatorship, that must *inevitably* follow in the wake of wholesale development of large-scale industries in *any* country" (Italics mine). What is amazing is that he quotes from Marx statements which he considers to be supporting his ideas!

Four chapters on Agriculture (extolling the merits of agriculture, analysing difficulties and the Government's responsibility for these), and five Chapters on Trade and Manufactures (this latter described as "the off-springs of overflow of wealth, and neither the means of creating wealth, nor of preventing wealth from going out of the land"), are followed by a chapter on Taxation, Finance and Credit (mainly dealing with some aspects of problems which are partly commonplaces of expert discussions), two shallow chapters on Communities and Communalism and Education, and one on Women of India (in which the college-educated women and their ideas are contrasted to India's "traditional" ideas on women, very much to the detraction of the former).

The book may appeal to revivalists and those who still hope to hold back Canute-wise the surging impacts of an ocean of upheavals.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FOR INDIA: *By N. Gangulee, Ph.D. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 1942. Pp. 304. Price 16s. net.*

Ever since the outbreak of the war, the political deadlock in India has deepened into a crisis. The constitution stands suspended in several provinces, the Congress is in prison, and an atmosphere of frustration prevails. Hopes raised by the Cripps Mission have ended in deep disillusionment. Although the tempo of Indian political conflict has been intermittent, the fundamental nationalist demand for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly in order to frame a constitution for India is insistent. In this book, Professor Gangulee examines the problem of the Constituent Assembly as an instrument through which peoples have gained, or made efforts to gain, their constitutional independence, and presents certain specific suggestions as to how the Constituent Assembly can be brought into being in India. The book opens with a chapter dealing with origins of the Constituent Assembly, which is followed by accounts of the constitutional struggles in the United States, France, the British Dominions and Ireland. These narratives are highly interesting and contain useful lessons for the framers of India's future sovereign constitution. The second part of the book is devoted to the claims of the Indian masses for the establishment of a Sovereign State in India, to the examination of the present political deadlock and to an analysis of the principles and methods of setting up a Constituent Assembly in this country. The author recognizes that the problem is intriguingly complicated in India, not only by the presence of a strong foreign Power on its soil as rulers but also because of the vastness of the country and its population with all its varied characteristics, often apparently conflicting; but he holds that these difficulties can be overcome without a civil war if India is left free to frame her own constitution. Professor Gangulee, however, has no faith in British promises and pledges, and considers Dominion Status for India as racially unnatural and politically risky. The British ruling class, the author maintains, will not easily relinquish their vested imperial interests nor abandon their racial complex without harder struggles than those which took place in the Dominions before they were promoted to their present status. In Canada, revolt preceded Federation, the uprising of the Bendigo miners led to the demand for autonomy in Australia, while the Union of South Africa followed the forcible annexation of two small Republics against their will. But Professor Gangulee has not yet lost his faith in British democracy, and asserts that "a peaceful solution may yet be possible if the British democracy, with a Government controlled by genuine democratic elements in the country, becomes closely allied with the movement for India's liberation."

To those who are familiar with Professor Gangulee's previous books on agricultural economics, this monograph will come as a surprise. He advocated the application of science to the problem of livelihood and never held such extremist views as will be found in this book. He pleaded for an enlightened policy of reforms in the economic and social structures, but now he is con-

vinced that "the basic problems of a nation cannot be solved without the essential pre-requisite of political rights and freedom." The book is dedicated by the author to his nieces "Aruna and Purnima who shared imprisonment with thousands of Congress workers demanding India's freedom to achieve freedom."

This book is a scholar's presentation of the case for India's freedom, and is thus free from the politician's bias. There is no bitterness about Britain's attitude, but only regret for India's helplessness. The author's ultimate faith rests on the Indian people themselves and his ultimate appeal is to the democratic tradition of the British electorate.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

THE ART OF DISCIPLINE AND LEADERSHIP OR HOW TO MAINTAIN DISCIPLINE AND ATTAIN LEADERSHIP : *By Abul Hasanat (Indian Police), Superintendent of Police. Publishers : The Standard Library, A, Dacca, Bengal, India. Pp. 305 Price 3s. 6d. or Rs. 2-4 only.*

In this handy volume the author discusses in a light tone the whole secret of the art of discipline and leadership. The author does not believe in the statement that leaders are born and not made. He thinks that anybody can master the art of leadership by training and practice although it may not be possible for every person to reach the eminence of such born leaders as Napoleon, Mahomet, Nelson and others. The author analyses the different mental traits and modes of behaviour that go to make a good leader and gives advice how to develop these qualifications. For the convenience of the would-be leaders he has laid down his maxims in copy-book style and also in a compressed tabular form. The existing leaders must look to their laurels now!

G. B

THE FIFTY FACTS ABOUT INDIA : *General Editor, J. P. Gupta, Hamara Hindustan Publication, Bombay. Pp. 57. Price annas eight.*

This booklet is intended to serve as a reply to the pamphlet on India entitled *Fifty Facts About India*, published in the U. S. A. by the British Information Services. The Editors of this booklet have sought to prove, by facts and figures wherever necessary, that the 'facts' suggested in the Government pamphlet are not facts. They are fictions, distortions, mistruths, untruths, half-truths, twisted truths, truisms, *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*. They have asserted that if facts about India are to be told, to mention a few only, they are poverty, diseases, starvation, illiteracy, death and devastation. Government *by* the British has verily turned out to be Government *for* the British. Those who desire to have some idea about the real political and economic conditions of India may profitably read this admirable booklet.

D. B.

FRAGMENTS OF A PRISONER'S DIARY, VOL. II : *By Comrade M. N. Roy. Renaissance Publication, Calcutta. Pp. 152. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book is divided into two parts, *viz.*, "The Ideal of Indian Womanhood" and "Some Random Reflections." Some of the master-pieces of literature were produced in the ancient and modern prison cells. Those who will look into these lines with the hope of having a glimpse of something noble and great will be sadly disappointed. Nay, every self-respecting Indian will feel humiliated for the expressions and arguments used by the writer in criticising Indian womanhood. Comrade Roy sees nothing good in the Ideal of Indian Womanhood. Ancient Sages, Hindu Shastras, Preachings and Practices, in short everything connected with the woman of India is bad. In 'Some Random Reflections' he finds everything wrong in the leadership, ideology and policies of the Indian National Congress. Comrade Roy sometime quotes authorities to prove his theses much like the Satan quoting from the Scriptures. He has a poor idea of everything Indian—be it Indian Home or Indian Politics. His 'Reflections' are nothing but an abuse of political leaders of the Congress. Such a book will certainly be welcomed as authoritative by those like Miss Mayo whose business is to lower India in the estimation of the civilized world—particularly the West, with a view to perpetuate and justify the imperialistic grip on Hindusthan.

Fortunately Roy Brand of Socialism, Democracy and Politics stand self-exposed and as such no amount of such publication can mislead the politically conscious public of India.

A. B. DUTTA

AUTHOR CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES, VOL. III (F-H) AND IV (I-L) : *Imperial Library. Price Rs. 6-3 and Rs 5-5 respectively.*

We congratulate the authorities of the Imperial Library on the publication of these useful volumes even in these hard days. But it is to be regretted that 'publication of further volumes is postponed till such time that normal conditions occur.' Printing is neat.

B. N. B.

THE KURAL IN ENGLISH . *By M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T. Printed at the Sri Kanthimathi Vilasam Press, Tinnevelly Junction. Demy 8vo. Pp. 168.*

The Kural is a famous didactic Tamil poem, supposed to have been composed in the second century A.D. It is the most popular book of the south and is regarded as holy as the Vedas. The author's name is Tiruvalluvar, who was supposed to have been a weaver by professon. This was the view hitherto accepted. The present writer however is of a different opinion. He says that the name Valluvar, divested of the prefix 'Tiru,' is a variant of the name Valluvan, which was a title given to the author of the Kural, who was the royal proclaimer or herald of the court of King Pandya. The revered poet was mistaken in a subsequent age to have been a member of the trumpeting or drum-beating community, a degraded class.

The present writer has in his Foreword to his English translation of the Kural, discussed at length the question of the birth and life-work of the author of the Kural, but has said at last that the mystery about the author's birth and pedigree continues to be a mystery still.

The present writer records his appreciation of the Kural in these words: The poet, a mighty mage beyond compare, and the poem of which each couplet conveys maximum sense in minimum words, and directs the reader in righteous paths, is sweet to the mind and the ear, delicious to the tongue and the taste, and healing in its effect, never tedious but always attractive and pleasing, as the cynosure of the whole world.

The Kural has been translated into Latin, German, French and English. The names of the English translators are F. W. Ellis, W. H. Drew, E. J. Robinson, J. Lazarus, Rev. G. U. Pope and V. V. Srinivas Aiyar. The last named translator has followed Parimelalkar, the best commentator of the Kural, and therefore his translation appeared to me to have been a near approach to the original, and I have in my Bengali translation of the Kural, followed Mr. Aiyar's translation. It is a

pity that I had not the advantage of consulting Mr. Purnalingam's translation at the time, for then my translation would have obtained a chance of being made more perfect.

NALINI MOHAN SANYAL

SANSKRIT

UPADESHASAHASRI : *Translated into English with Explanatory Notes by Swami Jagadananda. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras.*

This is a handsome edition of the famous Vedanta treatise of the great Sankara—the *Upadeshasahasri*—accompanied by an English translation. The translation is not always literal but is generally free. Sometimes, however, it does not appear to be quite clear or strictly accurate. In this connection reference may be made to the following places: P. 8 (end of Section 11), p. 144 (XIV. 29), p. 189 (XVI. 70, 71), p. 207 (XVII. 53), p. 299 (Colophon). The footnotes containing short explanatory notes and indications of original sources of the numerous references in the book to Upanishads and other works will be very useful. There is an index to the first lines of the slokas. An indication of Chapter-numbers at the tops of the pages would have been welcome. The printing and get-up is excellent.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

PALI

THE DHAMMAPADA. THE TEXT IN ROMAN WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION : *By U. Dhammajoti. Mahabodhi Society, Sarnath, Benares.*

This is a handy edition of the *Dhammapada*—the popular Buddhist classic. The edition contains on opposite pages the text in Roman script and an English translation. Short explanatory notes on a number of Buddhist technical terms are given at the end. There is an index of the different feet of the verses. The edition will be welcome to the general reader who can carry it in his pocket and read it at leisure.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

HAVELLOCK ELLIS O JAUNABIGNAN : *By Bejoy Lal Chatterjee. Nabajeeban Sangha, Calcutta. Price annas twelve.*

In this pamphlet the author has considered from the psychological as also from the sociological points of view some questions relating to the sex life of men and women, marriage, birth-control, celibacy, etc., and the problem of adjustment of the relation between the sexes in Society. On the whole, the psychological differences in the sex life of males and females have been adequately expressed and the statements have been supported by quotations from the writings of E. Key, Carpenter, Freud, Huxley, H. Ellis and others. Necessity of controlling births is recognised, but the method advocated by the author does not seem to be very practical. Due weight has been given to the fact that the modern youths whether male or female, have not much regard for the traditional views about sex life and they are not therefore inclined to submit to the prevailing taboos and prohibitions. They are out to liberate love from the bondages of age-worn connections. Revolutionary changes are bound to bring about confusion in the social order immediately after the war. The author has done well in warning the moderners not to be carried away by any such false notion as that freedom of love means unrestrained indulgence or that the joys and emotions of love belong to the same category as the pleasures of dancing or tennis playing. That "too much liberty is as life-destroying as too much restraint" (Huxley), should always be borne in mind.

The easy flow and the extreme simplicity of language are really distinctive features which make the reading of the book a pleasant task.

S. C. MITRA

UPANISHADER SADHANPATH O KESHAB : *By Sri Arunprakash Bandyopadhyay. Nababidhan Publication Committee, 95, Keshab Chandra Sen Street, Calcutta. Price annas eight.*

The spiritual revival of India in the 19th century drew inspiration mainly from the Upanishads. In the present work the writer shows by apt quotations how the Holy Books of Ancient India influenced Keshab Chandra, one of the great religious leaders and progressive thinkers of his time. The style of presentation is lucid and attractive.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

GUJARATI

APANO DHARM : *Edited by Prof. Ram Narayan Pathak, B. A., LL.B. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1943. Cloth bound. Pp. 855. Price Rs. 4.*

This second edition of the collection of the writings and speeches of the late Dr. A. B. Dhruba, the late Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University is published by a grateful pupil of his, Shrimati Lilavati Desai. His thoughtful contributions on Dharm and Philosophy, which bear the stamp of a scholar and thinker, have presented our system of life and work, our heredity or *sanskar*, in a light, acceptable both to the old and the new generation, and therein lies the cause, which made him during his life-time a popular friend and guide. His work will live even though he is no more.

GUJARATI KAVITANI RACHANA KATA : *By A. F. Khabardar. Published by the University of Bombay. 1942. Cloth bound. Pp. 200. Price Re. 1.*

Five lectures delivered by Mr. Khabardar, the well-known Parsi poet, on the structure of Gujarati poetry have been printed and published by the Bombay University. They display the poet's wide and deep study of this somewhat technical subject, and his conclusions have not escaped being challenged. All the same it remains the only dissertation till now in this rather forbidding subject, and as such deserves a high place in the literature of the Province.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Snapped Chain

With the piece of a snapped chain
ringed round your legs, O bird,
fly away, fly alone.

The pain will cling to your feet,
but the joy will dance in your wings,
when you soar with derelict clouds.

Freedom is in pain which is pure
which is in harmony with the boundless,
in which the shame of self-deceit is destroyed,
and which leaves to the dust the cage
of the living death of vain longing.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly

Should the Enemy be Punished After the War is Over?

Not punishment of any but education of all should be the cry. Storm Jameson writes in *The Aryan Path*:

There is no hope for Europe or the world in what used to be called enlightened self-interest. Because there is no such thing. Self-interest is a darkness to all but the self, and when light breaks into it, the darkness ceases to exist. If the self-interested States can turn outwards to something greater and more compelling than themselves, if Europe can be borne again as a unity, in which separate national forms are subsumed, there is hope. (More is involved than the peace of Europe. The spiritual rebirth of Europe involves a change in the European attitude to other civilisations—to take a pressing instance, in the attitude of Great Britain to India). This new birth may not take place—at this time. There may be a further breakdown to come, a new Dark Age, after which the birth would be difficult and painful. But there is no other hope, easier or narrower. We delude ourselves if we think there is, or if we think that it will come without belief and work.

In a Europe struggling to be born again, Germany has its place, which no other people can fill. The capacity of the Germans for discipline and obedience, their courage, misused now to bring death on Europe, must in some way be given other work to do. There is an energy in the German people which, if no good outlet is found for it, will find a bad one, will turn murderous: the murderous energy of the Nazis was first used on their countrymen until their leaders felt strong enough to turn it outside. *Had there been, in 1919, the impulse to re-create the unity of Europe—or rather, had this impulse been stronger than the natural and on its own level good impulse of the separate peoples to test their nationhood, the immense German energy need never have run to waste in misery, unemployment, and finally in Hitler.* To decide that the Germans are naturally murderous is a moral evasion of the real danger. It is their energy that makes them dangerous. If, after this war, it is not directed to a labour of re-creation, it will again direct itself to destroy.

U. K. C. C. and India

The U. K. C. C. was intended to serve as a highly effective spear-head of British trade offensive working in close collaboration with the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Economic Warfare. The following is an excerpt from an article in *The Eastern Economist* as reproduced by *The Indian Readers' Digest*:

The U. K. C. C. has been given very wide powers to carry on general trading business as merchants and financiers in any part of the world. Started in April, 1940, with a capital of £3,00,000 wholly subscribed by British Treasury, its capital was raised to £1½ millions in August, 1940, and again to £3 millions in 1941. It undertakes its operations in the various countries with which it trades through special subsidiaries or directly through its agents as in India. Similar to the U. K. C. C. is the English and Scottish Corporation which was registered a few days after the U. K. C. C. with a nominal capital of £100, but which was raised to £1¼ millions within two months and to £6 millions by the end of 1941. But the financial resources of the U. K. C. C. and of the E. S. C. C. are virtually unlimited as they have behind them the great borrowing power implied by their treasury backing.

Backed by the Ministry of Food and the Ministry of War Transport and armed with financial resources, the U. K. C. C. has been able to spread its tentacles far and wide. So far as India is concerned, its sphere of activiity impinges upon her interests in a number of ways.

In the first place, the priority of inland and water transport which the U. K. C. C. enjoys has enabled it to have preferential trading rights in exports from India. Secondly, if it is a matter of joint war effort, either the Government of India should have been directly acting as the agent of the British Government or should have insisted upon dealing with the U. K. C. C. through an Indian organization set up for the purpose. This cannot, in any sense, be regarded as either needless duplication or waste of time. On the other hand, the experience of the Middle East Supply Centre, from which again India has been excluded, shows that with an organization which will co-ordinate the needs of different countries, it will be possible to entrust the actual task of execution to a special agency which may be created for the purpose. Thirdly, such profits as flow from the export trade have been denied to Indian trade, the share of which has gone entirely to the U. K. C. C. The fact that taken in all, the profits are

almost neutralized by the losses is wholly irrelevant to the examination of the profits which accrued to it through the exports of Indian goods to the Middle Eastern countries.

These considerations, weighty as they are, would not by themselves have given rise to the deep discontent among the Indian public but for certain more permanent and lasting consequences of the functioning of the U. K. C. C.

However much the U. K. C. C. may be a war institution, it has now been made clear that it will continue as an organization after the war.

The *Economist* envisages a permanent future for the activities of the U. K. C. C. in the absorption of surpluses and the building up of stocks of food-stuffs and raw materials from surplus areas for distribution to deficit areas. But it is not the British Government that actually runs the U. K. C. C. The bulk of the personnel has been drawn from trade, business and banking interest and the consolidation and expansion of British markets in the post-war period have been sought to be achieved through the U. K. C. C. Thus the British Government have been able to combine immediate war purposes with more permanent trade objectives.

The reverse of this has been the case with the Government of India. They have not only allowed the U. K. C. C. to poach into the legitimate sphere of Indian export trade, but have grievously failed to take advantage of the vast opportunity which the war has thrown up for consolidating India's export markets and opening new markets abroad. Economic dependence on British shipping has been used [illegible] ent to increase dependence in other respects.

The Poverty of India

In the course of an article in *The Indian Journal of Political Science* Dr E. Ashirvatham observes :

The appalling poverty of India is a theme too well-known to every student of Indian affairs to require reiteration.

Mr M. L. Darling, I.C.S., a high Government official of the Punjab, writes : "The most arresting fact about India is that her soil is rich and her people poor." Mr. Purcell, M.P., says : "The trouble with India is a stomach trouble." Writing as recently as April 25, 1941, Mahatma Gandhi says : "India's millions are becoming progressively pauperised. They are miserably clothed and underfed."

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Amery, on the other hand, claims : "India is prosperous. There is more revenue for the Central and Provincial Governments and not only under those Provincial Governments carrying on under democratic institutions but there is a great deal of active social progress going on all the time." Refuting this claim, Sir I. Rahimtullah argues that if income-tax assessment be taken as a clue to India's "prosperity," we find that out of a total of **300 million** people in "British" India, the number of **income-tax** assessees with an income of **Rs. 2,000 or £150 per annum** and above is the amazing figure of **285,940**, which works out at 1/10th of one per cent. of the population. It is true that, as Sir I. Rahimtullah himself admits, agricultural incomes are not subject to this tax. But the

number of actual cultivators with an annual income of Rs. 2,000 and more must indeed be small. To quote the same writer again, the number of those who pay a super-tax on incomes of Rs. 25,000 a year and above is 4,210, but of this number 2,861 assessees are Europeans.

The average income per head in India has been variously estimated.

The Simon Commission estimated that it was as high as £8 a year, while a Government Committee of Enquiry in 1931 placed it a little above £3 a year. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao in his recent book, *India's National Income*, calculates the *per capita* income to be Rs. 77·9 per year, while the *per capita* income in England is Rs. 1000 a year. As Dr. Rao points out, the figure Rs. 77·9 or Re. 1 a day for a family of five reveals an appalling condition of poverty and serves to explain the well-known phenomena of the high Indian birth-rate and the high death-rate. Even a bare existence which is difficult on the average earning of 3 annas a day per person is rendered possible by the miserably low standard of life which the majority of our people are compelled to adopt. The fact of Indian poverty becomes still more striking when it is remembered that Rs. 77·9 is an average that includes the income of the Prince and the industrial magnate as well as of the manual labourer.

In the light of these facts, it is no exaggeration to say that the Indian is born in poverty, lives in poverty, and dies in poverty.

Fortunately for him, through years of passive adaptation, he has reduced his needs to the minimum possible. His meals are few in number (one or two a day) and of the most frugal kind. Meat, fish, eggs, milk products (except perhaps butter-milk), fruits, and vegetables play little or no part in his menu. Rice, wheat made in the form of chapaties, or some other cereals and one or two pulses form his staple food. He cannot afford the luxury of sugar. Even if he keeps milch-cattle, he has to sell the dairy-produce in order to make a living, contenting himself with skimmed milk. His clothing is very scanty and his dwelling place a wretched hovel with little or no ventilation and no scope for privacy. To cook his food and keep himself warm in those parts of India where the winter is severe, he has to depend for the most part on dry leaves and grass, dry sticks gathered from wild shrubs in the neighbourhood which are by no means abundant, and dried cow-dung cakes. His wife and children may wear a few jewels, mostly made of bell-metal or silver, but even such cheap ornaments are not seldom mortgaged to the money-lender. When he falls ill he has to rely upon simple home remedies or upon the quack doctor of the village. If he is persuaded to go to the town or city hospital, the treatment he receives there is not such as to leave a pleasant memory behind

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Fall of Mussolini

In the course of his article in *The Calcutta Review* Dr. Naresh Chandra Roy observes :

Much has been written on the theory of fascism and the technique of administration which it brought in its train. The theory is all bogus and bosh. The so-called idea of corporative state which the fascists were supposed to have created remained only an idea. It never really fructified. Then, again, the grand idea that in a fascist state the party represented the spirit of the nation and the leader embodied the spirit of the party remained as chimerical as in its origin it was. The fact was that the fascists, who had captured the machinery of the state by exploiting adroitly the peculiar conditions which prevailed in the country in post-war years, imposed their rule upon the rest of the people who did not dare any longer to protest. While the party thus ruled the country by force, Mussolini ruled the party by all the tactics which a veteran in this line had learned by experience

Although we should not characterise the fascist government of Mussolini as inefficient, we have no reason to declare it as very efficient either.

The fascists had as long a period to conduct their experiments in Italy as the Communists had in the Soviet Union. What is more, while the Communists were required to face uniformly a hostile world, the fascists had nothing but co-operation in all countries which mattered. It should be known also that Italy was better placed in 1922 in regard to progress in certain fields than the Soviet Union in 1918. But look at the moral and material progress which has been effected in the U. S. S. R. during the last quarter of a century and look at the progress which Italy has made during this period. The contrast reflects the true character of the fascist government.

Mussolini has been hurled from power. But would the monarchy endure ?

This is a question which must have arisen in many minds. There was a time when the House

of Savoy was taken as an indispensable element of the Government in Italy. The country had been liberated and unified under its auspices and it was for years the most important and effective unifying factor. Without the King of this dynasty ruling over Italy, it would dissolve again into Piedmontese, Lombard and Neapolian divisions But in spite of this knowledge of the great services of the monarchy, Italy was not in the past without her republicans. So long as Victor Emmanuel II was on the throne, all went well. None would dare to challenge his prestige. The followers of Mazzini, who was an unrepentant republican and who regretted till the last day of his life that Italy was unified under the auspices of the House of Savoy, had to go into hiding. After Victor Emmanuel's death in 1878 his son Humbert I came to the throne. He was unpopular almost throughout his reign of twenty-two years, and the republicans made headway in his time. But his murder in 1900 created a revulsion of feeling against the republicans and revived the sentiment in favour of the monarchy. Victor Emmanuel III became more popular, and this popularity was increased by the propaganda of those who decried parliamentary government and wanted to set up some dictatorial substitute in its place. We do not know exactly what impelled the King to refuse his signature to the martial law order of Facta in 1922 and to allow the fascists to march on Rome. It may be that he fought shy of bloodshed which martial law would involve. It may also be that he was in secret sympathy with those who wanted to overturn the democratic and parliamentary government. The dynasty's future is uncertain..

Perennial Wheat

The following is reproduced from *The Northern India Observer* :

Nikolai Tsitsin, the famous agricultural scientist or as the Russians say agronomist, has received one of the Stalin Prize awards of 100,000 roubles.

Tsitsin is the man who for 15 years has been seeking perennial wheat. Last year at the very moment when Russia most needed it, he was successful.

The world knows the story of how this one-time peasant went to work in attempting to cross wheat with couch grass and made 30,000 hybridizations without success.

Then one day while walking in the northern Caucasus, he discovered a variety of couch grass which was self-fertilizing. Then followed a long process of selecting the hybrid which would stand up to conditions of drought and cold in Central Asia.

Last year, however, he arrived at the right variety and 2,000 acres of the new variety planted in Kazakstan have borne heavy yields; but what is most important of all is that it will bear again next year without replanting and probably the year following.

What this means in saving of labour when Tsitsin's variety is more extensively planted this year is incalculable.

Tsitsin has also at the same time arrived at the hybridization of rye with couch grass which produces self-fertilization seeds and will aso be perennial.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Istanbul and Ankara in Modern Turkey

Derek Patmore, special correspondent for the *News Chronicle* since the beginning of 1941, contributes a "Letter from Turkey" to *The Asiatic Review*, April 1943, wherein he is of opinion that "Istanbul and Ankara personify the component elements of modern Turkey—a country still too little known by the West but one which is well worth knowing."

Well, I have now survived nearly two years in Turkey, and I like it. I like and admire the people. I am impressed by and interested in Turkish history, literature and art, and I find that life in Istanbul and Ankara has all the comforts and conveniences to be found in any European capital. Moreover, it is fascinating to watch a great social experiment in the making.

"But what is life like in modern Turkey?" many people will ask. I will try to answer this question by describing life in the two most important cities in Turkey—Istanbul and Ankara.

Istanbul

Istanbul once known as Constantinople and Byzantium, still has the legends of history clinging around its ancient buildings as it straggles across the seven hills on which it was built. Seen from the Sea of Marmora or the Bosphorus, it has a dreamy beauty which makes it unique amongst the cities of Europe. The minarets of its great mosques pierce the sky-line, and the gardens and many buildings of the Palace of the Sultans still stand on the tip of the Golden Horn. But war-time Istanbul has become a city of astonishing contrasts. Pera or the old European quarter, with its modern hotels and great casino in Taksem Gardens, has become a Shanghai of different nationalities. The city is full of Greeks, Armenians, Germans, Italians, Americans, Japanese and British and it is here that one of the bitterest diplomatic battles of the war is being fought. It is also a battle of Allied *versus* Axis propaganda, and a secret struggle between the secret services of the belligerent Powers.

The Turks are well aware of the activities of the foreign nationalities liiving in Istanbul, and the police keep a strict control over them all, and nothing is allowed which would compromise the neutrality of the cocntry.

For this reason, Axis efforts in Turkey have been singularly unsuccessful. But I often wonder, as I watch the Germans going in and out of their large Embassy on Ayas Pasha, a hill overlooking the Bosphorus, what the Turks really think of all these Gestapo agents masquerading as German business men, and the German officers who are trying hard to look like diplomats. They can hardly be a good advertisement for that Western culture which the modern young Turk admires so much!

Istanbul, because of its mixed population, has always been a confusing city, but the foreign elements living here are gradually losing their influence and wealth, and Istanbul is gradually becoming more and more Turkish. This is a good thing, because it was the foreign elements in the past which made Istanbul such a city of intrigue and corruption. Today at least 80 per cent. of the population of Istanbul is purely Turkish, and, despite the new capital, Ankara, it still remains a cultural centre of the greatest importance. Walking about the streets of Istanbul one has many chances of observing the modern Turk and the violent changes which have taken place in his life during the last twenty years. The young Turk of today still remains proud and reserved, and because of past humiliations he is suspicious of foreigners, although he would like to know them better. Contrary to general imagination, many Turks are fair-skinned and have light hair and are not at all Asiatic-looking. Since adopting Western style, they dress well, and even the young students are neat and careful about their clothes. The young Turkish girls, still flushed and excited by their new-found freedom—Turkish women have equal rights with the men in Republican Turkey—are easier to know, and many of them are highly educated and usually speak French or English.

Social life in Istanbul still has something of the formality inherited from the old Ottoman Empire days, but the younger generation like to go to *the dansants*, organize cocktail parties amongst themselves, are great film-goers, and generally behave like any young people in any Western European country. The young Turk of today definitely feels himself a European and believes that the future of his country lies with the Western Powers.

Ankara

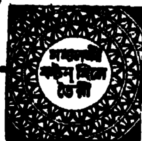
Ankara, the capital of the modern Turkish Republic, stands in direct contrast to Istanbul

Conceived and built by the will and energy of the great Turkish leader, Kemal Ataturk, its modern austerity reflects the gaunt splendour of the Anatolian landscape in which it is set. Ankara is essentially Kemal Ataturk's city, and the memory of the founder of the Turkish Republic is evoked everywhere you go. His statue dominates the great boulevard leading up to the town from Ankara's fine modern station bhilding, and another statute of the Turkish leader looks over the capital in front of the Ethnographical Museum, which is built on a slope dominating the new town.

Ankara, with its tall electric pylons, its huge modern sports stadium, its great square Government buildings, and its modern symmetrical streets and boulevards, looks like one of the large cities which have sprung up from nothing in the Middle West of the United States, or perhaps it is more like the realization of one of H. G. Wells's dreams of the cities of the future. Undoubtedly it is surprising and unexpected, especially as it has been built on a barren mountain slope and in country which was formerly deserted and lacking in proper water-supplies. Still, events have justified Kemal Ataturk's decision to transfer the capital to the centre of Anatolia, and it is noticeable even in these rumour-stricken days that, whilst Istanbul is always full of vague rumours and fears, the atmosphere in Ankara throughout the war has remained calm and steady.

Bare inside and out

Durga Puja ! But where is its joy and festivity ? This year it comes to a barebacked, starving people ! In these distressing times we aim at supplying the largest number of people with sarees and dhoties at the cheapest possible price. In offering our Puja greetings to our patrons and friends we assure them that our endeavour is to serve them always to the best of our ability.



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Life in Ankara follows a regular and simple pattern. It is a town composed mostly of Government officials and diplomats, and these groups meet in two places—the Ankara Palas Hotel, which might be called the centre of Ankara's public social life, and Karpitch's Restaurant, which is the best eating-place in the capital and is run by a White Russian refugee who settled in Turkey following the Russian Revolution. Despite its size, there is a comfortable small-town atmosphere about Ankara, and any day lunching or dining in Karpitch's Restaurant you will see the Prime Minister, Sukru Saracoglu, sitting at one table, whilst at others will be Allied diplomats and the foreign correspondents. During recent months the Germans have been little seen in public places, and they keep to themselves in their large Embassy built on the slopes surrounding the city.

Ankara is a little jealous of Istanbul, and the Turkish Government are making every effort to transform the new capital into the cultural as well as political centre of the country.

The principal Conservatoire, under the direction of Karl Ebert, is here, and the great new University is expanding rapidly. Ankara has a good Symphony Orchestra, which is regularly patronized by the President Ismet Inonu, and what might be called the "Ankara School" of writers is beginning to make its influence felt throughout the nation. The Ankara Halkevi also holds regular exhibitions of paintings by young artists and also offers prizes and scholarships to promising young painters.

Ankara, indeed, symbolizes the new Turkey. It is young and aggressive. It is self-confident, but at the same time ready to learn from the experience of the West. In contrast to the history-laden atmosphere of Istanbul, it is a bright, clean, new city. The inhabitants of Ankara are all passionate believers in the progress and future of the Kemalist Revolution. These are proud, self-reliant people who are upheld by their faith and pride in their country.

Brazil in Renaissance

Under the above caption Beatrice Irwin observes in the *World Order*:

The role that Brazil is playing, and the larger destiny that she will fulfill in the material and spiritual map of the near future, promises to be prodigious. Her youthful stature in the family of nations, makes her achievement and promise the greater, for in the terms of modern civilization this land is only 440 years old.

Just forty-nine years after discovery of Brazil by the navigator, Jose de Cabral (April 22, 1500), Portugal dispatched Thome de Souza with a colonizing expedition which included six Jesuits. These men demanded nothing of the Crown except the hope and freedom of establishing the spiritual ideals of their order on virgin soil.

At this epoch the Jesuit movement was in its pristine purity, unsullied by the shadows that later dimmed its history. The ideals of spiritual unity, combined with unity of language and national solidarity which they brought to Brazil, laid enduring foundations of strength and progress. On arrival (1549), this expedition found an Eden of nature inhabited by vigorous, friendly, nomadic, but savage Tupi and Tamoyo Indians, who at least were unprejudiced by any previous religious education.

The Conquistadors of Mexico and Peru had developed colonization by terrorism, destruction and cruelty, but in Brazil peaceful methods of education and miscegenation were successfully adopted.

The Oswaldo Cruz Institute for the combat of tropical diseases, the famous snake serum farm at Butantan, and the enchanting forestry museum at Tremenbe are all monuments to the desire for human welfare and scientific progress. Before leaving Brazil it was my good fortune to co-operate with the Government in some forestry research which involved travel and gave opportunity to observe rural conditions. Though these are often poor and backward, yet it is a clean orderly poverty devoid of beggary.

As forty per cent. of Brazil is forest land, it is not unlikely that in the near future the next economic boom may be developed from the vast forests which have already yielded one brief rubber boom and three thousand classified specimens of the finest grained and most exquisitely colored woods that our world knows, woods that are suitable for every kind of service. Brazil owns much, and seems to claim nothing, except the fulfillment of its growth, its ideals and its freedom.

The atmosphere of this land is free of tension, suspicion and fear, and what may yet be lacking in order and efficiency is more than compensated for by an abundance of energy and by the engaging wealth of nature that eagerly awaits fuller utilization. This virginal land of unexplored spaces, of latent riches, of building cities, of transcendent natural beauty,—this land of evolving enterprise and of climatic and geographic challenge, is carving its character and experience from within and that is why its future glows so bright.

Printed and Published by Nibaran Chandra Das, Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

THE PILGRIMS
By Manilal Banerjee

Prabasi Press Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER  1943

VOL. LXXIV, No. 5 WHOLE No. 443

NOTES

Ramananda Chatterjee

On the 30th of September, after the last formes of *The Modern Review* had gone to the binders, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the Founder-Editor of this *Review* breathed his last at about 7-40 P.M. The end, though not quite unexpected, was rather sudden, as he had been talking coherently to his eldest daughter only a few moments before he expired. He had been ailing for some eight years past from a disease the root causes of which were never fully diagnosed, although it was known that Metabolic failure of some kind was the main contributory factor. The outward symptoms were eruptions on the skin causing intense itching and burning sensation, which gave him neither peace nor rest while they lasted. A very strict vegetarian for the last fifty-five years, the limitations of his diet probably increased his vulnerability. About the end of 1940 Mr. Chatterjee's condition becoming extremely distressing, his doctor called in a leading skin specialist, who gave him a complete course of treatment for eczema, without however relieving him at all. It was then realised that the disease was not a skin complaint, the root of the trouble being malnutrition of some kind which led to the gradual de-vitalisation of the skin. Various treatments were tried and all available medical facilities taken but nothing beyond partial relief for short periods resulted. Then in February 1943 he had an accident resulting in the fracture of a thigh-bone. With this accident the last chances of recovery were gone, as he became completely bed-ridden. Secondary troubles followed which finally resulted in an attack of Septicemæa to which he succumbed. His brain remained clear and his memory and general intellect keen to the end.

Although the disease became extremely painful in 1940 and he became extremely weak through lack of rest and through inability to take in proper nourishment, he carried on with his work as an editor of two journals and as a publicist with an extremely difficult task, with indomitable courage and inflexible will upto November 1942. After that his ailment became so acute that he became physically incapable of doing any work. But even then his patient understanding and mature judgment was available at all times, not only to his editorial staff, but to scores of other persons who went to him for guidance in the many complicated situations that arose out of the present troublous circumstances.

Many public bodies gave him addresses at his bedside this year and in every instance those who went to do him honour came back astonished with his cheerful courage, clarity of thought and brightness of memory. In every instance his replies were extempore, as he was unable to read or write then, but there was nothing incoherent about them, on the contrary, they were tersely

to the point and full of touching reminisences and cogent quotations. On one occasion he recited a long passage in Sanskrit out of the Mahabharata and a learned professor of Sanskrit who was present on the occasion marvelled both at the aptness of the quotation and at the tremendous retentive power of the magnificent brain that had worked at full pressure for nearly sixty years by then.

He remained intensely conscious about his fatherland's problems to the last. Newspapers were read out to him every morning and the few remarks that he used to make would make it clear to the people around him as to how he felt. On many occasions when his advice was sought by others regarding the handling of some complicated situation, he displayed not only a wide-awake and thorough realisation of the circumstances but a keen and impartial power of analysis, as clear and skilled as ever.

The Modern Review may be said to be his *Mānas-putra* like its elder the *Prabasi*. Its birth took-place under trying circumstances both for its founder and for its homeland. At the time of its birth (January 1, 1907) India was being taught to bow to Imperialism as initiated by Lord Curzon. Bengal had been bisected and into the upsurge of public feeling that followed, the Imperialist had flung in all the weapons for dragooning public opinion into meek servility. Detention without trial, gagging of the Press, repression by extra-legal methods and all other glorious methods of Imperial barbarism were then in action. As for Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, he was then out of a job, having resigned the Principalship of the Kayastha-Pathsala College at Allahabad through difference of opinion with the governing body. He had secured an appointment as the Principal of the City College, Calcutta after that, but had voluntarily ceded that post to an ex-preceptor of his, who had asked him for it as a *Gurudakshina*. He was without resources and had a family of wife and five growing children, besides a whole host of indigent relatives and friends dependent on him. The time was particularly unsuited for a venture in the journalistic line, a venture specially as *The Modern Review* proved to be later. Furthermore a Native State had offered him a lucrative job as head of an educational institution, *plus* the private-tutorship of the young Yuvaraja, *plus* the financing of the *Prabasi*—if the latter were converted into a non-political literary journal. So he had the choice between security and risk and comparative affluence and the chance of bankruptcy. This was not the first occasion on which such a choice lay before him, as he had had a State-Scholarship offered to him when he stood first in the Calcutta University in his B.A. examination. If he had accepted that, a long and extremely well-paid career within the "steel-frame" could have easily been his lot. But neither money nor risk had ever been even a secondary issue with Ramananda Chatterjee. On the first occasion he chose the ill-paid and poorly honoured post of an educationalist, on the second he chose that of journalism. He went back to Allahabad and started *The Modern Review*. Within the year *The Modern Review* had made its mark to such purpose that the provincial authorities gave him summary orders to leave the province, the alternative being detention without trial. There was no choice in reality as detention would have meant extinction of his journals which no one else would undertake to publish. So he left Allahabad, virtually penniless, to make a fresh start at Calcutta, being probably the first victim of political persecution in the United Provinces.

Long number of years have followed since then, years full of trial for this journal and the cause for which it stands. But through all the trials and tribulations, Ramananda Chatterjee's pen never faltered to tell the truth or to give correct judgment. Honor he never sought, for if he had it would have been his for the asking in 1926, but honoured was his position at the front rank of all who espoused the cause of India's Freedom and that of Indian culture.

Times are exceedingly troublous again, and the task of conducting the journals founded by Ramananda Chatterjee has fallen on us. No one feels the want of steadfast guidance from the sage old Pilot more than ourselves, nor is any-one else so aware of the unworthiness of the shoulders on which his shining mantle has now fallen.

Mr. Suhrawardy Denies Hoarding

Mr. D. F. Karaka, Special Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* in Calcutta had an interview with Bengal's Civil Supply Minister Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy. The report of this interview has been published in the *Bombay Chronicle* dated October 12, and is given below:

> The present Minister of Civil Supplies is an Oxford-returned Muslim Leaguer Mr. Suhrawardy. I had a brief, uninspiring interview with him.
>
> *The main points Mr. Suhrawardy made were that*

all this time he could get nothing from Government of India to distribute !

The imposition by the Government of India on other Provinces charging them to give surplus stocks of food-grains to deficit areas had not been implemented. The basic plan of March, 1943, had not been carried out.

Asked if he believed there was hoarding, Mr. Suhrawardy said emphatically "No." This is a strange reply in view of the statement and pamphlets issued by him at the time of taking over charge, when he repeatedly stressed there was no need of panic because there was food in abundance in the Province, though hoarded. When the Punjab Wheat Commissioner made the allegation at the Rotary Club that the Bengal Government had made 40 lakhs of profit out of wheat sent by the Punjab, Mr. Suhrawardy answered that it was due to miscalculation. Such is the deplorable state of administration here. A change of Food Chiefs here is definitely indicated.

The present Ministry came into power through the strenuous efforts of Sir John Herbert. He had commissioned Mr. Suhrawardy as the Minister in charge for food, probably because he believed him to be the most competent person to hold charge of the heaviest portfolio at the most critical period of the Province. And this Ministry is maintained in office through the patronage of the European Group in the Bengal Legislature.

Atlantic Charter and West Africa

The *Hindu* reports :

LONDON, Oct. 21

A memorandum entitled, "Atlantic Charter West Africa," containing concrete proposals for advancement of West African territories towards Self-Government is at present being circulated among members of Parliament.

The memorandum, the authors of which are eight West African Editors who recently toured Britain under the auspices of the British Council, is designed to meet the charge that colonials are loud in criticism, but backward in offering practical suggestions and is the first document of this kind to be prepared by West Africans themselves.

Representing a compromise between different viewpoints ranging from left to right, the document lays down that the proposed changes should be made within the framework of the British Commonwealth. The authors take their stand on Clause 3 of the Atlantic Charter and demand immediate abrogation of the Crown Colony system and substitution of representative Government for ten years to be succeeded thereafter by responsible Government for five years at the termination of which period, it is argued, the ground will have been cleared for promotion of West African territories to dominion status.

The memorandum outlines the needed reforms in education, health, social welfare, agriculture, mining, finance, etc., in order to prepare the people for the task of taking over administration of Government in their own territories.

West African Editors have thus given another indication of the danger of a future Government which would dare act without regard to the wishes of the subjects. A new formula of State, after this war, must be sought which, in its operations, would secure an equal interest for *all* citizens in the result of the social process.

Abolition of the Colour Bar

Addressing the Presidency College Union Society at Madras, Mr. V. S. Srinivas Sastri said :

One of the great causes of national animosity was the colour bar. Roughly speaking, the White people living in the Western Hemisphere had held down in political subjection and economic servitude, the coloured races living in the East. We, the coloured people, formed the majority of the human race and yet we were held down. We felt it and also remembered our ancient culture and civilisation. We were aware of what was happening all over the British Empire. This state of inequality and injustice would be felt even more after the war than it was now by Eastern races. At the last Peace Conference this question was raised by Japan; but she was persuaded to drop it in return for some concessions. This time we could not let it remain unsolved. This colour bar was going to be a terrible question dividing the human race into two warring camps and if a colour war was going to break out, there would be a kind of ferocity unknown to history. Therefore, it was of the utmost importance, that the colour bar was once and for all abolished. This was a point of the very greatest importance but of the greatest difficulty. "My anxiety is that, as we are a coloured race, we should bear an honourable part in the proper settlement of this question. Our voice at the Peace Table must be raised unequivocally, loudly, insistently, for the abolition of this colour bar."

The Coloured man in Asia and Africa under white tutelage, even where he enjoys what is known as self-government is conscious that the meagre rights they enjoy do not give his true self-freedom. What he experiences is constraint; and he knows that as a denial of his liberty. Will his consciousness be crystallised in the next Peace Conference ? Othewise that conference will be as barren as all the previous ones.

Brailsford's "Subject India"

The American edition of the book *Subject India* by the veteran left wing Liberal H. N. Brailsford has been published in New York last week. The book has surprised many American readers by its boldness and bitter criticism of the British policy. It supports India's demand for complete independence either within or without the Empire and urges the United States to play its part in the Indian settlement. Mr. Brailsford concludes : "Look-

ing around them, when the last British Viceroy quits his palace, the Indians will see opportunities where there were closed doors and difficulties to be overcome, where once impossibilities confronted them, a country to be recreated and shaped by their own effort and thought. It may be that they exaggerated their command over the future. By faith men grow to greatness."

Indian Delegation on Empire Air Conference

The Empire Air Conference has met in London. Official India, as usual, adorned its sitting. As late as the 5th August last, the Secretary for Posts and Air said that the question of convening an Empire Air Conference was under consideration and on that plea evaded answering the question put to him whether representatives of Indian Commerce and Industry would form part of the Indian delegation. On the ground that that communication was provisional in character, he refused to disclose the nature of the discussion the Government of India had with the British Government on post-war Empire Air Policy. Mr. Walchand Hirachand has made the following comment on this subject :

"Within three months of such talks, which, we are always assured, are exploratory in their nature, the Empire Air Conference has met and finished its deliberations, and as Lord Beaverbrook remarked they were ready to go forward to International Conference with the unanimous decisions of the whole Empire as regards the common post-war Empire Air Policy. I wonder whether even now the Government of India would recognise its responsibility to place before non-official India the broad conclusions to which they have agreed at that Conference and give national India an opportunity to express its views in connection therewith. It is India that is vitally affected - not the existing Government of India which, as we all know, in matters where the interests of India and Great Britain conflict, have to register the views of His Majesty's Government. I would warn the Government that if they would again ignore to take national India into their confidence and listen to its voice in a matter vitally affecting the future of this country, not only will it further embitter the already exasperated feelings of the people of the country, but it will also give a rude shock to the faith that may be still left in them in the ability and the desire of the Government to protect and promote the national interests of India."

True to its past tradition, official India has recorded its vote to make the decisions unanimous. The vote of India is secured thus by stifling the voice of its nationals.

Bengal Famine and Denial Policy

The *Bombay Chronicle*, in its issue dated October 4, has published the following report by its Special Correspondent in Calcutta, Mr. D. F. Karaka :

What is largely responsible for the present condition, however, is the Denial Policy which Government of Bengal enunciated sometime last year. Under this Denial Policy, which I would describe as "Economic Scorched Earth" as distinct from military scorched earth, boats, barges, carts, etc., which were all essential to the farmer and for carrying food were taken away from him in many places. Likewise, East Bengal farmer was discouraged to store rice. In general, there was nothing to encourage him to look forward to a good crop, Consequently, the soil deteriorated and harvest generally suffered. Add to that the havoc caused by nature in certain parts of Bengal and the "denial" was complete It should have been obvious to those promulgating the "Denial Policy" that one could not deny to a possible invading army in the future, unless one also denied to oneself, in the present.

At this stage, responsibility for food policy must be shouldered by Sir John Herbert who acted in consultation with army but without reference to ministers.

Mr. Amery had accorded protection to Sir John Herbert by laying the responsibility for bungling on the Indian Ministers, but his platitude was totally unconvincing. Sensible opinion in Bengal felt his statement as misleading and unfair.

Structure of the Food Department

The *Independent* of Nagpur gives an idea of the structure of the Food Department of the Government of India :

Have you any idea of the huge structure called the Food Department of the Government of India ? In its Secretariat, there are over 10 Officers drawing Rs. 1,000 and above, with two Deputy, three Under- and one Assistant Secretaries ! Besides there are three special Officers and/or Advisers. This however is not all !

There is a Directorate of Food with three dozen highly paid Officers Three Deputy Directors-General; four Directors; eight Deputy Directors; eleven Assistant Directors; four Deputy Assistant Directors—need the whole list be given ?

Then it makes the comment, "The plain truth is no one is really serious about the work. Everyone seems to be concerned with his own self." The comment seems to be justified.

American Empire in Asia ?

The *Hindustan Times* publishes the gist of Albert Victor's new book *American Empire in Asia ?*

His proposed solution of the Indian problem, "which will come up before the United Nations after the war in a much acuter form," is far from simple. Among the long list of serious charges against the British, he says that "*nothing has been done by them to foster evolution of a modus vivendi between the Muslims and the Hindus.* It has been argued by Indian nationalists, and not without factual basis, that the British actually helped to intensify the struggle and encourage, even if indirectly, the most extremist com-

munal elements. No planned purposeful dynamic efforts are made to deal with problems like mass illiteracy, raising the productivity of native agriculture, establishing a public health system or modernizing the social structure of the villages." *Interests other than the welfare of the Indians is the determined policy.* Imperialist considerations, economic and political, constitute the real basis. "Keep India safe for Britain"—that has been the basis of all its policies. (Italics ours.—ED., *M. R.*).

The author aims at nothing less than torpedoing the entire British Empire. He not only wants the British raj to leave India bag and baggage, but demands that Britain—also France and the Netherlands—shall lose all their colonies and mandates, insisting that "*London has always been a ruthless exploiter.*" He says, "As a dominant Pacific power America is vitally interested in the creation of conditions which will make possible a lasting peace and prosperity." Words like these have probably made the British diehards raise the cry that America is eager to build up an Empire by picking up bits of British Empire.

Senator Chandler's Remark on Burma Campaign

The *Leader* writes:

> *Reuter* has been able to send a brief report of the proceedings of the secret session of the American Senate. It appears that the five Senators who toured the world fronts took a prominent part in the discussion and that they raised many controversial issues. One of them, Mr. Chandler, alleged that British operations in Burma were faint-hearted. This may be wrong but it is interesting to recall that during a debate in the Council of State in March last Mr. Kunzru said that the Arakan campaign had probably been undertaken to impress the Indian public. The remark evoked an angry protest from the Deputy Commander-in-Chief. General Hartley said, "In the whole course of my 60 years, including 40 years spent in this country I have seldom heard so fatuous a remark." General Hartley's reply to Senator Chandler's statement will be awaited with interest.

Nearly a fortnight has passed since the publication of Senator Chandler's remark in India. General Hartley has not replied.

Alfred Watson Denounces Communal Electorate

Reading a paper at a meeting of the East India Association, Prof. Coupland made one more addition to the mass of superficial literature on India. The constitutional scheme advanced in his paper envisages a division of India into four autonomous regions, roughly the Indus, Ganges and Brahmaputra deltas and the Deccan. Mr. Amery was enamoured of this scheme but in the discussion that followed, Sir Alfred Watson denounced this scheme saying that this would mean a weak Centre, and "a weak Centre in India would be a menace to the peace of the world." In this connection he admitted, "Communal representation in India makes party Government, in the British sense, quite impossible. *India must acquire parties inspired by function and not by race or religion.*"

Minister's Disregard for Truth

The Delhi Food Conference has ended with no practical results. But one amazing piece of news was given out there by Mr. Suhrawardy who claimed to represent Bengal and which has been promptly contradicted by Mr. Fazlul Huq. Everyone in Bengal knows to-day through bitter experience that rice is a delicacy procurable after great efforts and at fabulous prices. Mr. Suhrawardy, however, said:

> We were living in abnormal times when people had lost confidence. Therefore, control of prices was absolutely essential to counter-act these forces and instill confidence in the people. Mr. Suhrawardy maintained that *contrary to what appeared in a section of the Press, rice had not disappeared from most of the markets in Bengal.* He affirmed that their *price policy had not failed,* and within three weeks after control had been enforced, the Government had procured more grain than in the previous five months. Statutory price control was the only solution to counter-act profiteering and the black market.

Such utterances which are divorced from reality will further lower the people's confidence in the *bona fides* of the Government which has already lost much ground.

Dr. Mookerjee's Suggestions for Tackling the Man-made Famine

Addressing the public meeting held in Calcutta on October 15, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee made the following practical suggestions to rectify the fatal mistakes made in the past in dealing with the famine:

> (1) Requisition of 50 per cent. of the reserved stocks for use by the military, the railway, the port trust, big employers of industrial labour and any other favoured organisation. The Government of India should undertake to replenish stocks in due course.
>
> (2) Revise the quota fixed for priority units in Bengal. It is said about two millions of persons now get preference principally in the greater Calcutta area. Equalise their share as finally decided with rationed quota for ordinary people.
>
> (3) Pool effectively the resources available from outside the province and from within Bengal.
>
> (4) Expedite exports from Australia where, according to the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, two and a half crore of maunds of wheat are lying to be shipped to this country.

(5) Secure a portion of the food-grains advertised to be stocked by the Allied powers for feeding the countries now under Axis control after they get back their freedom. Apply in this case the well-tried maxim, physician heal thyself.

(6) Secure a large stock of concentrated food which is available for military use. This can be got immediately by plane.

One fortnight has passed since these suggestions were made but the people are yet to know whether any stocks have been released by the military, railway, port trust and such other big organisations for the immediate alleviation of starvation.

Difficulties of Non-Official Relief

Complaints of obstruction in their activities are pouring forth from non-official relief organisations. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, who is in-charge of the biggest relief organisation while addressing the public meeting held in Calcutta on October 15, said:

Non-official organisations were doing what they could to give relief but they *are often met with well-planned obstruction.* They cannot in any case solve the problem If doctors come, medicine does not. Red-tape and unco-ordinated control are often utilised for preventing progress of relief work.

Mrs. Rajan Nehru, Secretary of the A.-I. W. C., Delhi, on her return from a week's tour in Midnapore, told the *United Press*:

"Another thing that impressed me was the colossal difficulties that non-official relief workers have to face. Apart from the inadeqacy of transport, *they have to conform to the most incredible restrictions and regulations.*"

Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit made the same complaint on the eve of her departure from Bengal after an extensive tour in the famine-stricken areas:

"Government persistently hampers non-official effort. An instance was recently brought to my notice of refusal to allow a non-official cheap grain shop to function. Reasons are seldom given and they are not considered necessary."

Lord Wavell, during his hurried tour in Bengal, would have done well by taking non-official organisations into confidence and thus giving an impetus to relief operations.

Viscount Wavell's Famine Relief Programme

Immediately after his assumption of office, Viscount Wavell came to Calcutta and saw things for himself both in the city and in Midnapore, one of the worst affected districts. During his tour, he was accompanied by the Acting Governor and some high officials. Neither the Chief Minister nor the Food Minister accompanied him. The Food Conference which followed the new Viceroy's tour and was presided over by him, was attended by the Ministers besides high officials. Leaders conducting non-official relief organisation were not present. The programme outlined at the Food Conference is as follows:

(1) The Bengal Government will arrange forthwith for the removal of the destitute people who have thronged into Calcutta to properly managed rest camps where they can receive food, clothing and medical attention and from where they can be despatched to their homes as soon as they are sufficiently restored.

(2) As the movement of food-grains from Calcutta to the districts affected by the emergency is one of the main difficulties to be dealt with, H. E. the Commander-in-Chief has agreed to make available to the Bengal Government a Major-General with considerable experience of work of this kind to assist them in improving and operating a suitable movement system.

(3) The Viceroy will ask the Commander-in-Chief to make the resources of the Army available to the maximum possible extent in the districts worst affected, particularly for the movement of food-grains, provision of temporary shelters for relief operations and establishment of relief stores. The Army may also be able to help in some areas with the actual distribution of food and with medical relief.

An ordinance has been promulgated to take the victims of hunger to rest camps where they would be given food, shelter and medical aid. That an ordinance was needed to bring the dying people to the Government for receiving food and shelter does not speak of much confidence in Government measures. Mrs. V. L. Pandit said that she saw hungry people flock to private kitchens instead of to the Government ones.

The Viceroy invoked the aid of the Army to help the Bengal Government in their relief operations. We do not know what experience the Army, with its constantly changing personnel due to military movements, has got in the domain of Social Service. It is certain however that it will not lie inert like certain civil departments, once it receives orders, and it can do much good if it co-operates with public bodies instead of hindering their work.

Mr. Amery on Causes of Famine

Mr. Amery, in his Birmingham speech, says:

"In ten years between 1931 and 1941 the population of India increased by 50 millions, more than the whole population of the British Isles. Every month there are some 400.000 more mouths to be fed. The vast majority of this new population, possibly 40 millions, have had to find their living off the same land which barely sustained a smaller population in the past. Even with every effort to develop industry, to exploit irrigation and to improve agricultural methods, the menace of famine has never been wholly removed. That has been the normal background. To it have been

superadded two new factors : the war and the breaking up of the former unity of the Indian administration by the extension of Self-Government."

Population in India has steadily increased, but production of food per acre has remained practically stationary. The latest forecast of rice production shows a less than 10% increase inspite of a year-long *grow more food* campaign. Intensive cultivation in India has been totally neglected. Manures still remain a luxury with the bulk of the peasantry.

As regards irrigation in Bengal, we find the same sad story of neglect. The Addams-Williams Report and the comments of Wilcox have of late drawn public attention. The task of resuscitation of dead and dying rivers were never taken in hand in right earnest. Either British vested interests or the eternal plea of paucity of funds prevented energetic action.

The scapegoat of "Indian Ministry" has come into existence only since 1937. What did our British administrators do during the 180 years preceding it ?

Royal Commission Demanded

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq has demanded the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the causes of the Bengal famine. The Calcutta Branch of the European Association has supported his demand. There have been other supports as well in India and in the British Paliament. Mr. Huq, in a public meeting, has made the following specific allegations against the present ministry :

> The Bengal administration must be completely purged of the disgraceful corruption which prevails almost from top to bottom; particularly in connection with the Government handling of the food situation there is corruption amongst high and low which has been no little responsible for the present awful famine. There is corruption in settling shops, in granting permits, in selecting agents, in requisition and distribution of foodstuffs, in appointments made or promised and in hundred other ways too numerous to mention. Stocks are requisitioned under Rule 75 (a) of the Defence of India Act and handed over to chosen personages by process which enable various grades of officers' pocket handsome commissions.

Mr. Amery on Food Situation in Bengal

In his statement on the Bengal food crisis, Mr. Amery wanted the members of the Parliament that food was pouring into Bengal in increasing quantities. He said :

> **In the six months since last April—as against the normal annual intake of 350,000 tons—a total of 375,000 tons of rice and other food-grains has thus been delivered on Government account of Bengal by rail or coastal shipping from other provinces. During September, the deliveries were 72,000 tons.**

Pandit H. N. Kunzru, President of the Servant of India Society, has given as a result of his personal observation, the quantities of food supplied from gruel kitchens and the difficulties they experience. in procuring food :

> The gruel kitchens run by non-official agencies or by the authorities with the aid of money collected from the public are helpful to a certain extent but their number is small, they have to be closed down from time to time for want of foodstuffs and the *khichuri* given per head is as a rule about 2 or 2½ chittacks only notwithstanding the decision of the Government as announced in a Press Note, dated 13th September, that the scale of food-grains for preparation of *khichuri* should be immediately raised to 6 chittacks for working adults and the expectant and nursing mothers, 4 chittacks for other adults and 2 chittacks for children. The destitutes are fed only once a day. We shall, therefore, be deceiving ourselves if we think that they offer any real solution of the problem. I was told at Dacca where foodstuffs are being unofficially rationed by the Dacca Central Relief Committee under presidentship of the popular Sessions Judge Mr. De that only 12 chittacks of rice and 20 chittacks of *atta* had been distributed per head by the Mohalla Committees in the course of a month and that there was a shortage everywhere not merely of rice but of other foodstuffs also with the possible exception of some pulses. Besides the price of scarcely any food-grain was less than 12 annas per seer at least in any town. This is naturally having its effect on all classes of people but people belonging to the lower middle class owing to their inability to beg are perhaps suffering more terribly than the other classes.

Responsibility for Famine Conditions

The British vested interests, through the medium of their mouthpieces, have quickly seized upon the famine conditions in India as an illustration of the incapacity of Indians to manage their own affairs. As was only to be expected, once the tide of the war has turned, such persons are on the lookout for any excuse that may enable them to persuade the British public to dishonour their pledges. We intend going deeper in the matter at a later date when the arguments on the side of the exploiters is fully developed. We shall content ourselves for the present by expressing our amazement at the failure of the British public to see the despicable cowardice inherent in all such attempts at finding scapegoats.

Truth About Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi

Mr. C. A. Kincaid has cleared the existing misconceptions about Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi in a paper published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Great Britain and Ireland. Kincaid says :

"Born in November, 1835, and killed in June, 1858, she was not quite twenty-three when she fell. She has been severely treated by English historians, who have called her murderess, and rebel and mutineer. But my honoured friend the late Rao Bahadur Parasnis has in his Marathi biography of the Queen insisted that she had nothing to do with the massacre of the English."

Kincaid relies on a letter written on 20th April 1889 to Damodar Rao, the Rani's adopted son, by a Mr. Martin quoted by Mr. Parasnis. Mr. Martin was alive when Parasnis' book was published. He somehow escaped from the massacre, and with another Englishman and an English lady was hidden by the queen in her palace and saved. The letter runs :

"Your poor mother was very unjustly and cruelly dealt with, and no one knows her true case as I do. The poor thing took no part whatever in the massacre of the European residents of Jhansi in June, 1857. On the contrary, she supplied them with food for two days after they had gone into the Fort—got a hundred matchlock men from Karrara and sent them to assist us, but after being kept a day in the Fort they were sent away in the evening. She then advised Major Skeene and Captain Gordon to fly at once to Dattia and place themselves under the protection of the Raja, but even this they would not do; and finally they were all massacred by our own troops, the police and the jail establishments."

Kincaid concludes his paper in the following words :

"This letter seems to me to dispose of the charge that she was a murderess. Was she a mutineer ? No; because she was not either in the army or the navy. Was she a rebel ? This is a more difficult question to answer. Lakshmibai was born at Benares, and was a subject of the Maharaja of Benares. She became by marriage a subject of the Raja of Jhansi. Unless by losing her throne she became a British subject, she cannot be called a rebel. I prefer to think of her as a young and gallant lady, who, forced by events beyond her control, joined the Nana Sahib and fell on the field of honour, fighting for a lost cause. Others similarly unfortunate have yet received their meed of praise, but she gained nothing but hatred and obloquy. Still the great soldier, who defeated her and her allies penned an epitaph, that she would not have disdained. Sir Hugh Rose wrote in his general orders after her death, "The best man on the side of the enemy was the Rani of Jhansi."

The Present Railway Member and Indian-owned Second Class Collieries

It has been proposed that the Railways will stop supply of wagons to some second class collieries on the gound that they raise inferior coal which is uneconomic for the Railways to carry in these days of wagon scarcity. Of these collieries 165 belong to Indians and only 1 to Europeans. Years ago when Sir Joseph Bhore the then Railway Member placed for the first time large orders of the Railways with Indian-owned second class collieries, Sir Edward Benthal as a Clive Street business magnate is said to have attacked the policy of the Government in a speech at Dhanbad Club and his plea was that second class coal entailed more consumption for a given work than first class coal which almost as a rule was controlled by British managing agents. Sir Joseph Bhore pointed out in the Central Assembly that though consumption was a little more, the price was so cheap that purchase of second class coal meant ultimate economy. Next year he repeated the large orders of second class coal. Now when Sir Edward Benthal is in charge of the Railways the identical plea against (Indian-owned) second class collieries has been raised and the whole thing has a queer smell about it. Collieries which are going to be penalised generally manufacture soft coke for domestic use and 1½ tons of steam coal go to make 1 ton of soft coke so that it can never be uneconomic for the Railways to carry it as compared with first class steam coal. Besides, as pointed out by us in these columns more than once, soft coke required by poor and middle-classes in cooking food should come just after coal used for war work in the order of priorities and not after coal used, say by jute-mills and tea-gardens in doing ordinary business having nothing to do with the war.—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya

Satis Chandra Chakravarti

Rev. Satis Chandra Chakravarti, M.A., President and Missionary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, died on 29th October, at the age of 69, at the premises of the Bhawanipur Brahmo Sammilan Samaj.

Deeply versed in Vedic and Upanishadic literature, he also acquired profound knowledge of Persian which helped him in interpreting Islamic religious texts sympathetically. He brought out the best annotated edition of Maharshi Debendra Nath Togore's Autobiography. He worked most efficiently as the Secretary to the Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee (1933), presided over by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore; and his compilation of the Centenary Volume is a monumental work on Rammohun. He has many other literary publications to his credit, mostly on the interpretation of spiritual pursuit and experiences. A keen student of Science and Sociology, a great patriot and a devout soul, Rev. Chakravarti has numerous friends from different communities to lament his death.

Stifling the Groans of the Hungry

The Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore writes :

"The fact is that foreign newspaper correspondents in India are not permitted to cable abroad even th bare facts of deaths and hospital admissions due to starvation issued daily in Calcutta by the Director of Information to the Bengal Government. . . . Correspondents must not tell the British and American public the blunt facts of the situation. . . . It is a Censorship operating with the sole purpose of protecting the Government of India from the consequences of its own incapacity and folly. The facts are not hidden from the enemy, as any who can listen to the Berlin, Tokio, Saigon or Azad Hindustan broadcasts well know; so security and denial of information useful to the enemy cannot constitute justification for the ban. Its sole—and thoroughly immoral—justification seems to be the preservation of the Government of India's infallibility in the minds of those who are ultimately responsible for its shortcomings—the British public."

This vain attempt to stifle the groans of the hungry has done incalculable harm by delaying relief. Permission to let the truth out at the early stage of the famine would have prompted timely help in India and abroad and thousands of human lives would have been saved.

Khaksars Break Away from the League

Daily Herald of Lahore reports :

BOMBAY, Oct. 16.

A request to the Council of the All-India Muslim League to call upon all members of the Muslim League organisation to dissociate themselves from the Khaksar movement forthwith and not to support it any more is contained in a resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League at its meeting today. The meeting strongly condemned the move started by Mr. Inayatullah Mashraqi requesting Qaid-e-Azam to seek an interview with Mr. Gandhi for the solution of the Indian constitutional problem "when it is well known that M. Gandhi regards Pakistan as a sin and when Muslims regard Pakistan as an article of faith."

The resolution adds that the idea behind the move is to break the solidarity of the Muslims of India.—*A. P.*

Nationalist and Progressive Muslims of India have already broken away from the League. It is now for the Khaksars to dissociate from the Quaid-e-Azam's retrogade policy.

How Pakistan Fares in Distress

The Independent of Nagpur has given an indication of how starvation chases the phantom of Pakistan. The paper says :

On September 22, the total collection of the Bombay Committee (mostly Hindu) of the Bengal Relief Fund —Rs. 3,75,000. Janmbhoomi (Hindu paper) Fund—Rs. 3,00,000. Ramakrishna Mission (completely Hindu) Fund—Rs. 1,00,000. Total amount sent by *Mr. M. A. Jinnah up-to-date—Rs. 24,000. And yet Bengal is a very important part of Mr. Jinnah's very own Pakistan!*—Writes "Lahuti" in *National Review.*

An Assam Journal reported sometime ago how this unit in the "Eastern Pakistan Zone" had been chasing away the immigrants from Eastern Bengal into Assam, mostly Muslims.

Jawaharlal's Nieces in America

The National Call of Delhi reports :

Pandit Jawaharlal's two nieces, Chandralekha and Nayantara, daughters of Mr. R. S. and Mrs. Vijayaluxmi Pandit were lionised by Press in America as evidenced from the latest edition of the *New York Times* which we have just received and which featuring Chandralekha's statement with full-size portraits of the elder and younger sisters. *Reuter* however for reasons known to themselves denied the Indian newspapers, the news of honour paid by America not only to the brilliant daughters of India but also indirectly to their uncle Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in prison.

Chandralekha, who was recently released from a 7-month detention at Allahabad, her native town, announced that her political opinions are stronger now than before her imprisonment. She is uncertain of the reason for her detention, and no formal charges were made.

"I come from a family who have always voiced opinions," she aid, suggesting that her arrest may also have been due to her affiliation with student movement.

Speaking at the East and West Association, 40, East Forty-ninth Street, Chandralekha was unable to provide complete information about her uncle (Pandit Jawaharlal), except that he is held somewhere in India.

"He is allowed to write one letter a week to his family," she disclosed, "but this is censored, so we can't tell much."

Chandralekha denied that India was divided between Mohandas K. Gandhi and Nehru, saying that all-thinking Indians are anti-Axis. *Nor did she feel that the many different sects and castes had a disturbing effect on unity.*

"We are Indians before we are Hindus or Moslems. Don't tell a soul," she whispered to a roomful of reporters, "but our cook is an untouchable."

"There are hardly any Indian problems except as the British put them out for propaganda," she continued, *"If the British walked out to-mororw, we couldn't be in a worse way."*

She expressed a doubt that India would be granted her independence "if the British have anything to do with it."

It is a mystery why *Reuters* chose not to cable this news to India. Such incidents, however, indicate the growing need for the development of a foreign news service by the national news agencies of this country like the *United Press.*

Sir Purshottamdas on Rationing

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, a member of the Foodgrains Committee, makes the following observations on rationing in India in his Separate Minute appended to the Report :

The success of rationing in Britain is no index of its suitability here. It is clear that in Britain the spade

work for a system of rationing had been completed and the administrative machinery perfected months before the outbreak of the present War. The U. K. Government had accumulated stocks of foodstuffs and has been paying huge subsidies for the Food Department. All these desiderata are admittedly absent in India. My colleagues are able to recommend rationing only in respect of urban areas with a population of a lakh or more, which means that over 90 per cent. of the people are excluded from what purports to be a scheme of fair, equitable and effective distribution. *There is a serious danger that, in a country which has been economically living on the border lines of subsistence, rationing calculations may not only go astray but may actually have the effect of rendering the rural areas destitute and utterly helpless and driving the rural population to the towns, as has been recently happening in Calcutta.* The problem, to repeat once again, is primarily and predominantly one of supplies, and then of effectively distributing them.

In India, the problems of rationing have been totally neglected from the very beginning. Rationing without supplies by the issue of A. R. P. slips has been a failure and the present rationing attempts do not promise better results. The Government of India has narrowed down the scope of rationing already for a very small population but even that is being done in a manner which can be called anything but efficient. The wider problems of rationing have been neglected in the past and even at the present moment no serious attention is being devoted to them in spite of such pointers as have been given by Sir Purshottamdas.

Did U. K. C. C. Export Rice ?

In the same Minute, Sir Purshottamdas says :

I should like to draw attention to the feeling of dissatisfaction prevailing in surplus Provinces, because they feel that, while they have to part with their surpluses at rates fixed by the Central Government, no reasonable check exists to ensure that such foodgrains are made available to the consumer in the deficit Provinces at cost plus necessary out-of-pocket overheads. When they hear, for instance, that such grain may go in export through commercial organizations, particularly like the U. K. C. C., *to foreign countries, where it is in demand, for the civil population of such countries, at unheard-of margins*, they smart under the feeling that their interest is being sacrificed to the greed of either (1) influential export organisations like the U. K. C. C. or (2) middlemen in deficit Provinces without satisfactory machinery of Distribution. Intelligent agriculturists or their Ministers in surplus Provinces cannot be expected to tolerate what they regard as exploitation of the growers, not for their fellow-brethren in distress in India, but for the civil population abroad, or for the intermediary agencies in India.

It is for the members of the Central Legislature to ascertain whether the U. K. C. C. did export rice abroad for the consumption of civil population there for the purpose of making profits, and if so, what was the quantity exported and where did the rice go ? We refuse to believe that a member of the Foodgrains Committee made these allegations without sufficient knowledge.

Who Gains from Control ?

Sir Purshottamdas concludes his Minute with the following words :

A dispassionate review of the results of Government efforts to control food-grains shows that the class of people which have benefited the least are the poorest section of the people for whom these controls were ostensibly instituted. *The greatest beneficiaries, on the other hand, are the Defence Department, agencies of the U. K. C. C. and the well-to-do class who could afford to get their requirements from the numerous and flourishing 'black markets' where even the Government is reported to have frequently resorted*, for procuring their own needs. These phenomena must be primarily ascribed to the extremely defective system of distribution operating in the various Provinces.

Experience has taught us in Bengal that every word of Sir Purshottamdas is true. The people here are so sceptic about controls that they widely believe that prices have been fixed for the Government and their agents to make their purchases at the lowest possible rate, leaving the people at the mercy of the black market for *their* purchases.

Chaos in Food Prices

In a small booklet, *Rationale of Food Crisis*, Maharaja S. C. Nandy of Cossimbazar has analysed the causes of the chaos in the prices of basic foodgrains and has fixed the responsibility for this chaos at right quarters. He says :

A salient feature of wartime food policy in India is that India has practically ceased to be a single economic unit in respect of the course of food prices. Thus in Mid-August, 1943, rice was selling at Rs. 31 per md. in Bengal, Rs. 20 in Bihar, Rs. 24 in the Punjab, Rs. 19-12 in U. P., Rs. 8-8 in C. P., Madras and Sind and Rs. 11 in Orissa. The price of wheat is similarly Rs. 25 in Bengal, Rs. 12 in Bihar, Rs. 10 in the Punjab and U. P. and Rs. 7-14 in Sind. This chaos in prices really indicates the chaos that exists in the food policies in the country, *both in the Centre as well as in the different provinces and States, each pulling in its own way without any forethought, co-ordination or planning.*

The main defect lay with the Central Government in their failure to evolve a co-ordinated price policy and to give a vigorous lead to the provinces. The Maharaja observes :

The constitutional difficulty about enforcing its decision was no doubt there, but this explanation is obviously not at all satisfactory in these days of national emergency and when there is no dearth of ordinances transcending the spheres of the Provinces and States. Nor did the centre possess sufficient tact

and resourcefulness to persuade the parties concerned to follow its lead with a loyalty and devotion which the present critical situation demands. This is no wonder again. because the tendency at the Centre is still to shift the burden of responsibility on to the poor shoulders of the speculators and profiteers and the defective outlook of the consuming public.

But not only there was no constitutional difficulty to deter the Centre from giving a vigorous lead to the units, but a Section of the Government of India Act 1935 expressly forbade the raising of trade barriers by the Provinces. The centre quietly acquiesced to this unconstitutional action of the units and let the chaos in food prices assume dangerous proportions. No sign is visible even at this belated hour to rectify past mistakes.

War, Deadlock and Famine

In a signed editorial in the *Tribune* of Lahore, Mr. Kalinath Roy writes:

Had the Ministry in Bengal been its own master, or rather the true servant of the people, as it is expected to be under a democratic constitution, it would long ago either have found food for the people, whether by "begging, borrowing or stealing," to use the words recently uttered by a high official, or would have been sent about its business. It is utterly inconceivable that it would have been allowed to toy with the problem in the irresponsible and scandalous manner in which it has been toying with it for a period of six months. It has, by frantic appeals, got substantial help from other provinces, but it has taken no effective steps to see that the help actually reaches the people for whom it is intended. *It has fixed prices of food-grains without taking any steps to see that food-grains at the prices fixed by it or, indeed, at any prices, are actually available.* The immediate effect of the fixing of prices has, indeed, in most cases been that food-grains, which till then were available for exorbitant prices, suddenly and completely disappeared from the market. *The police and the C. I. D. ever on the alert to ferret out political offenders, imaginary or real, proved wholly unequal to the task of preventing the disappearance of food from the market which had plenty of it on the day before the fixing of the prices of food-grains.* Does any one really believe that they would have so hopelessly failed in their task if they or their masters had been in earnest in the matter? *Would such a thing have been possible or have been tolerated for one day or hour if the people who actually suffered had been the masters of the Government who were the masters of the Police?* From this point of view, the only true point of view in this case, the solution of the food problem, the removal of the political deadlock and the effective and successful prosecution of the war are inextricably bound up. You cannot solve any one of these problems without making a genuine attempt to solve all three.

In India, the problems of defence, politics and famine are inextricably bound together. No solution of an economic problem can be effected without a radical change in the political and constitutional structure of the country.

Food Grain Control Order Challenged

The *Hindu* reports:

NELLORE, Oct. 14.

Whether the Food Grain Control Order of 1942 was *ultra vires* of the powers of the Government and whether a person who merely applied for a licence and transacted business in grain in anticipation of getting it, was liable to be punished were some of the points decided in an appeal before Mr. W. W. Georgeson, I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Nellore, yesterday.

The appellant, Allapaka Venkayya, applied for a licence on July 1, 1942, after the Food Grain Control Order was put into force. The licence was refused to him and the refusal order was communicated to him on September 10, 1942. The Deputy Tahsildar is stated to have warned him on September 5, 1942, against carrying on trade in grains without getting a licence. The appellant, nevertheless, carried on trade, and thereupon, he was prosecuted. The Joint Magistrate of Gudur, sentenced him to a fine of Rs. 500 for carrying on wholesale trade in paddy without a licence under Rule 81 (4) of the rules framed under Section 2 of the Defence of India Act.

It was argued that the Food Grain Control Order was *ultra vires* of the powers of the Government and that the appellant was not bound to take out a licence, and therefore, he was not punishable. The charge and the procedure adopted by the lower court was attacked as illegal.

The Sessions Judge held the charge to be vague and defective. Dealing with the question raised as to the legality of the Order itself, the Judge held that the Food Grain Control Order was *intra vires* only *provided it was interpreted as meaning that licences were to be issued freely to all who abided by the conditions thereof, i.e., to any person wishing to trade in grain.* The appellant was refused the licence on the basis of G. O. Mis. No. 1188 Dev., dated 6th August, 1942, which directed licences to be given only to such of those dealing in paddy for at least one year before. *This order amounted to a prohibition of trade.* The rejection of the appellant's application for licence was illegal. *The Government had no power to prohibit trade in grain at all provided the requirements, which it imposed were not violated,* namely of applying for a licence before carrying on trade and to abide by the conditions prescribed in the licence issued. *The policy of the Government of refusing licence to all except to old merchants was an unnecessary interference with trade.* Mere convenience did not justify this policy. *It could not be understood in what way such a policy was necessary for the purpose of ensuring public safety and interest and the defence of British India.*

In the result, the Sessions Judge held that the appellant in this case applied, and the refusal of the licence was illegal on the part of the licensing officer and that the appellant could not be convicted for having traded without a licence. The appeal was allowed and the conviction and sentence set aside.

From the very beginning of this war, the tendency of the Central and Provincial Governments has been to discourage new entrants into the field of trade and industry. In almost all their Orders regulating trade, industry and transport facilities to new industrialists or traders have been ruthlessly curtailed. The Nellore trader has rendered a great service by

challenging this unnecessarily harsh action of the Government.

Bombay Government Bans Bengal Orphans

While the people of Bombay have generously responded to the call of suffering Bengal, her bureaucratic Government has issued a curious statement declaring that they were adopting measures to prevent destitutes from Bengal from coming to Bombay and depriving her citizens of a share of their rations. The excuse for this declaration was that some organisation, not named, in Bombay had invited destitutes to seek asylum there. In fact, the invitation was only for orphan children. The *Indian Social Reformer* has pointed out that their number would not have exceeded the number of refugees from Europe and war prisoners. The outspoken comment of this journal is given below:

A year or two before the War, there was a strong protest from Bombay doctors against the influx into Bombay of German Jews of the profession flying from the anti-semitic drive of the Nazis. That protest went unheeded. Incidentally *The Reformer* severely criticised the Bombay doctors' protest as violating the traditional Indian policy of the open door. Then Polish and other European Jews, prevented from entering Palestine, were allowed to land here on their maintenance being guaranteed by individuals or organisations. The number of those who landed under this dispensation is not known. Doubtless they were a good few. Then Polish orphans in large numbers were brought and placed in charge of the Roman Catholic Archbishop. Then, there were several thousands of Italian war prisoners interned in this country. The cost of maintaining them has been undertaken by the British Government but this means for the present merely a book entry in London and in no way eases the strain on our food resources. When Lord Mountbatten makes his drive in the Eeastern Pacific, Japanese prisoners by the thousands will be sent to India, they will have to be fed and the Government of Bombay will have no say in the matter.

"A Tremendous Triangle"

In a recent New York speech Miss Pearl Buck said:

"American soldiers are now fighting on every front. How they feel about the peoples and countries where they are fighting once they return home, thereupon rests the fate of the future of lasting peace. The peoples of India, China and Russia form a tremendous triangle of the future and are more important to us perhaps than those of Europe."

A look at the world map will convince anybody that India, China and Russia may form not a triangle but a great solid mass connected by overland routes and commanding nearly half the population of the world. The rebirth of Russia has taken place under the great Asiatic, Stalin.

Indian Propaganda in America

The *Hindustan Standard* reports a message from New York:

Mr. Ramkrishna Sahu Modak and his American-born wife, who are conducting a course on India, presented a costume for the portrayal of Indian daily life. The winter-long course deals with the caste system, history of the pre-British India, outline of religions, Christian missionaries, the place of women; Indian literature and art, including music and dances by Indian performers, India's life and philosophy today, the origin and growth of the Indian village, India's economic and industrial development during the British rule; Indians understand Gandhi's philosophy and the plan for post-war India.

Some service will no doubt be done by such activities to counter the false and misleading propaganda about India carried on in America by interested parties. This couple have found support there from the East and West Association and Miss Pearl Buck.

Under-nourishment in India

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, in a statement to the Press, quotes Sir John Megaw's estimate of under-nourishment in India.

In 1933, the Director of the Indian Medical Service, Major-General Sir John Megaw, estimated that "39 per cent. of the Indian people were well nourished, 41 per cent. poorly nourished, and 20 per cent. very poorly nourished. At least eighty million people of India were perpetually hungry. He reported further that disease is widely disseminated throughout India and is increasing steadily and rather rapidly. In Bengal 7 per cent. of the population were under-nourished." "The peasantry of Bengal," says an official report of the Director of Health, "are in large proportion taking to a dietary on which even rats could not live for more than a few weeks."

This already too low scale had been further reduced by another 75% when the Government of Bengal decided about the quantity of food to be distributed by free kitchens owned or subsidised by them. Some time later, public opinion compelled them to admit the inadequacy of their scale. Need for increment was announced but nothing was done.

Conditions in Chittagong

Mr. Nur Ahmed, M.L.C., ex-Chairman, Chittagong Municipality, has issued the following statement:

In July and August last death-roll from starvation in the town of Chittagong was 140 and 150 respectively. The deaths from malaria, cholera and other diseases totalled 500 to 550 a month.

Though official and non-official relief has expanded, the conditions show no sign of improvement. The number of famished human skeletons walking from door to door for a morsel of food is legion. The gruel supplied from free kitchens provides little nourishment. No

intensive plan for medical treatment and medical relief is in operation. A few ill-equipped improvised rescue centres are quite inadequate to attend to the numerous destitutes.

"Milk kitchens and Homes for destitute children and orphans should be opened in large numbers. Arrangements should also be made for quick disposal of dead bodies."

Mr. Ahmed says that he met the Hon'ble Revenue Minister and the Hon'ble Minister for Public Health and pressed for more money for gratuitous relief and test relief, more elaborate arrangements for shelter and feeding of the destitutes and opening of more medical relief centres in the district. Both the Ministers expressed their great concern for Chittagong and assured him that they would be glad to sanction more money and medical aid *if the local officials sent requisition for the same.*

Chittagong today is one of the most important bases of operation against Japan in Burma. The district has already stood two bombings this year with courage. Cannot the authorities at the Writers' Buildings move of their own accord instead of waiting for the district officials to apply for relief? Is not the testimony of a responsible M.L.C., sufficient to make them move?

Food Member Defines Food Policy

The decision of the Government of India to take supreme control of Indian food situation and to override Provincial Governments if necessary was announced by Sir J. P. Srivastava at the All-India Food Conference held in New Delhi on October 13. Strong words in India and abroad about the Centre's responsibility in the food bungling have produced this strong announcement, and it remains to be seen if it is followed by strong action. This much is clear that the Centre has not yet mustered sufficient courage to declare *ultra vires* the Provincial bans on food export.

The Government of India Act 1935 envisaged India as a federation, and a federation in modern polity presupposes a strong Centre. A Federal Centre afraid of constituent units to the extent of suffering them violate express provisions of the Constitution Act is a sure sign of political decay. Sir Jwala Prasad betrays his weakness when he says, "In the mobilisation of India's resources the Government of India will have to take and implement decisions which may at times conflict with what appear to be local or sectional interests." He emphasised that the tragic events of the past few months had demonstrated the economic unity of India and the inter-dependence of the Provinces and the States, but he dared not tell the Provinces in plain words that all their actions were not being taken in conformity with the constitutional law.

In defining Government's food policy, the Food Member said firstly that they had accepted the Food Grain Committee's recommendation that India must cease to be a net exporter of food-stuffs. He told the conference that in effect that policy had already been put into force. Secondly, he explained the Government's attempts to secure imports. He said, "My Government will not cease to make every effort to secure for India such further allocations as may be necessary to implement to the full the recommendations of the committee. Thirdly, he expressed his intention to associate public opinion with the work of his Department. With this object in view he proposed to set up at the Centre, in an advisory capacity, a body representative of important elements.

Food Shortage After The War

The London *Spectator* writes:

Lord Woolton, speaking at Cardiff last Tuesday, warned his audience that *for a number of years to come there will be a world shortage of food.* He was speaking not primarily of the shipping situation and the means of transporting food, but of *actual production,* for in many parts of the world people have been diverted from food production to other occupations concerned with war needs. *It will take some time to get the liberated peoples of Europe back to a normal agricultural life*—many of the implements they will need will have to be manufactured—and in the meantime they will be drawing upon world supplies. Production outside Europe has been limited during the war years by the restricted means of exporting it, and the diversion of men to other activities. Lord Woolton said that his business was to look ahead and ensure that we get our fair share. Farmers in this country may be sure that their full exertions will still be required for some time after the war, and it will be part of the duty of food-planners to provide that subsequently our own agriculture will continue to yield a suitable proportion of our food supplies. But in this sphere, as in so many others, it is evident that we cannot expect an early removal of controls--possibly some sort of control may always be necessary. In the year following the end of the war with Germany rationing may be as severe as it is now, and after that only gradually become more generous. On one point raised by Lord Woolton there will be general agreement—the first care must be for the adequate feeding of young children, by which the energy of the coming generation will be so much affected.

Government of India should take serious notice of Lord Woolton's warning. It is time that emphasis on food imports were lessened and more attention devoted to actual increase in the production of food. Efforts should be made to supply cheap manure to the cultivator with a view to increase per acre production. This essential aspect of the grow more food campaign has not received the attention it deserves.

Intensive cultivation in this country is more important today than the hunt for some open spaces in the public parks or city compounds.

Mr. Amery's Tirade Against Congress

In an interview to the *Sunday Times* of London, Mr. Amery carried on his usual tirade against the Indian National Congress. He said :

"The Congress Party had always opposed the Federal scheme and the hesitations of the Princes were increased by its action in fomenting trouble in Indian States. The Moslems, who had hitherto been favourable on the whole to the Federal plan, were in the meantime brought into vigorous opposition to it by their experience of the totalitarian methods of the Congress Party in autonomous provinces. There the Congress Ministries were functioning under orders of the Congress Working Committee, in other words Mr. Gandhi, and not in responsibility to the Legislatures in which they used their majorities to impose the policies dictated to them by the Working Committee. It was the fear that this experience might be repeated on an all India scale that turned both the Moslem League and the Princes against the Federal Scheme of the 1935 Act.

"The reactions against the Congress methods led to a rapid cohesion of the Moslems during the next few years under Mr. Jinnah, who declared that no form of Indian Federation will be acceptable to the Moslems and that as a separate nation they will insist on being an entirely independent Dominion or Dominions separate from the rest of India. There can be no doubt that the Congress Party's handling of the temporary advantage gained in the 1937 elections so alienated and alarmed both the Princes and the Moslems as to make a constitution of the kind provided by the Act of 1935 impossible.

The Congress has never opposed any federal plan as such; its opposition was to the federal scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act. Separate electorates, direct election to the Upper House and indirect election to the Lower, reservation of seats for the *nominees* of the Rulers most of whom are puppets in the hands of the Residents, unfairness in the allotment of seats between British India, the States and the communities,—these were some of the features which led the Congress go against Mr. Amery's Federal Scheme. The Moslems in a body never identified them with the opposition against the Congress; only a section of it, mostly composed of reactionary elements having axes to grind, under the Muslim League stood in opposition not only against the Congress but the British Government as well. Muslim followers of the Congress and other pro-Congress organisations are not much less in number than the followers of the League.

The Congress is as much totalitarian, if it can be called so, as Mr. Amery's Conservative Party is. His Party Executive guides the members, who hold a clear majority in the Parliament. No charge of totalitarianism is brought against Conservative Party Caucus when they guide their own party members elected by the people. Coalition Governments are not anathema to the Congress. Frontier Province and Assam both had Congress Coalition Ministries. Mr. Rajagopalachariar's reply to Mr. Amery may be noted here :

Mr. Rajagopalachariar affirmed that the Congress Ministry in Madras had done nothing either directly or indirectly which could be described as totalitarian. The fact that the electors returned Congress candidates in large numbers was a sign of their popularity and the extent of the trust they were able to inspire.

If the Congress had used fraud and prevented other party candidates from competing or had threatened or intimidated others, it could be said that there was totalitarianism. The elections were conducted by British officials and the Congress could not be charged with having manipulated the same in any way. Nor did the Congress after its success at the elections, make regulations for the destruction of other parties. No one from any party that functioned against the Congress could truthfully say that their liberties were taken away by the Congress Government.

Not a single officer of the Government suffered because of his political views. Not only did the Congress regime not interfere with the functioning of other parties, it did not hesitate to take action against Congressmen and sympathisers of the Congress when it was considered necessary. Neither the Congress Executive nor members of the Congress interfered when action was taken against Mr. Bathwali and Mr. Meherally. This was clear proof that the Congress had the least tinge of totalitarianism.

But will Mr. Amery dare raise the charge of totalitarianism against Mr. Curtin and his Party Government in Australia or General Smuts and his Party Government in South Africa ? He is fond of speaking on so many subjects besides India.

Contempt of Court Case Against Tribune

The Editor, printer and publisher and a reporter of the *Tribune* were prosecuted before the Lahore High Court on charges of contempt of Court. The charges against the respondents as set forth in the notice were three : (1) the reproduction of vernacular newspapers comments on the arrest of Mr. A. C. Bali, special reporter of the *Tribune*, with the headlines " Arrest made on flimsy grounds " in the *Tribune* of September 6, the day when the habeas corpus petition for the release of Mr. A. C. Bali was moved before Mr. Justice Mohammad Munir at the High Court. This, according to the notice, was a comment on a matter which the editor and the publisher and printer should have known was coming up for adjudication in a court of law. The second charge pertained to the publication of the habeas corpus petition against the arrest

of Mr. Bali in extenso. The third charge was the headlines of a criminal case pending before a court of law.

All the accused have however been acquitted. The Contempt of Court cases are becomin disquietingly frequent.

Production and Consumption of Food in India

Much food for thought is afforded by the statistical details contained in a statement which was placed on the table of the Council of State by the Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh on the 12th August last. Taking into account the average production of foodgrains, as well as imports and exports thereof, in the case of each major province in India, their respective position as regards food supply appears as follows:

In the case of Assam the per capita production per year stands at 4·89 maunds as against a per capita consumption of 4·6 maunds. The annual per capita production in Bengal is 4·14 maunds, the consumption being 4·15 maunds. The corresponding figures in the case of Bihar are 4·26 maunds (production) and 4·42 (consumption). In the case of Bombay, the production stands at 4·87 as against a consumption of 5·28. The Central Provinces produce 7·34 maunds per head per year, consumption being 6·33 maunds. In the case of Madras, the figure for production is 4·46 maunds, as compared with a per capita consumption of 4·92 maunds. The North-West Frontier Province has a production of 5·47 maunds, against a consumption of 5·51 maunds. In the case of Orissa, the production per head per year is represented by 5·45 maunds, whereas her consumption per head stands at the very low figure of 3·61 maunds. In the Panjab, the corresponding figures are 5·35 maunds and 4·85 maunds respectively. Sind comes in with an annual per capita production of 7·94 maunds, as against a consumption of 5·71 maunds. In the case of the United Provinces, the corresponding figures are 5·06 maunds and 5 maunds respectively. The figures of consumption worked out per adult male unit per day in ounces, stand as follows: Assam 22·1, Bengal 20, Bihar 21·2, Bombay 25·3, Central Provinces 30·4, Madras 24, North-West Frontier Province 26·5, Orissa 17·3, Panjab 23·3, Sind 27·5, and the United Provinces 24.

From these statistics, it appears that, judged by standards of consumption as compared with production, Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay and Madras are deficit areas, the deficit in the case of the North-West Frontier Province being almost negligible. Of the remaining 5 Provinces, Orissa produces the largest surplus per head of population by imposing a very miserable standard of consumption on her population. The Central Provinces come next in point of surplus, and it is remarkable that the standard of consumption in the case of the Central Provinces is also the highest of all the Provinces in India. The above figures indicate the varying degrees of urgency of the examination of the food problem of each Province from the point of view of attainment of self-sufficiency and improvement in the standard of consumption.

Do the Cultivators Hoard?

The Executive Council of the Governor-General, as at present constituted, was once facetiously described by a member of the Central Legislature as a "museum of India's disunity." The Indian Members of the Council, who are in a large majority, have never been understood to work as a team even on non-political issues. It seems that in the matter of the present food problem all the Indian Members are not of one mind. This impression is strengthened by certain significant observations made by the Hon'ble Sir Jogendra Singh, Member-in-charge of Education, Health and Lands, in a speech in the Council of State on the food situation in August last. Sir Jogendra Singh's department is responsible for the Grow More Food movement, and being a practical farmer himself, he is in a better position to appreciate the point of view of the cultivators than most of his other colleagues There has been much talk of late about "hoarding" on the part of cultivators in statements made by high officials beginning from the Secretary of State down to the less important members of the public services. It is a notorious fact that the vast majority of cultivators in India do not possess what are known as economic holdings, the proportion of such holdings differing from province to province. The number of cultivators in Bengal who are in a position to hoard food-grains produced by them, is extremely small. The charge of hoarding cannot possibly hold good against a very large bulk of cultivators who never have two square meals a day and whose food can hardly be described as balanced. Referring to this class of men, Sir Jogendra Singh observed as follows:

"Let us for a moment lift our eye and survey millions of men and women who are now engaged in

the heat of the sun, in the pouring rain and in puddled mud in producing food, on a wage which does not afford even bare necessities of life. It is these men whose destinies we decide. It is these men on whose well-being the well-being of India depends. They have never known the meaning of hoarding; from the day the grain appears on the threshing floor, they share it and share it freely with others. Indeed grain often disappears from the threshing floor and the producer has to live on borrowing till the next crop. This endless struggle continues from year to year. If the producers, by self-denial, instead of placing in the market consume an additional ounce per day, they can consume 30 lakh tons of grain in a year, and if they produce an additional maund per acre, they can place 30 lakh tons in the common pool for urban consumption."

How inadequate the normal consumption of food-grains per head of population is, was illustrated by Sir Jogendra Singh with reference to a table with which we deal in another paragraph. As regards methods of control which are gradually being introduced during the war period, Sir Jogendra Singh does not seem fully to agree with the policy underlying such methods. Thus he observes :

"We have been caught by the war; we have been anxious to employ modern methods of controls and rationing; relying more on coercion than on co-operation of traders and businessmen. The result is that normal channels of trade have ceased to flow, the confidence of the people has been shaken and the traders no more coax commodities from the meagre resources of 650,000 villages and carry the grain where needed as in normal times."

He next holds even Governments of Provinces and States partially responsible for upsetting the normal balance between demand and supply of food-grains, as appears from the following observations :

"It is not only that the cultivator has lost confidence but Governments of Provinces and States, both in surplus and deficit areas, have been conserving their own resources, building up reserves in some areas and thus preventing the free flow of commodities. It has become a fashion to condemn the trader, and the businessman."

In this connection he quotes with approval the following observations made by Colonel Sleeman in 1834 :

"In societies constituted like that of India," he said, "the trade of the corn-dealer is more essentially necessary for the welfare of the community than in any other, for it is among them that the super-abundance of seasons of plenty requires most to be stored up for reasons of scarcity and if public functionaries will take upon themselves to seize such stores, and sell them at their own arbitrary prices, whenever prices happen to rise beyond the rate which they in their short-sighted wisdom think just, no corn-dealer will ever collect such stores. Hitherto, whenever grain has become dear at any military or civil station, we have seen the civil functionaries urged to prohibit its egress to search for the hidden stores, and to coerce the proprietors to the sale in all manner of ways; and, if they do not yield to the ignorant clamour, they are set down as indifferent to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures around them, and as blindly supporting the worst enemies of mankind in the worst species of enquiry."

The evils which have sprung from interference with normal channels of trade, and substitution thereof by inefficient Government agencies appointed on principles of patronage, if nothing worse, are too well-known in Bengal to need elaboration.

Fedor Ippolitorich Scherbatskoy

Prof. F. I. Scherbatskoy, the celebrated Orientalist, has passed away. His death is stated to have occurred in Leningrad during the siege winter of 1941-42. He was born in 1866 in Poland. From 1888 he was in Vienna, studying Sanskrit poetics with Buhler. At this time he published his book in Russian, *The Indian Theory of Poetry*. He attended the International Congress of Orientalists in Rome in 1899. He read Indian Philosophy with Jacobi in Bonn. He toured in Mongolia where he came into touch with the Lamas and conceived his idea of the Buddhist philosopher Dharmakirti as the "Indian Kant." His celebrated work *Theory of Knowledge and Logic in the Doctrine of the later Buddhism* (in Russian) was published in 1903. He was also a Tibetanist. In 1910-11 he visited India. His masterpieces are *The Buddhist Logic* (2 vols.), editions of the *Naya-Bindu* and its commentaries, *Refutation of Solipsism* (Tibetan version), and the most elaborately schemed edition and translation of *Abhidarmakosa*, with its Chinese, Tibetan etc., versions and commentaries.

This great Orientalist was an ardent admirer of the late Editor of *The Modern Review* and one of its regular readers in Russia and had correspondence with him.

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RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE : INDIA'S AMBASSADOR TO THE NATIONS

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

Walter Bagehot characterised "the first thirty years of the 19th century as a species of duel between *The Edinburgh Review* and Lord Eldon," the Tory Lord Chancellor. We may say with equal truth that the first forty years of the 20th century in India were marked by a still longer duel between *The Modern Review* and the Tories in power over India's destiny. The first editor of *The Edinburgh Review* lived to see his efforts bearing fruit in the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 and the spate of liberal legislation that began with it. The first editor of *The Modern Review* has just now (30th September 1943) closed his eyes with the struggle for India unended. And *The Modern Review* meant Ramananda Chatterjee far more than the term 'editor' does elsewhere. He had begun it even earlier, in 1901, though on a necessarily smaller scale and in the Bengali language, in his *Prabasi,* which had at once seized the first place among the vernacular monthlies. And now, in January 1907 he gave to that unrelenting struggle for light, liberty and human progress, the more universal appeal of an English garb. He edited the paper and impressed it with his personality, without a break for over 37 years. Unlike Francis Jeffrey of *The Edinburgh Review,* Ramananda Chatterjee was not the agent of a group or party; he was the founder and steersman of *The Modern Review* and made this paper what it has become.

And yet, at the outset, it was a most hazardous adventure for a man who had no accumulated wealth, who had just thrown up his salaried post as a College head on a question of principle, and who declined to take service anywhere else, though he had a growing family to think of. His paper from its first number set an example of neat get-up and fine coloured illustration, which were then unique in Indian journalism—and very costly too. In fact, this *Review,* at the end of the first eight months of its working, showed a debt of Rs. 1,800, (as he then told me).

But it supplied a crying need of India at the time and immediate and rapidly growing recognition of its value came to his help. A year earlier the Partition of Bengal had given the people a concrete demonstration of how India can be dissected like the carcase of a dead animal by a sudden *ukase* from Whitehall,* without regard for racial, linguistic and cultural unity, and without even previously informing the people affected. Europe and America must know what the heart and brain of India felt on this question and others of which the Partition was a type.

Thus Ramananda Chatterjee became the voice of India to the world outside, and he was heard with attention in every country where reason and humanity were honoured by its thinkers. Milton has been called the "God-gifted organ voice of England,"—the sonorous and majestic champion of the *Populo Anglicano* to the Continent of Europe. We cannot apply that image to R. Chatterjee, rather will I call him the "God-gifted silver trumpet of India,"—for his voice was ever that of cool argument and wise reflection. He appealed not to the emotions, but to the "dry light" of reason and human experience, so justly praised by Bacon. When the Indian National Congress was still young and its Founder Fathers gathered together in Calcutta for planning, one day Mr. A. O. Hume remarked to Mr. N. N. Ghose (the Principal of Vidyasagar's College and editor of the old *Indian Nation*) :

> "Ghose, I am of twice your age, but I have not half your coolness and patience. I envy your philosophic calm."

That was the right characterisation of Ramananda Chatterjee, too.

He was the "senior classic" (if I may borrow an English analogy) of his year (1885) among the graduates of the Calcutta University, being first in First Class Honours in English and also the first student in order of merit in the whole University. He also distinguished himself in the same subject at the M.A. examination. Besides English he cultivated a wide range of subjects, including Physics, and specialised in Economics, Political Science and History by unceasing private study. His residence at Allahabad for 13 years (1895—April 1908), as Principal of the Kayastha Pathsala,

*The then Secretary of State for India asked a Bengali barrister who was on a visit to him, to point out where on the map of India was Dacca, the capital of the new province that he had carved out!

led to a most intimate friendship with Major Vaman Das Basu, I.M.S. (retired.), a profound reader, tireless writer and staunch patriot. Dr. Basu, early in his service at Peshawar, had purchased for the price of waste paper, twenty maunds of the back numbers of high class English magazines and papers, which an old Colonel had collected during his long Indian exile and was now getting rid of, for retirement Home. These Dr. Basu sifted patiently and reduced to 2½ maunds of clippings of valuable information, statistics and opinions, arranged the residue under subject-heads, and scrapped up the rejected mass. These helped him to write his numerous books on British Indian history and polity, and supplied him with the solid backing of facts, figures and authoritative pronouncements. It might be argued that the material was old,—some of it going back to the pre-Mutiny days,—and that India (along with the rest of the world) had changed since they were written. It is also true that a philosopher working on old papers in his closet is likely to look at persons and problems in a different and less realistic way than a man (equally wise and no less patriotic), who works in the busy world and has to grapple in daily practice with administrative problems in their actual working,—and who thus comes to discover new difficulties and new ways of solution on which mere books can throw no light. But then it must be admitted that the garnered experience of old administrators like Munro and Malcolm, Sleeman and Heber, cannot be lightly set aside as "time-barred," when they plead for liberalism in the treatment of the Indians. R. Chatterjee worked deep in this mine with V. D. Basu.

These authoritative opinions were only a part of the equipment of Ramananda. He supplemented them with the latest statistics and pronouncements of the best thinkers and prominent statesmen of Europe and America, which he patiently collected and systematically used. Those horrid things, the Indian Census Report Appendices, were his constant study! This fact gave a unique value to the Editor's "Notes" in *The Modern Review*, and placed his paper as a class apart above all other reviews. In fact, the first thing that most readers did on receiving a new number of *The Modern Review* was to turn to its Notes.

But Ramananda Chatterjee was a much greater thought-power than a mere columnist, however gifted. He laid the greatest emphasis on India's economic problems, her art old and new, and the facts of her historic past so dimly known before. In the very first number of his *Review*, out of 15 articles, three were on economics, two on art, two on Indian history, and only one on politics—or two if we include a life-sketch of Dadabhai Naoroji in that category. In fact, so much prominence was given by him to India's past, in the pages of his paper, that a rival once remarked, with blended malice and truth,—"*The Modern Review* has become a Review of Ancient and Mediæval India."

A list of the contributors to *The Modern Review* from its foundation to 1943 will be an almost complete biographical dictionary of the leaders of the intelligentsia of India during these 37 years, with some notable European and American sympathisers added. Hence the influence of *The Modern Review* in Vienna and New York no less than in Madras and Lahore.

For, *The Modern Review* is far other than an English version of the same editor's Bengali magazine the *Prabasi*, as the ignorant sometimes suppose. Its outlook has, from the first, been all-Indian, and even cosmopolitan, in its humanism. From its first number, Bengal's special interests took an infinitely small proportion of its space, while Maharashtra and the Panjab, Dravid land and the Indian States occupied the foreground of the picture. Herein lay its catholic appeal: India is one; whatever concerns one province of India cannot be a matter of indifference to any true son of another province.

By nature, Ramananda Chatterjee was the antithesis of the platform orator, whose one aim is to sweep the audience off their feet by rhetorical effervescence and emotional appeal. Ramananda's lifelong endeavour, on the contrary, was to build up opinion by an appeal to sober thought and reflection. Sweet reasonableness (as Matthew Arnold has finely called it)—enlivened frequently by a flash of humour (very tersely put), was the character of his style of writing.

Among the most frequent and valued contributors up to the time of her death in 1911 was Sister Nivedita, and even after her sad departure from our midst, her unpublished papers continued to adorn the pages of *The Modern Review* till they came to an end. She converted educated India to the recognition of the true principles of art, and also instructed the new school of "Indian Art" in Bengal by her wise criticism of their paintings. This Indian art became the special feature of *The Modern Review*. Ramananda Chatterjee was the first to publish

colour blocks of pictures in any Indian magazine, and he was the first to give publicity to the Indian painters by the generous provision of three-colour blocks and black and white illustrations of their work along with studies on their lives and criticism of their style. The very first number of *The Modern Review* contained an article on Ravi Varma with six blocks (one of them in tri-color). Dhurandhar, Nandalal Bose, Abanindra, Gaganendra, A. Haldar, Ukil, Chughtai and many others came later, and so also did Molaram and the Kangra school, for their share of his publicity. No expense was spared to do justice to the paintings in their reproduction. The prints were a delight to gaze at for an hour together.

Here I may tell an interesting story which I heard from him. In 1909 (?) Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee was summoned to Lahore as a witness in the Panjab Treasonable Conspiracy trial. The Counsel for the Crown, Mr. Bevan Petman, in his address denounced Mr. Chatterjee as a disloyal agitator who ought to have been placed in the dock with the accused Panjabi nationalists, and he supported his invective by saying that Mr. R. Chatterjee had been dismissed from his chair at the Allahabad College for his seditious campaign in *The Modern Review*. The true facts are that *The Modern Review* was started in January 1907 and Mr. Chatterjee had *resigned* his post at that College *four months earlier*, and that too on a question of college management where he had insisted in vain on the observance of sound educational principles as followed in England. So much for the veracity of the *avocat* class.

Well, this very Mr. Petman when resting in the court after his speech, chanced to see some volumes of *The Modern Review* which Mr. Chatterjee had taken there with himself for reference if needed. Mr. Petman with the editor's permission borrowed the volumes and turning over the pages remarked that he was charmed with the beauty and ineffable *grace* of the modern Indian pictures reproduced there, and that he did not know before that such artistic genius existed in the country. The pictures (he added) would do credit to any European country and their reproduction was worthy of the best magazines of England. Finally, he urged Mr. Chatterjee to publish them in the form of albums.

A curious testimony was borne to the power of *The Modern Review* by the *Times* of London only two years ago. In an obituary notice of Rabindranath Tagore, the English paper remarked that the wide spread of the poet's fame was mainly due to the very effective publicity given to his opinions and writings by the highly influential *Modern Review*.

Here it must be remembered that Rabindranath wrote directly for *The Modern Review* on exceedingly few occasions. But very large numbers of his essays, tales, poems, dramas &c., were translated from the original Bengali into English (mostly by other hands) and published in this *Review;* these formed for many years the most attractive feature and the most valuable portion of the English monthly. But R. Chatterjee's Bengali monthly the *Prabasi* printed Rabindranath's contributions in an immense stream throughout the poet's life and even after. Except for a short period in the Nineteen-tens, no number of the *Prabasi* was without a piece from Tagore's pen. That dark interval was one of about two years, when a rival paper (foredoomed to infant mortality) was started for printing *all* of Tagore's new writings on thick paper and large type, and not a single poem or paper from Tagore was offered to the *Prabasi*. At the end of the eclipse, Rabindranath himself renewed the connection by sending Mr. R. Chatterjee a long contribution with a note saying,

> "It will not bring me money; but it will reach the largest number of readers. That's my consolation."

But these two were great friends, kindred spirits, twin-brothers as far as intellectual and moral sympathies went, modified by the veneration due from the younger to the elder Sage. As Ramananda openly declared after Rabindranath's death:

> "Tagore was to me what Arthur Henry Hallam was to Tennyson; more than a friend, more than a brother:
>
> Dear as the mother to the son;
> More than my brothers are to me."
>
> (*In Memoriam*, ix).

The profound wisdom of this silent thinker is, to my mind, best illustrated by one of his notes, written several years before the present World War No. II, when the Indianisation of the officers in a few selected Sepoy regiments was offered to us by Whitehall. Mr. Chatterjee then declared that India's military defence could not be considered as safely established unless and until Indians in fully *adequate numbers* were trained and equipped for service in the tank, artillery, wireless, airforce, army, medical and naval departments as well, with a proportionate reserve for expansion at any sudden need, and that the peace which the world was then enjoying was the best time for making such an

advance. He added that the appointment of a few Indians as commissioned officers in a strictly limited number of infantry regiments was only the mockery of a scheme of national defence, which would prove a fatal delusion and snare in our time of danger. The present war, when the Sepoy army had perforce to be raised from 1½ lakhs to 20 lakhs with breathless haste, and when an utter dearth of trainers and of auxiliary service officers for the Indian army has caused despair among our military chiefs, has proved how true a prophet Ramananda Chatterjee was, and how he shared the usual fate of prophets by being scoffed at.

Here I may mention what I heard from Rabindranath Tagore in 1908. Sir K. G. Gupta, then a member of the Secretary of State's Council, was sent out to India during the cold weather to tour the country, sound public opinion, and ascertain how it was that our educated youngmen of respectable families turned to political murders and "hold-ups." He asked Rabindranath, whose reply was :

> "Give our youngmen military training and the right to enter the commissioned ranks of their country's army, as in other lands; and then the natural appetite of healthy youths for the heroic and the dangerous will find its normal vent, whereas under the present exclusion policy it is driven into the channel of political murder and robbery,—the only things open to a demilitarised gentry."

This is exactly what Ramananda preached for a life-time.

The founder of *The Modern Review* has died in the fulness of years, honoured and loved by the best minds of more than one country, more than one continent. But he has died poor in the world's goods, as he never compromised with meanness and vice, never stooped low to pick up lucre. He has never been a popularity-hunter; he has attacked corruption in high places, sometimes alone in the Bengal press. The very goal which he had been pursuing for 78 years seems to have been blotted out by the horrid flames and smoke of war, the reign of law has been replaced by that of a daily avalanche of ordinances, D. I. O. No.... *ad infinitum,* and the economic ruin of "native" India has been all but assured by the astronomical inflation of the currency, the control of every agency and material of production and transport, and the annihilation of a whole rising generation by lack of food in a province known as "the granary of India." The outer world had grown unutterably dark to his closing eyes, but he has gone to face the Great Judge in serene confidence because he had very early chosen as his life's guiding principle—

> "Thou hast the right to work, but never to demand the fruit of it as thy reward."

कर्मण्ि एव अधिकारः ते
मा फलेषु कदाचन ।

R. CHATTERJEE

By EDITOR *of Asia Magazine*
(*Santa Devi's Collection*)

POSTED *April* 10, 1936

We in America hear all too little about India. Seldom does news filter through, and then it is most likely to be news of violent or spectacular events. Even the most important developments in the life of India receive but scant notice in our newspapers, and then only in a few of our large cities.

Therefore as an American editor I feel it to be a peculiar privilege to have a contact, across thousands of miles, with such a man as Ramananda Chatterjee. He is so able an editor, so thoroughly informed, so sanely balanced and so courageous in his writing, that I know I can trust whatever he may say. I met him once, in his home in Calcutta, surrounded by his family, and instantly conceived the deepest admiration for him. This admiration has grown steadily as I have read his outspoken comments in *The Modern Review.* Sometimes there comes a letter from him, cordial, honest, clear and to the point. All too rarely he sends us an article, and that always makes a *red-letter day* in the *Asia* office.

All who like myself hope for a better understanding of India among Americans, and Englishmen too, must wish that Ramananda Chatterjee will long continue to wield his pen and to train other journalists to carry on his noble work.

(Signed) Richard J. Walsh,
Editor of *Asia Magazine*

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Personal Reminiscences and Tribute

By AMAL HOME

Editor, "Calcutta Municipal Gazette"

I

CHRISTMAS, 1906. The Indian National Congress which had met in Calcutta with Dadabhai Naoroji as President, and a great exhibition of Indian industries, an adjunct of the Congress, had drawn thousands to this city from all parts of India. Calcutta was all bustle and colour. The Congress pandal, covering the site now occupied by Alexandra Court, and the Exhibition grounds, occupying the entire area now covered by the many premises between Chowringhee and Gokhale Road, faced each other; and one had only to cross the road to get into one from the other. An eager and precocious boy, who had just completed his thirteenth year, full of the Extremist politics of the Bengal School, had persuaded an indulgent father to make him his companion on his daily visits to the Congress-meeting. Soon, however, the boy would tire of the speeches, most of which, of course, he could not quite follow, but he would sit quietly through all of them, and presently his father would take him to the Exhibition with its many attractions and side-shows, and there they would stroll, father and son, round the many stalls till lamps would be lit and the whole place transformed into a fairyland.

It was the last day of the Congress, and there seemed to be no end of speeches, and it was almost dark before the session ended. Impatient to get into the Exhibition grounds, the boy was being led out of the crowd by his father when the latter was accosted and greeted by a friend of his whom the son had never seen before. Dressed in a buttoned-up brown Kashmere tweed coat with trousers to match, a round cap crowning his iron grey hair, his beaming countenance and noble presence not only arrested attention but commanded respect at once. Asked by his father the boy readily made an obeisance to the stranger and felt a gentle touch on his bent head. Together they walked out of the Congress grounds,—the two friends talking, both evidently glad to meet each other, it seemed, after a long time. No, he was sorry, he could not accept any invitation to lunch the next day; he had to leave for Allahabad the same night; he was bringing out a new English monthly in a few days' time; and it was in the press. And there they parted, after a few minutes,—the boy receiving a pat on his head again.

This was my first "meeting" with Ramananda Babu. My father "introduced" him to me after he had left us and told me all about him. He had known him well since his student days and later when he was a Professor at City College where my father had also worked early in his life. And he was full of his praise—his scholarship and erudition, the many gifts and graces of his intellect and character. I had, of course, known him by name, being even in those days a diligent reader of the *Prabasi*, to which my father subscribed, and had also heard of him from a young coach of mine, who had gone up to Allahabad sometime ago and, though a perfect stranger, had enjoyed his hospitality. He had told me that Ramananda Babu kept his door open, and not for Bengalees alone, and how deeply respected he was in the United Provinces, through which my private tutor had toured on behalf of Jogendra Chunder Ghosh's association for scientific education of young Indians abroad.

II

A little over a year later, early in 1908, Ramananda Babu came down to Calcutta with his two papers and his family. He took a house in Cornwallis Street on a private lane alongside of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj prayer-hall. He lived in this house and conducted his papers from it for more than a decade. It was quite a modest house, but it soon became well-known as the *Prabasi*-office and the residence of the Editor of *The Modern Review*. Down that alley had walked more celebrities and more famous people than, perhaps, any other street in Calcutta had known—poets and politicians, authors and artists, writers and journalists of all races in India and most nations in the world—all going to see Ramananda Babu.

I know hardly any famous son of Mother India whom I had not seen going up or coming down that hardly eight feet wide passage. And I had seen a future Prime Minister of England and a future Minister of Education—Ramsay MacDonald and Herbert Fisher—coming out of 210/3/1, Cornwallis Street. Both of them were then in India as members of the Royal Commission on Public Services. They were accompanied by Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Ramananda Babu's eldest son Kedarnath and myself soon became great friends. We lived nearby; we were almost of the same age and we had many interests in common. Both of us were voracious readers and devoured everything that came across our way. We exchanged books and magazines, and he lent me his books and periodicals, sometimes even encroaching on his father's collection. And it was this that brought me to the notice of Ramananda Babu. Kedar had lent me a book which belonged to his father, and he had left for Darjeeling. Ramananda Babu needed the book. I do not know even to this day how he came to know that the book was with me, but one day, on his way back from his morning constitutional, he came to our house and asked my father where I was. I was sent for, and, on my coming, he asked me for the book. I felt very much embarrassed, but he reassured me with a smile, adding that it did not matter even if Kedar was away; I could come and borrow books and periodicals as usual from his house. My father told him, half in jest, that I wanted to be a journalist. He smiled and said that I might find, if I ever became one, that journalism was not a bed of roses.

It was as his son's friend that he took notice of me, and soon I came to enjoy his affection. I would often accompany him in his morning walks, "falling in" as he passed by our house. He would greet me with a smile and we would walk up to College Square where he would be joined by his friends, Krishna Kumar Mitter, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Pran Krishna Acharya, Lalit Mohan Das and one or two others whose names I now forget. I would then naturally "fall out" but rejoin him on his way home. He spoke little, but would sometimes talk of his boyhood, of his home at Bankura, of his father who possessed great physical prowess, how as a boy he would often walk miles visiting his relations from village to village, how simple were their lives; of his student days, how once R. C. Dutt on coming to inspect his school had given him a personal prize, so pleased the great author and administrator was with his English composition, how the famous Professor Tawney took his classes in English, and how Jagadish Chunder Bose taught Physics at Presidency College, which he had to leave because he lost his stipend as he was once too ill to attend the lectures for a period. He would sometimes even speak of the educationists he had known, and I still remember some stories he told me about a remarkable Englishman, a distinguished Wrangler, who was Professor of Mathematics at Muir Central College, Allahabad, who knew his Shakespeare from cover to cover. He was, if I remember aright, Homersham Cox. And it was then also that I heard from him about his friend Major B. D. Basu, the historian—of his great scholarship, his fine library and his famous collection of Gandhara sculpture. It was later my privilege to meet and know him through Ramananda Babu.

III

These were days of struggle for him. The *Prabasi* had begun paying its way but *The Modern Review*, a little over two years old, had yet to turn the corner. And it meant hard work and hardship. He worked incessantly, day in and day out, as I have seen no other journalist work. His day would begin with his return from his morning walk, not later than seven, and he would be at the desk—reading, marking and clipping newspapers or periodicals, editing contributions, writing articles and notes, checking accounts and even receiving money orders or V. P. payments at the office, which was also his editorial "sanctum sanctorum." Barely furnished, this room had no electric light or fan, and was often crowded. Right in front, in the narrow passage or in the backyard of the Brahmo Samaj prayer-hall children would play and shout; and in the next room we, his son's friends, would often gather and hold great argument about this and that, but not the least perturbed, he would work on, not even for once either admonishing the children or the youths, who at least should have known better. And so he would work, retiring only at midday for lunch and a little rest, and he would be back again in his chair after a couple of hours and occupy it till late in the evening. Then he would go out for a short walk, returning home to dinner, books and bed—late at night. Thus he built up his two papers, leading the life of almost an ascetic, living on the most frugal of meals, dressed in the simplest of clothes, sleeping on the hardest of beds. He knew no comforts,

no luxuries; denied himself all pleasures; no social engagements knew him, no amusements either. And he was then only forty-five years old.

I had the great privilege and unique opportunity of seeing Ramananda Babu every day at this period of his life. I had in the meanwhile developed a great *penchant* for journalism and was very fortunate in receiving his guidance and encouragement. I sat at his feet for my first lessons in writing for the Press, and he took such pains with my humble efforts that they were found fit enough to be published in his periodicals when I was still at college. He would sometimes send for me and go through my writings in my presence, changing and correcting, adding and altering till, perhaps, very few lines of the original remained. He would more than once return me my manuscript and ask me to rewrite it. Among my cherished possessions is one of these manuscripts—a short article I wrote for the *Prabasi* when Rabindranath received the Nobel Prize in 1913. He opened the portals of journalism to me and he gave me the start. It was to him that I owed my first appointment in the Punjab and my subsequent translation from the now defunct Lahore daily, the *Panjabee* to the Lahore *Tribune*, which had, a short while ago, acquired Kalinath Roy as its Editor.

IV

By 1910, within three years of the periodical being started, *The Modern Review* had come to occupy the foremost place among India's English journals. Its elder sister, the *Prabasi*, started in 1901, had, of course, stormed the Bastille long ago. Bengal had not known a journal like this before. It was incomparably the best monthly in Bengali. Both his journals were immensely popular, but they never swam with the stream. They educated their readers, yet they were neither heavy nor boring. He knew exactly to hold the balance between education and entertainment. With him it was not a question of "brightening" a serious paper in the manner found lucrative for big circulation. It was not a question of a solemn periodical attempting to be sprightly like an elderly lady trying to look twenty. His journals combined education and entertainment as an organic whole—one inseparable from the other. Ramananda Babu knew, if anybody did, that the first rule in journalism is that you must be clear what public you are aiming at and pursue it with an undivided mind. His two periodicals soon attained wide and influential circulation, but never developed the opportunist politics that go with such circulation, nor were they ever subordinate to the interests of any party or political leader.

The strength of these two journals lay in the 'Notes' Ramananda Babu wrote from month to month on all topics. Of these again, the political Notes stood apart. Cold as steel, sharp as a scimitar, they rent asunder all sophistries, all the specious arguments against India's claim to *Swaraj*. He paved through these Notes her way towards Home Rule as no other publicist in India had done. Bristling with incontrovertible facts and irresistible arguments, they were beautifully arranged and conveyed as a rule in the simplest of words. There were no purple patches. If ever there were, they were led up with extraordinary skill, and they seemed exactly as much as the subject will bear. I once took the liberty of asking him as to how he, a student of English literature which he had taught for nearly twenty years, could avoid literary embellishments to his writings. I did not, of course, mean the literary jargons and cliches with which we lesser journalists seek to decorate our 'leaders' or 'notes.' He knew that, and said that when he first started writing for *The Modern Review*, he made it a point to write for the common man, not the literary person, and he wanted to convey his ideas in as unornamental a garb as possible, in the plainest Anglo-Saxon words, with no reference either to classics or to modern highbrows. There was no staginess, no sentimentality in his writings. His style was natural, direct, irresistible as a physical process. He had little humour, but a grimly satiric note sometimes crept into his writings. His fearlessness, his freedom from partisanship, his consummate plain speech, his great pertinacity of purpose and his terrible truthfulness soon won a very large circle of readers for his Notes, and among them were some of the foremost men of our time. I have a vivid recollection of Aurobindo Ghosh scanning the Notes of *The Modern Review* from page to page sitting at the desk of his uncle Krishna Kumar Mitter (then detained as a State Prisoner at Agra), when he lived at his house, the old *Sanjibani*-office at College Square, after his acquittal at the Alipore Conspiracy Case. And I still remember the remarkable tribute he paid to Ramananda Babu's journals in the columns of his English weekly *Karmayogin* on their translating Indian Nationalism into religion, into music and poetry, into paint-

ing and literature. I also remember what Gopal Krishna Gokhale said about *The Modern Review*, when, in my capacity of the Under-Secretary in charge of public meetings at the Calcutta University Institute, I went to invite him to speak under its auspices on the Elementary Education Bill, which he was then sponsoring in the Imperial Legislative Council, and when his old friend Prithwis Chandra Roy, the Editor of the *Indian World*, had deserted him over the issue, and Gokhale had found his staunchest supporter in Ramananda Chatterjee. More than once at the height of the Non-Co-operation Movement, Chittaranjan Das had asked me as to what Ramananda Babu thought of a particular move or utterance of his, knowing full well that he did not subscribe to the orthodox Non-Co-operator's views and differed strongly from him on those questions. So great was the esteem in which Motilal Nehru held Ramananda Chatterjee as a journalist that he invited him to the chief editorship of the *Independent* when he started it at Allahabad in 1919, asking him to dictate his own terms and offered to bear all expenses for the transfer of his two papers back to Allahabad should he choose to do so. I had it from Panditji himself in 1920 when I joined the staff of the *Independent*, then edited by Bipin Chandra Pal.

The influence of *The Modern Review* became with years co-extensive with the commonwealth of thinking and cultured men and women all the world over,—a daily enlarging congregation of hearts awakened to a deep sense of love and regard for India, all that she had been in the past and all that she hoped to be in the future. His work for his two papers has left an abiding mark on Indian journalism. He enabled it to triumph over the disabilities resulting from imperfect technical equipment, and gave it a conscious pride, an awareness of the things of the mind, a sensitiveness to beauty, which will never be effaced.

V

Ramananda Babu was a strenuous fighter, and when he hit, he hit straight from the shoulder, but never below the belt. On public questions he would often differ and differ strongly from some of his friends, dear and esteemed friends, but no differences of opinion were allowed by him to loosen or even to affect his love and regard for them. No one he loved and revered more than he did Rabindranath Tagore. Yet on two different occasions he differed from him and differed openly. The first was in 1917, over the choice of Annie Besant as President of the Calcutta Congress—a choice that the Poet not only approved but lent support to, by accepting the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee when the Moderates led by Surendranath Banerjea seceded from it over the issue. Rabindranath was anxious for Ramananda Babu's support, and before he finally threw in his lot with the Besantites, he went to see his friend, trying, if he could, to persuade him to his views. I had the privilege of accompanying him to Ramananda Babu's house—the old *Prabasi*-office I have spoken about already. It was past ten at night, and the narrow lane had no light. As the Poet waited in his car, I went to fetch a lamp from the house. I found Ramananda Babu reading, and he came down with a hurricane lantern and showed Rabindranath in. Quietly we went up the narrow stairs, myself now leading with the lantern. The Poet opened the conversation. He gave his reasons for his support to Mrs. Besant; Ramananda Babu gave his for opposing her. Quietly the Poet listened to his friend and quietly he came away. The next day, or the day after, I do not remember exactly, his acceptance of the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee was in the hands of Mrs. Besant's supporters. I was the bearer of his letter of acceptance addressed to Motilal Ghosh, and when he gave it to me, he said that a load was off his chest now that he had been able to explain his position to Ramananda Babu. It did not matter now if they differed.

The other occasion when Rabindranath and Ramananda differed was in 1938 over the partial scrapping of the *Bande Mataram* song as a Congress anthem on the ground of its being offensive to the religious feelings of the Muslims. Ramananda Babu, as readers will no doubt recall, did not share the Poet's opinion on the question and held forth against it in *The Modern Review* and the *Prabasi*. Yet, if I might say so, he worshipped the very ground the Poet trod. I shall never forget what he once told me about him. It was many years ago. Both of us had gone to see the Poet at his Jorasanko residence. He was slightly indisposed and was in his bed-room on the second floor into which we were ushered. We found him with a well-known Homeopathic practitioner of Calcutta and a young relation, just returned from abroad after many years. The doctor left after sometime; the young man remained and went on talking, almost completely monopolising the talk, about his experiences in

Europe. There was no end to his *ipse dixits* or to his self-assurance. The Poet listened on in silence though it became increasingly oppressive. Ramananda Babu sat quiet all through. It was getting late, and we took leave of the Poet. As we walked back home through the lane where now runs Chittaranjan Avenue, I could not conceal my annoyance with the bore we had left behind. Then Ramananda Babu said if I had noticed that the Poet listened to every one as if what he had to say was of supreme importance; but when there was no occasion to listen, there was a far-away look in his eyes, as though he could see something that was invisible to the rest of us. I did not then quite understand what he meant. I realized it afterwards and knew how truly and felicitously Ramananda Babu had put it. The Poet was really at heart a solitary man with the solitude of a mind voyaging through strange seas of thought, alone.

VI

Ramananda Chatterjee was the soul of sincerity and never could be anything else. He had the simplicity of all noble natures. He was shy and sensitive. It was the shyness and sensitiveness of spiritual aloofness. He had the utmost contempt for the art of studying appearances and for the tricks by which public men catch the limelight. The supreme type of concentrated publicist, he never publicised himself. He never gave an interview in his life and never "posed" for the Press photographer. For many years he led a most secluded life, and at last when his fame spread far and wide, he was dragged into publicity and public life, whose honours came thick and fast for him; within a few months he became an all-India figure. His single-mindedness and simplicity, the great dignity of his character, his devoted services to his fellowmen, his steadfast allegiance to high ideals and his most passionate patriotism won him a position of honour and authority in India which few of his contemporaries had enjoyed. He fought for India till the last breath of his life.

It is not, however, in the gestures of the arena, but in the familiar and domestic things of a man's home and immediate surroundings that you divine the man. And this man was noble. Of him it may be said "a larger soul hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay." His love and affection, his tender consideration, his abounding humanity were beyond praise. A great sorrow came to his life in 1919, when his youngest son Prasad suddenly died after a brief illness. Always a deeply affectionate and almost an indulgent father, the blow was a terrible one for him, made all the more unbearable by the partial loss of reason the shock brought for his dearly beloved and devoted wife, Manorama Devi, who was a true helpmate to her husband —a woman of remarkable courage and striking personality. I was at Lahore when Prasad died. He was a gifted child with an original bent of mind. He was like a younger brother to me, and I wrote to the sorrowing father how I felt when I heard the sad news. And he wrote back: "It will never be the same again." And he really was never altogether the same man again. He retired from Calcutta for a time and lived at Santiniketan. The death of his wife in 1935 left him desolate. A more loving husband I have never known. Always deeply reserved, frugal of speech, he unbent in congenial society and became what he was in his own home and to his friends,—the most urbane and delightful of companions. He loved children and children loved him.

A man of rare moral elevation, of unimpeachable private life, deeply religious, of transparent sincerity of conduct, he led a simple ordered life such as all can live, but few do. The material simplicity of his existence was something extraordinary and rarely met with. His devotion, his courage, his selflessness, his indifference to praise or blame or public opinion were worthy of emulation even by the highest in our land. He who gives these to the world gives to it infinitely more than those who give laws and schemes, doctrines and dogmas or lead rival parties of politics.

For more than thirty-five years it was my singular good fortune to enjoy his fatherly affection. He guided me, he helped me; he encouraged me and praised me. He gave more than I deserved, and with a contrite heart, I remember occasions when I must have hurt his feelings. But he was always understanding, always forgiving; I can never repay his kindness. Now that he is gone, I can only offer to his sacred memory my tear-stained tribute of love and reverence, my heart's homage to his immortal soul.

Calcutta, October 1, 1943

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

By LEHAR SINGH MEHTA, B.A., LL.B.

RAMANANDA Chatterjee, the distinguished and scholarly Editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi,* breathed his last in the evening of the 30th September 1943, in the 79th year of his earthly life.

Within the compass of a magazine article it is not possible to give an adequate idea of the genius, personality and achievements of this consummate journalist. Moreover, there is no authentic biography of this illustrious publicist.

Born of poor parents in the Bankura District in 1865, it was with great difficulty that he could educate himself. Mr. Chatterjee started his career as a teacher and worked for some time as a professor of Kayastha Pathsala in Allahabad. With a very moderate source of income at his disposal he started the Bengali Journal, the *Prabasi,* in the year 1901. For a good many years the Monthly was conducted, as it had to be, at a deficit annual balance sheet. In 1906 he preferred to resign rather than to be subservient to the dictates of the Managing Committee of the Kayastha Pathsala. His total savings hardly amounted to even a month's household expenses. This, however, did not damp his ardour. He took a leap in the dark and made up his mind to conduct a standard English monthly, named *The Modern Review.* Subsequently he returned to Calcutta from Allahabad and started the well-known Hindi Journal, the *Vishal Bharat.* He married Manorama Devi, whose all-round activities almost equalled his own. Together they worked feverishly for many a cause.

Ramananda had been a journalist from his teens. He wrote with terrible frankness and truth, with strong humanist sympathies, luminous but kindly. He never went to any school of journalism to take lessons, nor did he desire to imitate anybody. His was an enviable ambition. Old age and infirmities never hindered his way. He spent his whole life like a prodigal and never hoarded life as a miser hoards gold. He wrote much on religious, economic, educational, social, political, historical subjects and on music, arts and crafts. It is a pleasure and a delight to go through his articles and comments. There is in his writings nothing of the hurry of the 20th Century and its feverish unrest. He was one of the foremost creative publicist, not of our time, but of all times. His reputation was never noisy, but it steadily went up with the increase of years. Like Lewis Harcourt he possessed a capacious mind, moving without haste and without deviation.

Much is said of Mr. Chatterjee's simplicity of style. It is his own, the natural, the necessary. Clearness and simplicity, coupled with precision and logical sequence, are the secret of his success. There is form and substance, flame and spirit. He would be the last man to worry his readers to weariness.

The omniscience of an editor is a well-known joke. He was a serious student of history and laws of nations and their constitutions and governments as also of eastern and western religion and philosophy. As fates of all peoples and nations are inextricably interwoven, he could not do without a sound knowledge of world economics and would feel more at home in international politics. His house was littered with books. Certainly the man of learning he was, as Macaulay said of Milton. He would never fight shy of discussions on commerce, industry, finance, banking, sociology, anthropology, religion, psychology, race-culture, education, village and town improvement schemes, and so many other vocations and professions. You may tap any subject you like. He knew jurisprudence, penology, geology, and mining and forest laws, tending to the conservation and promotion to the interest of the people. Questions relating to labour, agriculture, railway, transportation, shipping, navigation and aviation never escaped the meticulous examination of this critic. Having astonishing vision he, like Kipling, gave the impression of encyclopædic knowledge. With the spirit of Haldane he would always take you into his confidence.

Mr. Chatterjee led a very simple life. People always wondered at his simplicity and frugality. He was a seer, a Rishi, who always took unalloyed interest in human welfare. Though a self-disciplined Sanyasi, he was never a religious bigot. To him true Satvikata consisted in righteous activities. "Indeed," wrote Tennyson, "what matters it what a man knows and does if he keeps not a reverential looking

upward." The name of the Almighty was as familiar on his lips as it was on the lips of Gladstone or Tagore. Like Bryan he mingled religion and politics in the same breath. For what Thomas Hardy called the 'professional optimist' he had unaffected scorn. The world is with those, he would tell you, who, like Browning's Grammarian, are for the morning.

As for his ideal of womanhood many of his comments, addresses and writings have to be read. Like Mrs. Pankhurst he stood for the complete civic and political emancipation of women, and for their full and equal citizenship. A woman has like a man., he observed, right to see how her nation should live. He believed in the equal opportunity for all, in freeing women from all disabilities which hinder them from obtaining their just right and contributing their due share in the regeneration of their motherland. The famous saying of Charles XI of Sweden, "Madame, I married you to give me children, not to give me advice," still represents much of the thought of men in relation to women. But it hung like a dark pall over his spirit.

His patriotic writings are characteristic, with a mordant humour and swiftness of retort. He felt strongly that the barriers of mutual suspicion and hostility between classes and communities were the real impediments on the way to our achieving national self-realisation. He was anxious that the idea of Pakistan should die an easy and early death. He dreamed and thought and talked of the freedom of India. He demonstrated at the third Session of the All-India Indian States' Peoples' Conference, held in Bombay, on the 9th and 10th June 1931, and which was presided over by him, that the ancient Hindu ideal of kingship was not absolute but limited. As for the provincial autonomy he pointed out as far back as 1937 that the ordinary powers which the Government of India Act, 1935, conferred on the Governors were such that the usefulness and the beneficence of all ministries depended upon the good grace of the Governors. "With the Bande Mataram Song," he remarked, "are associated the memories of innumerable deeds of heroism." A brilliant man, full of energy, full of capacity, he was still young though over seventy. "The one prudence in life," says Emerson, "is concentration." Mr. Chatterjee had the concentration of the fanatic. His varied national reconstruction activities were bewildering and like Llyod George he was loyal till last to his simple faith.

As a social reformer he rendered invaluable service to his country. He was often grieved to think of the different castes and creeds and was distressed over the miserable lot of the untouchables. His advocacy of the compulsory and free primary education, inter-caste marriage and abolition of the caste distinction shows that his activities were multifarious and. that his love for service was insatiable. He was equally devoted to Indian culture. His love for villages and rural activities as also for Indian architecture and painting, music and dance was genuine and touching. How deeply he loved India's arts and crafts becomes clear even to a casual reader of any issue of *The Modern Review*.

Mr. Chatterjee did another important work in teaching the modern India reverence for great men. He set before us in a most effective manner, through the columns of his esteemed journals, eminent persons of international fame, who lived and toiled, dared and suffered and achieved for the betterment of the world.

In religion and philosophy he was of the line of our ancient religio-philosophical teachers, whose religion and philosophy are fused component of the whole. His desire to strengthen and purity Hinduism never meant hatred of Islam and other religions. His ideal was the same as that of Raja Rammohun Roy who led India out into the freedom of time and space. 'India is the home of all that is great and noble—a a noble religion and a noble philosophy.' This is the message that Mr. Chatterjee has left us.

The friendship between Mr. Chatterjee and Tagore was conspicuous. That he had great admiration for Tagore is testified by his following words :

"I have been privileged to publish perhaps a larger number of poems, stories, novels, articles, etc., from Rabindranath's pen, in Bengali and English, than any other editor."

Tagore also equally esteemed Mr. Chatterjee. They were as inseperable as Castor and Pollux, or Dr. Johnson and Boswell, or David and Jonathan.

His death is like a fall of the mighty and majestic tree, which has left a lonesome place against the sky. Who can take his place ? His death means withdrawal of a great sage, philosopher, patriot and scholar.

Udaipur

MR. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE'S CONTRIBUTION TO BLIND EDUCATION IN INDIA

By SUBODH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), M.A. (Columbia), *Lecturer, Calcutta University, Professor, Loreto College, Hony. Secretary, All-India Lighthouse for the Blind.*

MR. Ramananda Chatterjee is already well-known to the Indian public as a gifted journalist, a deep political thinker and a staunch patriot. His three famous journals—*The Modern Review*, *Prabasi* and the *Vishal Bharat*—have been imparting knowledge, inspiration and entertainment to countless men and women in this country. The fame of *The Modern Review* has even transcended the boundaries of India and, before the outbreak of the present war, this journal had a fairly good circulation abroad. While in New York, the writer had an opportunity to meet the world-renowned scholar and writer, Mr. Will Durant and his wife, and both Mr. and Mrs. Durant paid a high tribute to the informative and thought-provoking notes which Mr. Chatterjee used to write for this journal.

But, until very recently, the number of those who knew about Mr. Chatterjee's contribution to blind education in India, was indeed insignificant. This deplorable ignorance is a clear indication of the lack of public interest in the education of the blind in this country. Mr. Chatterjee's contribution to this cause is, however, of supreme importance for what is was as well as for what it did.

The credit of devising Bengali Braille is Mr. Chatterjee's. It is quite remarkable that Mr. Chatterjee who apparently did not have any special knowledge or training in blind work, could devise a system for the blind 51 years ago which is still in use in a slightly modified form. This simply speaks for the versatile genius of Mr. Chatterjee, and his contribution should receive a grateful acknowledgment from workers for the blind in India, although, professionally speaking, he was not one of them. Strangely enough, so far as the writer is aware, no one made a reference in writing to this work of Mr. Chatterjee before 1940. How could this great contribution be shielded from public knowledge for about half a century?

In order to appraise properly what Mr. Chatterjee has done for the blind of this country, it is necessary to know something about the Braille system and about the state of blind education in India at the time when he made his contribution. The present article is not intended to be either technical or exhaustive. Consequently, only a very brief survey of the points referred to above is undertaken in the following paragraphs.

Braille is a system of reading and writing employed by the blind and it is made out of six embossed points or dots arranged in various positions and combinations.

Before the introduction of Braille, several systems of reading and writing for the blind were devised and experimented in Europe and America, but none was found to be quite satisfactory. In 1829, Louis Braille, himself blind, invented this system which is known after his name and which is at present the only Point System used by the blind in every country. But Braille had to wage a long and continuous war against its rival systems for recognition. Even in the French school where Louis Braille was a teacher, this system was not accepted until 1854, *i.e.*, a quarter of a century after its invention. In America, this rivalry, known as the "Battle of the Types," was the severest.

However, the intrinsic merits of the Braille System were gradually recognised and all the competing systems were abandoned in its favour. Of course, adaptations and modifications had to be made by different nations according to their alphabetic and linguistic needs; but the basic six dots formulated by Louis Braille have been universally accepted.

Blind Education in accordance with the Braille System, was introduced in India towards the close of the last century. In 1892, when Mr. Chatterjee devised his system, there were only two institutions for the blind in India,—one at Rajpur near Dehra Dun, and the other at Palamcottah, Madras. Both these schools were started by the British missionaries and they soon adapted the English Braille to the languages prevalent in those provinces.

If Mr. Chatterjee wished to establish a blind school in Bengal, he could have easily done so. But it seems that he was more interested in the afflicted humanity in general than in any particular section of it. "Dasashram" which was founded in Calcutta in order to shelter and protect all types of needy and handicapped persons, had a monthly journal of its own, namely, "Dasi," of which Mr. Chatterjee was the editor. This journal was started in 1299 B.S., *i.e.*,



February, 1934

in 1892, and Mr. Chatterjee used to write about topics touching different social service fields. In the second issue of the journal, he contributed an article stressing the need of imparting suitable education to the blind. To this article he appended a complete plan showing how the English Braille could be adapted to Bengali. At this time, there was no school for the blind in Bengal and, so far as is known, there was no one who took any active step to start one. Mr. Chatterjee's adaptation of Bengali Braille did not, therefore, produce any tangible effect just then. Besides, with the extinction of "Dasi" in 1895 and Mr. Chatterjee's departure from Calcutta about that time, the whole idea of blind education in Bengal seems to have been shifted to the background.

The next device of Bengali Braille which is in use at present, is said to have been made by Mr. L. B. Shah some time after 1894. The writer's only source for this information is the Report of the Calcutta Blind School for 1939, page 4. Thus, from the point of view of time, Mr. Chatterjee devised his system at least two or three years before the one evolved by Mr. Shah; and since Mr. Shah's system differs very slightly from that of Mr. Chatterjee, it can be definitely established that Mr. Chatterjee is the originator of Bengali Braille.

The reason as to why Mr. Chatterjee's original adaptation was not put into actual use, is quite understandable. But it is indeed very difficult to explain how Mr. Chatterjee's great achievement was altogether ignored and forgotten by the public in general and by the workers for the blind in particular! As stated before, no one made any public reference to this work of Mr. Chatterjee before 1940.

In 1938, while engaged in the collection of data for his doctoral thesis, the writer quite accidentally came across the copy of "Dasi" in which Mr. Chatterjee's article on blind education appeared. The result of the writer's finding was passed on to other workers for the blind, and at present, Mr. Chatterjee's contribution to blind education in India has been fully acknowledged.

It is indeed very gratifying to note that the authorities, staff and students of the All-India Lighthouse for the Blind got an opportunity during Mr. Chatterjee's lifetime to express publicly their sense of deep appreciation for his long-neglected work for the blind. This was done by presenting an address to him at his sick-bed on the 5th September, 1943.



1938

THE LATE BABU RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

By KALINATH RAY

Among the little band of distinguished Indians who have served their country and humanity during the last half a century with intense and unfailing devotion as well as with conspicuous ability and distinction Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, whose death is being mourned today by millions of his grateful and admiring countrymen will always have a pre-eminent and abiding place. And the most remarkable thing about this devoted and life-long service is that it was rendered not in the way in which most other illustrious Indians of Mr. Chatterjee's time and generation served their country and humanity, by taking an active and leading part in public movements or by moving or thundering public orations, but by quiet and unostentatious work in the field of journalism, and particularly of journalism of that most unobtrusive variety, periodical literature. It is true that for some years Mr. Chatterjee had regularly attended sessions of the Congress, and towards the close of his life he had been prominently associated with the Hindu Mahasabha. But he had won his laurels independently of and without any reference to his association with the Congress, and long before he joined the Hindu Mahasabha; and it is safe to assert that in thinking of him and his great services to his country and humanity not even the most ardent Congressman or Hindu Sabhaite ever thinks of his association with those great organisations. Primarily and principally if not solely he was known and admired as the editor of two monthly magazines, one in Bengali, the other in English, both founded by him and raised by him to the pinnacle of glory.

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Here, indeed, was his chief distinction as a public man. There have been other cases in which Indians have before now served their country and won enduring fame as journalists, but they were for the most part associated with daily journalism, which necessarily riveted public attention on their work from day to day. The editor of a monthly magazine suffers from the great disability of appearing before the public eye only once in a month. The average reader cares more for topical subjects than for subjects of permanent interest, and most topical subjects naturally become stale by the time that a new number of a magazine makes its appearance. Another and equally serious disadvantage of a monthly magazine is that the space at its disposal for dealing with matters of current interest is necessarily limited as compared with a daily or even a weekly newspaper. If in spite of these obvious and undeniable drawbacks the two magazines edited by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*, won resounding fame and wielded tremendous influence over contemporary life and thought in India it was because he had qualities which distinguished him from most other editors of monthly magazines in this country. It was these qualities that enabled him to impart to the two magazines, almost from the first, the character of public institutions rather than of individual enterprises in the field of periodical literature. That character they retained to the last day of his life.

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What are these qualities? The first and most noticeable of these qualities, of course, was Mr. Chatterjee's intense and passionate nationalism. I know of no newspaper or periodical in India which in every single issue bore the unfailing impress of this nationalism in a larger measure or a more unmistakable manner than Mr. Chatterjee's two magazines. In his selection of articles and of contributors an editor has naturally to think of many things, and no one can deny that Mr. Chatterjee had a peculiar knack of choosing the best contributors and articles available to him. But the discriminating reader was sure to find that even in this matter Mr. Chatterjee's guiding principle was his passionate love of country and his intense solicitude for its all-round well-being. This love of country and this solicitude for its well-being literally dominated and were, indeed, the most conspicuous feature of his editorial comments, even as those comments themselves were the dominating and most conspicuous feature of every issue of each of his two journals. In most other magazines editorial comments are regarded more or less as a conventional thing, and are overshadowed by contributed articles. Very different was the case with the *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*. Here the first thing to which the habitual reader of either magazine was sure to turn was the editorial comments, and he was sure to turn to them not merely for pleasure or

enjoyment, but for inspiration and guidance. And in most cases he was sure to find what he sought. There was hardly any event of public importance, political, social, educational or economic, which had occurred during the preceding month, on which, until age and ill-health had enfeebled him and made it impossible for him to attend to his editorial work personally, the editor did not make his comments, and there was hardly any comment which was merely a repetition of what others had said or which did not bear the stamp of his genius. As time passed, his task in this respect naturally became one of increasing difficulty. The thoughts and ideas that had at one time been confined to a handful of writers and speakers of the first rank, among whom Mr. Chatterjee was one gradually became current coin. Here as elsewhere the paradoxes of one age become in the course of time the truisms and commonplaces of another. It thus came to pass that almost every single event of public importance and every public utterance of a statesman in an official position or an unofficial social or political leader was examined critically in most Indian newspapers from the point of view of nationalism, long before any monthly magazine could possibly appear with the editor's comments on it. But it is to the lasting credit of Mr. Chatterjee that even this did not deprive his comments entirely of their freshness and of their individual autochthonic quality.

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The second noticeable quality of the two magazines, or rather of the editorial comments in them, was a singular combination of strength and self-restraint. The large majority of speakers and writers habitually mistake strong words for strong judgment, and cannot write strongly on any matter on which they feel strongly without losing all control over themselves. Temperamentally as well as by his training and character Mr. Chatterjee was, from first to last, at the farthest possible distance from belonging to this category. He never wrote otherwise than strongly on any subject on which he felt strongly, but his strength was the strength of argument and not of invective. Better than most men he knew that there are few things so essentially weak as strong words, that adjectives are too often the greatest enemy of the substantive. Partly no doubt Mr. Chatterjee, like other writers and speakers of potent stamp belonging to his category, was able to avoid the use of strong words by his style and his manner of dealing with public questions and events. Unlike so many others, he did not consider himself a "public prosecutor for the universe," whose business is to draw up an indictment against all who differ from him, but a judge whose business is to examine patiently all sides of every matter that comes up for adjudication and having done so to make out a case for one side or the other on the basis of evidence and by means of argument, and then deliver his judgment. It was this analytical and argumentative manner that really distinguished Mr. Chatterjee's treatment of public questions from that of so many others, and made the use of invectives both repugnant and unnecessary to him.

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The third noticeable quality of Mr. Chatterjee, and it is the last with which I am concerned in this short review, was his indomitable passion for freedom and for the independence of his country. He was among the first band of public men in India who worked for India's complete freedom, and he used his two powerful magazines for the propagation of the idea of independence. With him, moreover, independence was no mere matter of dream, no remote ideal to be realised in the long poreesses of time and endeavour. It was an immediate political objective which it was the right no less than the duty of his people to try and attain with all conceivable speed and by every legitimate means in their power. Here again Mr. Chatterjee's advocacy was argumentative and not dogmatic. He fully believed with Bal Gangadhar Tilak that Swaraj was India's birth-right, but he was not content with the mere expression of this belief. He built up a tremendously weighty case for the attainment of independence by India by means of an invincible array of facts and arguments based partly on logic and partly on history, a case which no one ever attempted to answer and which to this day remains unanswered. Of course, he did not stand alone in this matter. Others did the same work, and to some , by virtue of their personality or the accident of their position, it has been given to do it far more powerfully and effectively. But he was undoubtedly among the pioneers of the movement, and its life-long and indefatigable prosecutors and champions, and when in the not far-off future India will attain her independence he is sure to be one of those whose names will be written in imperishable letters in the golden pages of its history.—*Tribune*

A GREAT FRIEND OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

THE *Hindustan Times* of New Delhi has brought the painful news to me that Shri Ramananda Chatterjee passed away full of years and honours in the evening of September 30 at Calcutta. He arrived here a few years after the great revolution of liberation and departed during another struggle for Indian independence. To that formative period he belonged and to it he made his notable contribution. His death is a great loss to the struggling nation of India. He was one who was held in the highest esteem and respect by all with whom he came in contact both publicly and in his private capacity. He was one of the most distinguished figures in modern literature of India; he had besides his other qualities. It was impossible for me to miss any article signed by him. India has lost one of her most noble sons; the literary men one of their revered leaders and a large circle of acquaintance a friend kind-hearted, true and generous. Brave, sagacious and devoted to his profession, the Indian journalist circle contained no nobler and no abler writer. He was a man whom all would have been delighted to honour, and was beloved both for his amiability and kindness of disposition, and for more brilliant qualities as a patriot, journalist and author. For about forty years he laboured for India and gave her of his best. Those were among the most significant and pregnant years of our modern history when India was passing from one order of things to another—years of growing pains, of the crises and clashes of ideas and actions and the struggle to find our path as a nation to the future.

There have been a few men in our nation who have brought ideas and the life of our time into such a realistic relationship. The gift of doing this was the foundation of Ramananda Babu's influence, which was a good deal deeper and wider than he himself probably ever suspected. He brought to practical affairs a mind and an outlook which went much further than those affairs. He was in the world but not of it, and his background gave colouring to his practical activities which can only come from the inner spirit. Behind the practical man was the scholar and the philosopher who was deeply imbued with the ultimate religious values of life.

I met him many times during the last two decades and found him most sympathetic towards the cause of Indians abroad. Personally, he was a man whose companionship was invariably stimulating and instructive, frequently fascinating. A bright and spirited curiosity about life was always with him. He was in no way hemmed within the range of his own subject. Charm was his, too, in an unusually high degree. He was a great champion in the cause of Indians overseas and played an admirable part to protect their human rights in the colour-ridden South Africa. It is impossible to produce a catalogue of continuous services rendered by his magazines, *The Modern Review* and the *Vishal Bharat* to Indian settlers domiciled in different parts of the globe, and personally I am indebted to these magazines for their encouragement and assistance towards my humble work in connection with the South African Indian community. Greater India was an ever-lasting passion with Ramananda Babu and the problems of Indian settlers always claimed his special attention. He was a source of inspiration to our late friend Sadhu C. F. Andrews who had rendered signal service to the Indians abroad. Our countrymen overseas have lost one of their faithful friends who gave them hope and comfort from time to time during their hours of trouble and tribulation.

Both as a leader and a journalist he left his mark in the present history of India. His death marks the close of one of the chapters in the history of remarkable men whose lives have been inseparable from the political, cultural and social advancement of this great country. Ramananda Babu was one of those journalists who were not content with the academic and intellectual side of their subject. Journalism meant not nearly enough for him if it did not enter into the affairs of humanity as humanity actually is. His 'human being' was not the abstraction which some of the journalists in that field of knowledge are content to interest themselves in. He sought the application of his ideas among his contemporaries, studying the life and people of his time with a keen, actual mind, taking facts as they were; not theorising about them, but using them as the tests of those ideas.

His work in the field of journalism will live after him, we may be sure, for it was based on very wide knowledge, intense personal sympathy and a constructive view of the many and baffling problems involved. He was the inspirer and guide of many young journalists in that usually depressing field in India, and the example of his courage, his labours and his undaunted hopes for the future will be sorely missed.

I deem it my sacred duty to pay my homage to the great soul on behalf of Indians overseas in general and the Indian community of South Africa in particular on this occasion of national mourning. An acute consciousness of the grievous loss that his death is, makes very vivid the sympathy of all who knew him with his family. Ramananda Babu held as high as any man the lamp of reason and knowledge, and it burns the more brightly because he lived.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE AND THE MODERN REVIEW

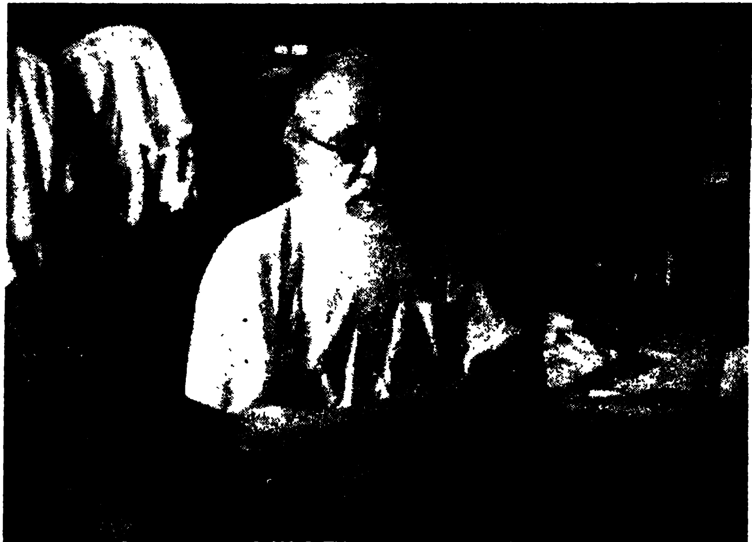
By Dr. J. T. Sunderland

April 2, 1936

Is there any man who during the last fifty years has done more for the educational, social, moral and political advancement and uplift of India than Ramananda Chatterjee ? If so, I do not know who he is. Mr. Chatterjee has been able to achieve so much partly because of his rare gifts as a thinker, teacher, writer and leader of men, partly because of his unsurpassed and absolutely unselfish devotion to the higher interests of his country, and what is of great importance, because he chose for his calling in life, for the instrument through which to do his work and influence others, the great profession of Journalism.

As all acquainted with him know, his journalistic work has been done through periodicals created by himself, three of them, namely *Dasi, Pradip* and *Prabasi,* published in the native languages of India, and the third, (?) namely, *The Modern Review,* published in English. Of the first three I am not able to speak from personal knowledge; others must do that. But of the last-named I have something to say, that seems to me important.

I have been acquainted with *The Modern Review* for thirty years; and, during all this time, I have read it more regularly and with more interest than any other periodicals except two or three of my home papers; and I do not hesitate to say that this unique and able monthly has been a perpetual wonder to me, on account of the breadth and wealth of its contents, covering as it does, and with such intelligence, the wide fields of politics, history, literature, art, education, economics, industries, social reform and religious reform. One might well suppose that it would confine itself to Indian affairs. As a matter of fact, it does give a surprising amount of important Indian information. Indeed, I know of no other periodical that so fully and adequately represents the real India, giving to the world what the world needs to know about India's civilization, her great past, the present condition of her people, the real nature and efforts of British rule, and the meaning of her great struggle for freedom. But it does not



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stop with India. While doing all this for its own country, it passes on and takes actually the whole world for its field, and is amazingly rich in information regarding everything of most importance that is going on in all countries.

I speak with care when I say that we do not have in America, nor is there in England, any review or magazine that covers so wide a field, and that does it with such accuracy of scholarship and so interestingly.

For all these reasons, I regard *The Modern Review,* under the conspicuously wise and able editorship of Mr. Chatterjee, as an absolutely invaluable asset to India, and, at the same time, as a messenger from India to the outside world the importance of which can hardly be overestimated.

[*Santa Devi's Collection*

ROMAIN ROLLAND AND RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

("Letters from the Editor," 1927)

I went to Villeneuve one day with some friends to pay a visit to M. Romain Rolland, the famous French author and intellectual leader, who lives there with his father and sister. Villeneuve is some 56 miles by rail from Geneva and is some two hours' journey. Journey by steamer is more pleasant but takes more time. We had to change at Lausanne. We travelled third class. There were no cushions on the benches. Perhaps that was better, as it is difficult to keep cushions scrupulously clean. The benches were free from the least speck of dust or stain. Otherwise, too, there was no inconvenience or trouble involved in travelling third class. It may be added here that there can be no comparison between third class carriages in India and in Europe. Travelling in third class, and some times in intermediate class, carriages in India gives one a foretaste of hell, or at least of purgatory. For this state of things our passengers are no doubt to blame to some extent. But if the railway management provided the public with clean carriages, with plenty of water in the lavatories and insisted on their being kept clean, much improvement could at once be effected. Nowhere in Europe did I see such dirty and dusty third class carriages as in India. The smokers' carriages were no doubt not so clean as the non-smokers.'



Mon. Romain Rolland and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee

After getting down from the railway train at Villeneuve station, we had to walk a little distance to reach Villa Olga, where M. Rolland lives. That part of the road which leads immediately to the Villa is shaded by an avenue of trees with broad large leaves growing thick on the branches. M. Rolland and his sister Mmlle. Rolland received us very courteously. Romain Rolland is past sixty and has the scholar's stoop. He did not appear to be in the best of health, having just recovered from an attack of influenza. His clear blue eyes beamed with intelligence, and love of man was writ on his looks. He does not speak English, his sister does. I was very glad to learn that she has some knowledge of Bengali also. I may be permitted to say here that I had the privilege of being known to the Rollands by name through my son-in-law Professor Kalidas Nag, who, while in Europe, helped M. Romain Rolland in writing his book on Mahatma Gandhi. I found the portraits of Kalidas and my daughter Santa on M. Rolland's study table, and expressed pleasure at finding them there. Mmlle. Rolland observed with a smile, "The portraits have not been placed there because you have come to see us; they are always there." I had the honour of shaking hands with M. Rolland's venerable father, who is now past ninety. Considering his great age, the old gentleman appeared remarkably erect and healthy. I told him in English that I considered it a great honour and pleasure to shake hands with him. This was translated into French by his daughter. He, on his part, expressed pleasure at seeing visitors from India.

I was the only person in our party who was entirely ignorant of French. So what M. Rolland said in French was translated into English for me by his sister, and what I said in English was translated by her for her brother into French. For this and other reasons there was no sustained conversation between us. Only a few points that came up may be mentioned here. The question arose as to how far M. Rolland's works were read in India. As only a small number of people in India know French, some of his books are largely read in English translations. The English translation of his

book on Gandhi has gone through several editions. Similarly, his "John Christopher" is largely read in English translation. It was perhaps I who said that it was appearing serially in Bengali also. Mmlle. Rolland observed, "Yes, it is appearing in *Kallol*," whereupon some one of our party asked whether she knew Bengali and, if so, how did she learn it. She replied, "Kalidas gave me some lessons." When the conversation turned on Rabindranath Tagore's visit to Italy, we learned some details of the attempt that was made there to prevent the Poet's meeting with the famous Italian philosopher Croce. Mmlle. Rolland showed us photographs of Rabindranath and his party, taken when they were at Villeneuve. We learnt that M. Rolland had read Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's *Srikanta* in an Italian translation, made from the English translation of that novel. The great French author remarked that Sarat Chandra was a novelist of the first order, and enquired how many other novels he had written. I told him the names of some of them. When we were led to speak of Sir J. C. Bose's work, M. Rolland observed that the Indian scientist had also the imagination of a poet. Thereupon one of our party, Dr. Rajani Kanta Das, if I remember aright, dwelt briefly on the synthetic genius of India. M. Rolland wanted to know whether any Indian had written any work giving a synthetic view of the universe from the Indian point of view. I replied that I did not know that anyone had done so yet. He asked whether there was no one capable of doing so. I mentioned the name of Dr. Brajendranath Seal. Then M. Rolland wanted to know why he had not done it yet. That was a question which Dr. Seal alone could have answered. But I ventured to suggest that perhaps he was diffident, perhaps according to his ideal of preparation for so great a task he was not yet ready, perhaps he was always learning or thinking out new things, leading him to revise his previous ideas, etc. etc.

I am sorry some inconvenience might have been caused to M. Romain Rolland's venerable father in getting him photographed. All of us, the hosts and the visitors, were also photographed together. Previous to that, Mrs. R. K. Das put in order Mmlle. Rolland's hair which had been slightly disarranged by the wind. Thereupon M. Romain Rolland complained with a smile, "You have not done my hair," which was done immediately. I add this slight touch just to prevent my readers from drawing an ever frightfully serious-looking mental picture of the great French intellectual.



Standing (from the left): S. C. Guha, Mrs. Rajani K. Das, Dr. Das
Sitting (from the left): Miss Rolland, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee and Mon. Romain Rolland

The Rollands kindly asked me to see them again. I regret I was not able to do so.—("Letters from the Editor," *The Modern Review* for May, 1927)

GREETINGS TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

In January last year Romain Rolland sent his salutations of love and respect to India through the small group of young writers, who conduct the Bengali magazine *Kallol*. His sentiments found expression in the following words, from the French.

"To My Friends of India—

"Asia and Europe form parts of the same vessel, of which the prow is Europe and the watch-chamber India, the Empress of thought, with eyes innumerable. Glory to thee, mine eyes! Thou art mine and my soul is thine. We are but one and the same being.

Romain Rolland"

country for decades. A people are to be judged not by the worst that they have done but by their ideals and aspirations. Hence we take Rolland to be a truer representative of his people than those who recently perpetrated the barbarities at Damascus. We are aware that few of us have realised in our lives the ideals and aspirations of India which have won for her the love and adoration of a master spirit like Rolland. But his words are to us a fresh reminder of what India stands for in the minds of men who belong to all the world. For this reminder and for all that he is and has done, we salute Romain Rolland with love and respect on the occasion of his completing his sixtieth year, when there is to be a celebration of the

A mes amis de l'Inde

L'Europe et l'Asie sont un même vaisseau. L'Europe en est la proue. Et la chambre de veille est l'Inde, empire de la Pensée aux yeux innombrables. Gloire à Vous, mes yeux! Car vous êtes miens et mon esprit est vôtre. Nous ne sommes qu'un seul être

Romain Rolland

29 janvier 1925

Romain Rolland's sympathies and appreciation know no bounds of race or clime. He belongs, therefore, not only to France, but to India and all the world. He has been able to love and respect even Germany, which has been looked upon by his countrymen as the enemy event in Switzerland by his friends and admirers. May we not on our part be totally unworthy of that India which the great ones of our country and of the world have seen in their visions.—("Notes," *The Modern Review* for January, 1926)

TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

An Appreciation

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

While in America, I had occasions to talk about the rapid and enormous growth of organisations which attain their irresistible efficiency by eliminating the personal man and concentrating the mechanical one in a huge lump of system. I spoke of the spread of callousness and the deadening of the moral sense of responsibility in consequence of the machine representing man in most of his activities. Cruelty and injustice of an appalling kind have to-day been made easily possible, because, they can be done through an organised elemental force which ruthlessly takes a direct path towards the fulfilment of its purpose, trampling down all other considerations. We have seen how church can be bloodthirsty while the religion it represents is humane; how it is possible to cheat on a wholesale scale in the name of business, while the respectability of the sharers of profit remains untouched; how gross falsehoods are deliberately used for poisoning their victims by governments whose members have gentlemanly manners and traditions. When in loyalty to such gigantic institutions men commit terrible wrongs, they feel something like a religious exultation which smothers their conscience. It is the modern form of fetish worship with its numerous rituals of human sacrifice in the shadow of which all other religions have faded into unreality.



Romain Rolland

One of my hearers who was in sympathy with my thoughts asked me how it could be possible to fight these organisations without setting up others in their place. My answer was that my reliance was on those individuals who had made human ideals living in their personality. They may look small and weak by the side of the power they resist, as does a plant by the side of a huge frowning boulder. But the plant has the magic power of life. It gradually creates its own soil with its own constant emanations, and its defeat and death are a prelude to a victorious resurrection. I believe that when anti-human forces spread their dominion, individuals with firm faith in humanity are born, who become acutely conscious of the menace to man and fearlessly fulfil their destiny through insult and isolation. We came to know such a man in England in the person of E. D. Morel who is dead now, but who can never die. When we see them, we know that

the living spark of human spirit is not yet extinct and that there is hope. Human civilizations have their genesis in individuals, and they also have their protectors in them. One of the few proofs that the present day is not utterly barren of them is the life and work of Romain Rolland. And that the present day needs him most is proved by the scourging he has received from it, which is a true recognition of his greatness by his fellow beings.—(*The Modern Review* for January, 1926)

Santiniketan,
October 5, 1925

CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND

By NORMAN HILLSON

III

Winchester

The little English city of Winchester is full of historical buildings with old associations, manifested in nearly every street, but the stranger might have to enquire the whereabouts of the cathedral, for it lies in a hollow, and cannot be seen from the High Street.



Isolated within a walled close, and unimpressive at first sight, Winchester Cathedral is the longest ever constructed (526½ feet 158 metres)

In most cases the local cathedral dominates the surrounding city, but not at Winchester. It stands isolated within a walled close, and can only be approached through a side street, shaded by tall elm trees, which leads to a hole in the massive wall. Even when the church itself is revealed to view, it seems unimpressive, for its single tower barely overtops the surrounding roof, the outline is depressed and a little monotonous, and there is a marked absence of lofty side porches which make the cathedrals of Salisbury and Lincoln such a joy to look at.

Massive Grandeur

But that initial disappointment is completely dissipated once the visitor enters the church from the west door, for then the whole scene spreads itself out in massive grandeur, and affords him the spectacle of the most beautiful cathedral nave that was ever built. This is also the longest church ever constructed in medieval times, for its internal length measures 526½ feet.

The present building dates from 1070, one of the great ages of church-building in England. The visitor can see the original Romanesque work in the North Transept. It was built on a colossal scale and those sections which remain intact give an idea of how awe-inspiring and deeply religious the first church must have been.

Old Treasures

There are many old treasures to be seen in the great church. Winchester possesses a beautifully carved feretory, or reliquary of the saints. Below is the original entrance to the crypt, a narrow door called the "Holly Hole." It is appropriately inscribed:

> "Corpora sanctorum sent hic in pace sepulta
> Ex meritis quorum fulgent miracula multa."

In other days this lovely crypt was often flooded, for the level of the river has risen since the days of the foundation, and floods were

frequent until repairs were effected some years ago. It was found that the water had penetrated the base to such an extent that a miniature lake had been formed, and the work of underpinning had to be undertaken by divers!

Oxford

Most of these cathedrals are vast, but Oxford's Cathedral is one of the smallest in Britain. There has been a religious house on the site since the eighth century, when the church of St. Frideswide was occupied by a community of secular canons. You can still see traces of their chapel.

For centuries the site was given over to monastic worship, first under the Benedictine and then under the Augustinian rule. The monastery, although small, was not without adequate revenues, and it occupied an enviable position in the centuries when the University of Oxford was being formed in the adjacent town. The benevolent Lady Montacute gave to the monks the priceless treasure of half Christ Church Meadows.

Christ Church College

When Cardinal Wolsey decided to build his Cardinal College on the slope of the hill above what we now call Foley Bridge, on the street called St. Aldates, he laid out an ambitious quadrangle which was to take the form of a cloister. The scheme was never finished, but the all-powerful Cardinal, in order to begin the work, calmly ordered that two bays of the monastic nave should be taken down, because they were in the way. One of them has never been replaced.

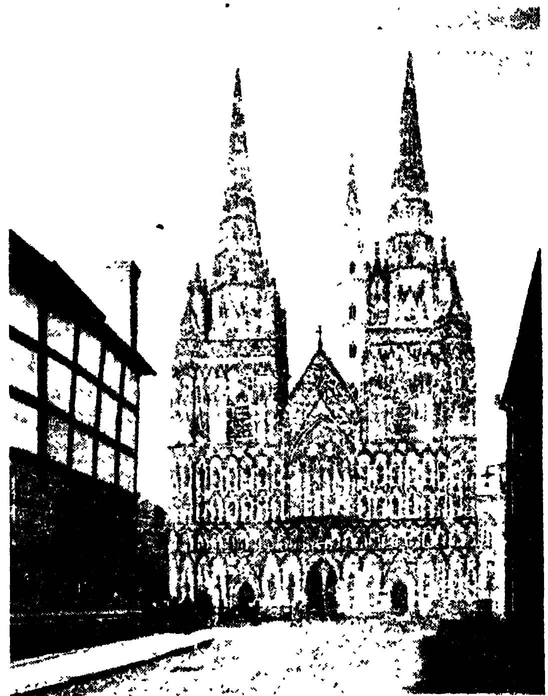
The college is now called Christ Church, and its fame is world-wide. After the fall of Wolsey, King Henry VIII, in 1542, raised the diminutive abbey church to the dignity of a cathedral. Such it has remained to this day, and it also serves as the chapel for the fellows and students of Christ Church, who have their own stalls set in such a position that the interior has an appearance not to be found in any of the other diocesan churches.

Lichfield Cathedral

The great cathedral church of Lichfield, with its noble spires, stands in the heart of the county of Staffordshire in the North Midlands. The origin of the city itself is obscure, but there is a stone in the west door of the church which states that it was founded by Oswy, King of Northumberland, in 670 on the 15th day of February.

Under the rule of Oswy, a redoubtable warrior and a convert to the Christian faith, Christianity spread rapidly throughout the district, and Lichfield, became increasingly important.

It was not, however, until the coming of St. Chad that the cathedral began to take shape. This venerable saint lived in pious seclusion in a college now marked by a fountain of water called St. Chad's Well. When he died, a Saxon cathedral was erected to his memory. No trace



The three spires of Lichfield Cathedral are locally known as the "Ladies of the Vale." The church is particularly noted for its stained glass

remains of this ancient building, for it was completely demolished in 1128-1148 to make way for a Norman church. This in turn disappeared, so that only the foundations remain, but on the site there now stands the three-spired building which was completed in 1375.

It is the existence of the three spires which gives Lichfield such a distinctive appearance. Locally they are affectionately called the "Ladies of the Vale."

Although the church is not so vast as York, Canterbury, or Winchester, its very loftiness in the nave and choir give it a grand appearance. Again, the lights, in spite of much spoliation at the time of the civil wars of the seventeenth century, are extremely beautiful, and have been constantly added to, notably in the Lady Chapel, where the glass was brought from the dissolved abbey of Herckenrode, near Liege in Belgium, and which dates from the sixteenth century.

THE LIVERPOOL CATHEDRAL

By JOHN STEEGMAN

On a hill overlooking the great seaport of Liverpool, a new Cathedral is rising. Its erection has continued through three Kings' reigns, two world wars, and through most of the life-time of its architect, Sir Giles Gilbert Scott.

LIVERPOOL is one of the great cities of the world. With nearly one million inhabitants, it is bigger than Istanbul, smaller than Cairo, and about the same size as Madrid, Marseilles or Baltimore.



Liverpool Cathedral is two-thirds finished—only the nave and upper portion of the central tower remaining incomplete

In appearance and in temperament (for surely cities have just as much temperament as *prime-donne* or race-horses !) Liverpool is commercial, tough and jealous of its reputation as a northern metropolis.

Liverpool is not a very ancient city. Its name, as a town, first occurs in the year 1191. For six hundred years it remained a small but important borough, one of the main ports for trade first with Ireland, then with the West Indies, and, later still, with the British Colonies in America. The American trade grew and grew, and towards the end of the 18th century Liverpool began to show signs of developing into what it is now. In the 12th century it was a small parish; in the 13th century a small town; in the 17th century an important town; and by the end of the 18th century it had become one of the main ports of England.

During the 19th century, when England was growing steadily in influence and power, and progressing ahead of other peoples in civic consciousness, Liverpool increased enormously in population and commercial importance and also in civic amenities. There followed, one upon another, in succession, hospitals, libraries, museums, scientific institutions, a very fine Art Gallery and a University, now one of the most important in England after Cambridge and Oxford.

In the year 1880 the borough of Liverpool was officially termed a city and was also made the see of a diocese, with a Bishop. Yet, it had



Sir Giles Scott appears in this photograph (*on the right*) with the Honorary Treasurer of the Cathedral Building Committee

no cathedral. To build a Cathedral worthy of so great a city, on a site, that should still be eminent in centuries to come, was a matter not to be hurriedly embarked. But at last decision was taken.

A site on rising ground overlooking the whole city was chosen, and designs were invited.



Oxford's Cathedral is one of the smallest in the country. To-day it serves as the chapel for the fellows and students of Christ Church College, Oxford

The new Cathedral at Liverpool when completed will be the biggest in England. The erection has continued through three Kings' reigns and two world wars



Truth is dead

Nobody could help th

The design chosen was that submitted by a young man of 21. That young man is now Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, one of the most distinguished living architects. He is now aged 62.

It is 40 years since he was chosen to build the greatest of modern English Cathedrals. In 1903 work was begun on clearing the site; in 1904, King Edward VII formally laid the foundation stone and the foundations were completed by 1906. The work has gone on ever since, with no interruption through two world-wars and a world-depression, and is now about two-thirds completed.

When finished it will be immense, with an interior height of more than 99 feet and length of about 622 feet. It will be higher than Westminister Abbey, and longer than Winchester Cathedral, which until now have been respectively the highest and longest churches in England. It will consist of a Lady Chapel, Chapter House Choir, four transepts (not the more usual two), a great central space under the Tower, the Nave, and the Tower itself. At present everything is ompleted but the Nave and the extreme upper portion of the Tower. The Lady Chapel, the Choir, the Transepts and the great space under the Tower are finished, adorned and in daily use. Work on finishing the Tower continues, and when this is completed work will begin on the Nave. It took 16 years to complete the transepts and the central space, (which is about the same size as the central space under the Dome of St. Peter's at Rome) and it was opened in April 1941.

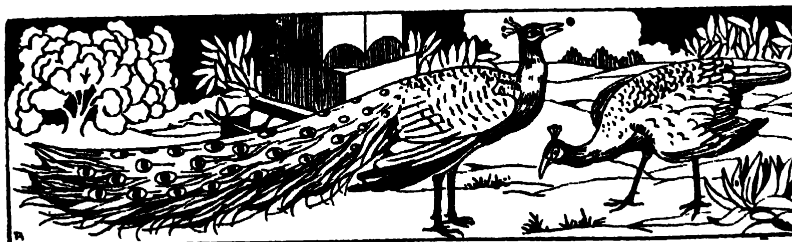
But what is the use of measurements and comparative sizes? What does it matter if Liverpool Cathedral is bigger or smaller than Westminster or Winchester? The important things are that this is a very beautiful work by any standard, and a very significant achievement to-day.



The choir boys of Liverpool Cathedral are seen rehearsing in the crypt

The beauty of this great Cathedral derives partly from the soaring vertical lines, partly from the harmony of the sweeping arches, whose curves contrast with one another and with the verticals, and partly from the sense of space. The architect has used spaces as though they were objects themselves.

What is the significance of this achievement? Here is a work which has grown for forty years, as a 20th century proclamation of Britain's faith; a superb witness to the present and future strength of that faith which Britain is to-day maintining in arms.



"I SAW THIS"—

By AJIT MOOKERJEE, M.A. (Lond.), F.R.A.I. (Lond.)

It is only natural, says an art-critic, that to Goya should fall the distinction of representing Spanish thought during the drama of the French invasion which brought fire and destruction to the Peninsula between 1808 and 1814. He was sixty-two years old when this drama began. For nearly a third of a century he had been the official painter to the Spanish Court. He had already painted the portraits—startling, grotesque, satirical, adorable and vengeful—of that family of degenerates, of prostitutes and monsters, which ruled over Spain at that time. The intellectuals were dismayed, reaction and bigotry again raised their heads in the hope of a new lease of life for a system which had seemed doomed only yesterday. Goya "saw this," he often wrote in the margin—and which he used as models for his etchings on metal.



What is all that noise about ?

Goya was a spontaneous man, enamoured of the street and its life. His pictures were nourished with truth, which strongly contrasted with the convention and academical rules in use at that time. This same independence characteristic of his paintings can be noticed invariably in the character of Goya throughout his long life. This same independence leads him in the course of events, to profess liberal ideas and paint the most cruel of the satirical pictures an artist ever painted.

His subjects are those of the streets: the populace, the mendicants and handicraftsmen, children and workmen, fresh and lively lasses, amusements, festivals, reunions, popular scenes, the gaiety and sorrow of every day life.

Goya paints with his own technique, describes with his own language. He feels what he paints. His maturity finds at the crucial moment the orientation of the mind. Out of this admirable conjunction, come the "Caprichoes," the dramatic drawings.

In these productions, he attacks, despoils, satirizes all the vices of an incult and decaying society, which lack of moral will attract the approaching disasters. He criticises the vices of the aristocracy, the hypocrisy of the ambient society, its religious fanaticism. All that is corrupt and stationary fell under his corrosive scalpel.

To him, the world is a dissection table where he cuts, disarticulates, is always in search of the entrails which are the cause of the evil.

In such work he always puts the best of his feelings. Monsters, prejudices, superstitions, weaknesses, everything is treated by him with irresistible jeer.

The "Caprichoes" are composed of "80 sheets engraved with nitric acid by my own hand," he writes in a letter to Cayetano Soler.

"A child's dead body, a soldier's trousers, the vomiting of a wounded man on the point of falling, or the livid belly of an assassin's victim, the shining blade of a sword and the blood-stained place of a mutilated sexual member, the shirt of a hanged man and his matted hair, all these suffice to emphasize the contrast in which there constantly appears the process so dear to all Spanish artists, which Goya, especially in his etchings, uses incessantly without ever fatiguing us, because it is life seized in its flight, the evidence of the extraordinary power possessed by all Spanish artists, and by him most of all : to give a brilliant impression of not knowing—and they do not know, therein lies their strength—where mind begins and where matter ends; whether it is the gleam of intelligence

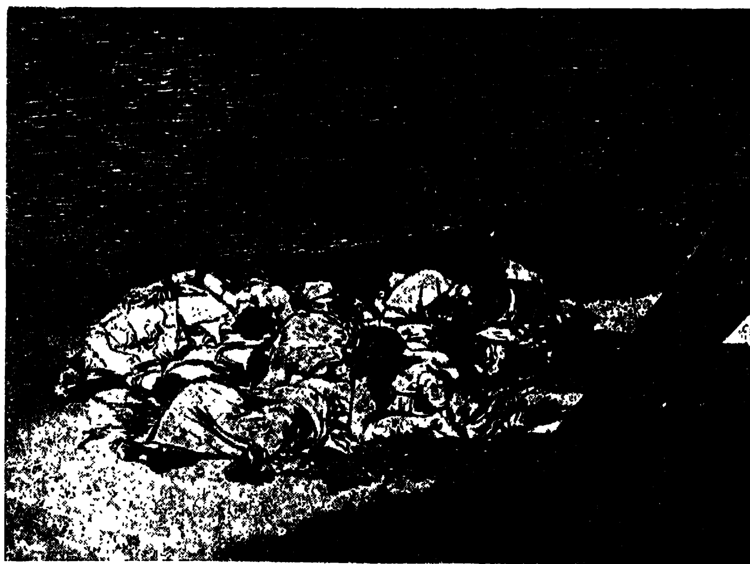
which darkens this glance, or the shadow of the eyelid which gives the illusion of the gleam, whether it is the furtive vision of a beautiful leg encased in a silk stocking which awakens our desire, even in a scene of carnage, or whether it is desire itself which demands the interval of smooth flesh between the garter and the raised dress. Mystery of secret movement which unites the soul to the form. What would anger be, or lust, what would justice be, or mind itself, if we were unable to seize, or hope to seize, this shadow which vanishes after dashing to the ground the skull of a little child, this flesh which seems to offer itself to us but which its revolt denies us, this piece of bread which is tendered us but which our pride rejects, this pile of corpses which the murderers leave on the pavement before disappearing, this fairy-land of shadows and clarities which our emotion reveals? What even is God, if the thinking world is not a reality? That is Goya and Goya is Spain."



The worst is begging

The most moving of his captions which is already mentioned is: "I saw this." The famine of 1811 made the war even more frightful; women and children reduced to mere skeletons dragged themselves along the roads and streets, stretching out their hands to the well-clad, wealthy passers-by who ignored them. "Shooting is no good," "Nobody could help them," such remarks and this appeal to the well-to-do beings who are passing by a group of starving people: "Do they belong to the other race?"—are in strange contrast. He compares them from above and weighs them with his powerful hands. And Goya saw this.

The cup of human misery is emptied to its dregs. While the 'follies and extravagances' of private life are the underlying theme of the first part of the Caprichoes, the concluding part castigates the 'frauds and prejudices' of public life. But neither of these two spheres can be rigidly separated from each other. Superstition, class prejudice affect the private lives of the people, just as the private passions of their masters corrupt public affairs.



For the common gravel

Worse than all the other evils which haunt the artist's nightmare are superstition and its exploitation by a sycophantic rabble.

An artist so profoundly in tune with the

moods and aspirations of his people could not help transposing those topical snatches of doggerel, which provided the texts for the haunting songs and dances of Spain, into his own medium. And it is precisely the quality of vivid topicality, that forceful imagery so truly reflecting the mood of the people, which the Caprichoes share with the folk-songs of their time.

Out of the spontaneous observation of an actual event, surpassing the wildest fantasy in its dramatic appeal, and inspired by its profound social feeling, Goya created a new style. All the confidence and joy, the unshakeable certainty of a better future which inspired the old master, is expressed in this fervent portrayal of Spain, uncouth and barbarous, but triumphant in its irrepressible vitality. These pictures are the true gallery of men and women who made the history of his time.

To-day Bengal is also passing through such appalling distress and suffering. But where is our artist ? He is still copying and re-copying the mythological subjects, although the old India has vanished, never to return.

THE LATE RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Tributes from the Press

[Large numbers of obituary notices in different newspapers and periodicals all over India, mourning the death of the Founder-Editor of *The Modern Review*, have been received in our office Extracts from some of them are reproduced below.—Ed., *M. R.*]

The death of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the well-known Editor of *The Modern Review* and the *Prabasi*, is an irreparable loss to Indian journalism and Indian nationalism. For nearly four decades these two periodicals have preached the gospel of Indian freedom and renaissance without fear or favour. *The Modern Review* has long been recognised as the leading Indian magazine in English and has done much to encourage research in Indian history and culture. It also published many works of Rabindranath Tagore Mr. Chatterjee was not merely a journalist, he was an ardent social and religious reformer. On his eightieth birthday in May last he was felicitated by his numerous friends and admirers all over the country. They will doubtless deeply mourn his loss, but his memory will always be an inspiration to Indians, young and old, and particularly to journalists.—*Bombay Chronicle*.

Bombay, Tuesday.

At a joint meeting of the Journalists' Association of India and the Provincial Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, glowing tributes were paid to the memory of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, late Editor of *The Modern Review*, and a condolence resolution touching his death was passed. The resolution was moved by Mr. B. G. Horniman, who presided over the meeting.

Mr. Horniman said that Mr. Ramanananda Chatterjee's name stood out prominently as the greatest figure Indian journalism had produced.

By his character, outstanding ability, and superlative service, not only to the cause of journalism, but that of Indian freedom as well, he had for 35 years been an inspiration to his countrymen.

After retiring from a notable career in Education, he had taken up journalism and leapt into fame not only in India, but even in the international world. "I have spent a life time in journalism. But, I bow down before him, for he has surpassed us all in a particular type of journalism," he said.—*Bombay Chronicle*, 14-10-1943.

Ramananda Chatterjee was a man of multifarious activities. He had an integrated view of life and knew that freedom in the political field could not be divorced from that in the social sphere. He was one of the leaders of the social reform movement and the emancipation of Indians from the thraldom of caste was dear to him. He was a staunch champion of the rights of women and in days when India's links with the outside world were few he provided in India's leading monthly of which he was the editor, a forum for connecting India with the cultural life of Europe and America. For *The Modern Review* of which he was the life and soul, attracted as contributors not only Indians but also Englishmen and Americans of note and distinction. J. C. Bose and Jadunath Sarkar, Tagore and Andrews wrote frequently His knowledge of public affairs was almost encyclopædic in its range and character and the editorial notes for which he used to be responsible in *The Modern Review* were marked by vigour of expression, cogency of thought and accuracy of information His paper *Prabasi* has made permanent contributions to Bengali literature. The high quality which has been consistently maintained by *The Modern Review* was in itself no mean achievement. Fully alive to the importance of Hindi as a language of all-India importance, he added in later years to his publications a well-conducted Hindi magazine, the *Vishal Bharat*.

In private life Babu Ramananda Chatterjee was a man of the highest honour. The cause of temperance had a warm champion in him He was a well-known authority on Indian art as the 18 volumes of his picture albums can testify. There was no righteous cause which did not appeal to him. Of the chief editor of this paper, the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani, he was a close personal friend and there was no one in the journalistic world of this country for whom Chintamani had a higher regard than Babu Ramananda Chatterjee. Not only Bengal but the whole of this country is poorer by the death of this doyen among Indian journalists. He has left behind him a memory of a life usefully spent in the service of high ideals.—*Leader*.

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee who has died in Calcutta at the age of 79, was a great Bengali, and more. His long generation he served finely as scholar, teacher, writer, journalist, politician, publisher, editor, commentator. His fame brought him invitations to visit other countries. His wisdom was studied far beyond India. He was more than his achievements. He was

always Ramananda. In the first half of his life he was prominent and influential as an educationist, both by his teaching and by the influence of his personality on young people. Of those earlier years he gave ten to the U. P. as a college principal at Allahabad. In the second half he came to the front as writer, commentator, speaker, editor. *The Modern Review* represents only a part of his abiding interests though some who have not known Bengal may have associated him chiefly with that periodical which has been a great institution. Journalists have been proud to think of him as a leader of their calling, and it is not long since Calcutta's journalists gathering at his bedside gave him proof of their admiration - *Statesman.*

His devotion, his exertion, his business acumen are all matters of emulation. And no less so of course are his sterling moral worth and the sturdy independence of his character. Indeed, it is these latter qualities that more than anything else ensured his success and made him respected and revered throughout the length and breadth of the country. As a journalist, he never minced matters, never sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. It can well be said of him that he was as harsh as truth. Yet it is true of him that in the discharge of his duty and responsibility, not always pleasant, he was as gentle as the gentlest of beings. On questions of public importance and national well-being it lay on him to tell the whole truth and the hard truth. He fulfilled this duty to the last of his days; yet he did it all through his life in a way that never smacked of malice or grudge. His honesty was transparent, his straightforwardness unquestioned, and the tongue of calumny never had the opportunity to impute evil motive to him or accuse him even of lack of generosity. Those who agreed with him and those who differed from him have alike admitted his immense moral calibre, and on this solid foundation rests and will rest his fame of which Bengal is justly proud. Bengal owes a deep debt of gratitude to him. His unostentatious life, lived for the country, was an example to all. It was indeed a remarkable life remarkably lived.- *Hindustan Standard.*

Mr. Chatterjee made his mark as an educationist in Allahabad before he settled down in Calcutta to the career of a journalist. *The Modern Review* and its sister Bengali magazine, the *Prabasi*, have come to be regarded as the most prominent Indian journals in the field of art and literature. On a recent occasion, Mr. Chatterjee described how he came to publish the writings of the Poet Tagore. All through his life, Tagore's writings were a regular feature of *The Modern Review*. In his Editorial Notes, Mr. Chatterjee steadily maintained accuracy and balance. He was seldom provoked to violent language. A Brahmo Samajist of long standing, Mr. Chatterjee was instrumental in bridging the gulf between Hinduism and the Samaj which had at one time threatened to leave the reformed Church high and dry. Mr. Chatterjee was a prominent member of the Hindu Mahasabha and its President in one session. He could not have been much in sympathy with Mr. V. D. Savarkar's tirades against the Indian National Congress. Mr. Chatterjee was a staunch supporter of the Congress. By his death India loses one who has been a force making for unity and goodwill among all communities and castes.—*Indian Social Reformer*

Distressed Bengal, last week, presented another tragedy for all India to lament over. Shri Ramananda Chatterjee, the doyen among Indian journalists, the veteran educationist and social reformer, is no more.

For over fifty years he occupied a no mean place in Indian public life. Nationalist to the core, he has always been in the struggle for Indian freedom in his own way. His zeal for it did not decline with age; nor did his fervour wane in the years of increasing storm and stress.

Among his multifarious activities, social and political, his editorship of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* did most to mark him out to the outside world as the unflinching friend of all progressive causes. Well-known contributors not only in India but also from America and England were attracted to that well-known English monthly, and found in it a forum for, and link between the East and West. Shri Ramananda Chatterjee's monthly has thus grown to be an institution respected by educated India.

As much against the iniquities of caste as against the other weaknesses of Hindu society that worked to the detriment of the community and the Nation, he worked hard to the last moment of his life. Of Akhand Hindustan he has been an unfailing advocate. No amount of sophistry, neither the growing strength of disruptionist mania nor the increasing scale of subservience to it, could deter him in his devotion to the Motherland free and united. Against the greatest of difficulties his fight was the keenest.

Another star has fallen from the horizon of Indian public life. It is the unfortunate lot of India that the noblest of her sons should fall away one by one, mostly frustrated in their life-long efforts, their great hopes of a free and progressive motherland still unfulfilled. Yet their memory shall abide with us who are left to strive for the goal they longed for and worked for.- *Social Welfare.*

The most colourful and venerable personality in the *Mahabharata*, our great epic, was Bhisma, the Grand Old Man and the hero among heroes, about whom it was said that he had the choice of the hour of his death. The great journalist who has just passed away and who had many things in common with that epic figure had just seen the last of the almost never-ending leave-takings by his admirers. He has chosen his hour and has passed away silently when there was little suspicion that the end was so near. He was the Nestor of Indian Journalism and we loved him and venerated him almost in the same way as the *Kurus* did the old warrior, their beloved grandfather. Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee was the acknowledged leader of Indian publicists, and many were the ties that bound us to him. We had the privilege of his personal guidance and his charming companionship. The personal traits of his character endeared him to all of us and today the sense of a personal loss makes us unfit to do anything like justice to his memory. His biographer will find ample materials in his rich life for a contemporary history of India to the moulding of which he had a great though unobtrusive hand.

By nature of a retiring disposition and modest to a degree he had made himself the master of his own self by rigid self-discipline. He had a passionate love for his country and few men felt for the mother-land in bondage as keenly as he did. Yet his writings were always sober, almost dispassionate and he relied more on intellectual than sentimental appeal. He always resisted the temptation of hitting even the enemy of the country below the belt. He knew that knowledge was power and like Mazzini of Italy, he devoted the fifty years of his public life to educating his countrymen as to their rights and responsibilities. Perhaps no other two journals in all India could show a collection of

writings so informed and at the same time vigorous, espousing the cause of India's freedom as the *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*, edited by Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee. It is impossible to exaggerate the service that these journals have rendered to awaken political consciousness among our countrymen and evoke the interest of the world beyond India in India's case for freedom. His own writings remarkable for their mastery over facts and figures and their invincible logic would run into volumes. Yet he did not permit one unkind word or one statement that could not be supported by unassailable facts to get the better of his judgment. This composure of his mind was a marvel to us and did much to earn for him and for the papers he edited world-wide renown. Great writers and thinkers all over the world enriched the journalistic literature of his periodicals by their contributions. Many of them had not seen him, but recognised through his writings and his editorial selections the greatness of his mind as a store-house of knowledge and as the embodiment of fairness and of culture.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi*, has died full of years and honours. For nearly forty years he filled a big place in periodical journalism in this country. In his hands *The Modern Review* has been a powerful factor in political and cultural education. As editor of the *Prabasi* Mr. Chatterjee played his part as one of the leaders of the Bengali renaissance. The influence of such journals was bound to be lasting and widely felt, because Mr. Chatterjee's interests were varied. The interests of overseas Indians always engaged his attention. Greater India was an abiding passion with him. The minutest aspects of culture claimed his patronage, and publicity in his hands meant power. Not the least important among the services he rendered was the friendly interest he took in Rabindranath Tagore's early renderings into English from his original Bengali, thus helping the West to gain a full appreciation of the Poet's genius. A stout-hearted nationalist, Mr. Chatterjee's comments on current affairs were always vigorous, trenchant and fearless. The conviction he courted for publishing J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* was proof of rare courage. The record of his long and varied services will be an unfailing inspiration to his countrymen—in particular, to those who have the pride of belonging to his profession. -*Hindustan Times*, New Delhi

In the death of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, Bengal has lost a venerable old man and India the doyen of journalism. Though not much of a dynamic force within recent years, Ramananda Babu did exercise powerful influence on the public mind through his great periodicals—*The Modern Review* (English), *Prabasi* (Bengali) and *Vishal Bharat* (Hindi)—"the Three Musketeers." Both by training and temperament, he belonged to a generation fast vanishing and a tradition nearly extinct. With him journalism was a mission: it was means to an end—the end being national regeneration. Under the influence of the old giants of the Brahmo Samaj he took to public life with a missionary fervour. He also came under the influence of the great W. T. Stead—and imbibed something of the spirit of a crusader. For cultural renaissance in Bengal—particularly art and letters—he strove with a zeal which had no parallel. But for the media he explored, the rich treasures of Bengali intellect would not have been half as familiar to the world as they were. He was, in a sense the torch-bearer. With his death, coming not long after that of Tagore and Andrews,—the Three Grey Beards that typified the spirit of Santiniketan, are beyond mortal ken. A grateful nation will cherish their memory, and Ramananda Babu will live as long as his journals will greet their innumerable readers, in lands, far and near.- *The Twentieth Century.*

It is with profound sorrow that we learn, as the final proofs of this issue are passing through the Press, of the death at Calcutta of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the veteran journalist, in his 79th year. India and Indian journalism have sustained a heavy and irreparable loss. Ramananda Babu took to the editorship of *Prabasi* in Bengali and *The Modern Review* in English as a mission in life thirty-six years ago. He gave up his Principalship of the Kayastha Pathasala, Allahabad, to devote himself fully to this task. His contribution, through journalism, to the cause of Indian progress during these momentous years has been invaluable. The introduction of art and artists to public notice, the ushering of Tagore, large portions of whose writings were published in the *Review*, to the outside world, scholarly contributions on manifold aspects of Indian Culture, past and present, and the able discussion of contemporary Indian problems, social, economic and political, are among the achievements to the credit of this foremost of Indian Monthlies in English. Its pages have been a treasure-house of information to the Indian student and to outsiders interested in India. The copious editorial notes that Ramananda Babu himself wrote, brief, telling, well-documented, outspoken and independent often marked by mild sarcasm and dry humour will long be missed. We pay our respectful homage to the memory of a most successful and illustrious journalist and nation-builder, and offer our condolences to the members of the bereaved family.—*The Triveni Quarterly.*

WHY HITLER WENT TO WAR WITH RUSSIA

By P. RAI

POLITICIANS and historians will long continue to debate why Hitler went to war with Russia. Was it his desire to show the world that he could succeed where Napolean had failed, that none greater than he was ever born on this earth? And why of all days in the year he chose June 22nd—the same day on which Napolean launched his offensive against Russia!

It is difficult to arrive at the truth. It may be that before he closes his eyes Hitler may write his memoirs and therein the explanation of it be found. We can only draw conclusions

from his speeches and actions. He has admitted that the decision of this momentous step cost him much thought and anxiety.

Of late the world was being divided into two groups, the Nazi or Fascist and the Communist. As the philosophy of living of these two schools is diametrically opposed the conflict between them was inevitable.

Hitler took the world by surprise when he entered into treaty with Russia—a diplomatic triumph indeed.

But luckily for democracies of the world this entente was short-lived. Russia in a short while obtained concessions from Finland and conquered Bessarabia, North Bukovina, Lithuania and Latvia. Hitler watched closely these movements of the Bear and not without much concern. Russian armaments and its methods of warfare did not impress him much. And the conviction that the Russian Army had been much hamstrung by the purge of 1937 gained more strength with him. The Purge he believed had caused much disaffection in Russia's ranks and were there no Quislings in Russia ? He hoped to be in Moscow before the autumn leaves were falling. His opportune moment had come. His armies enriched by the booty he had seized were spoiling for battle. The Nazi multitudes reinforced by the Finns on the North, the Hungarians in the centre, and the Rumanians in the South, deemed themselves invincible and not without reason. Holland had fallen, Belgium had surrendered, France had capitulated. In Norway and Greece as well as in France, England had been swept into the sea. And even in Crete, an island fortress far removed from German air bases, and long prepared by England against attack, the German troops landing against heavy odds from the air, had swept the British Forces once more into the sea and enriched themselves by an all important air base from which they could endanger the Suez Canal. Furthermore, the German armies by a dashing and victorious sweep in face of the British planes and warships had cancelled the British Victory over the Italians on the North African Coast and stood now at Sollum on the frontiers of Egypt itself.

One country alone, should England be despatched, stood between Hitler and his dream of world domination. That was Soviet Russia. With Russia defeated, the coal, iron and corn of the Ukraine and still more important the oil of Baku would relieve Germany from all anxiety concerning supplies. At her liesure she could starve, bomb or invade England into submission. The temptation was alluring and Hitler fell to it. Defeating Russia he was killing two birds with one stone.

And who knew England might herself decide to join him. Bolshevism was a menace to both civilisations, German and English alike. And Hitler knew that powerful forces in England and the U. S. A. dreaded communism more than they dreaded him. He calculated upon England's Lavals and Petains to aid him. Could there be a greater disillusionment ?

But Russia was an ally. True, but a false ally. Had she not sent a note to Bulgaria without consulting Berlin and was she not carrying on flirtations with Turkey ?

This was the moment to break and Hitler can break a treaty as easily as he enters into it. It is his object to conquer the world bit by bit. Treaties and promises hold value for him so long as they serve his purpose. Beyond it they have no meaning.

Besides, Hitler has always felt that Germans have a mission in this world. German culture he feels is the best and therefore the whole of the world should accept it. Frederick and Kaiser also believed that the Germans were the most superior race in the world. "Hitler," says Mr. Knicker Bocker, "is the manifestation of the unconscious will of the nation." Hitler holds with popular support that there must be only one Power in Europe. This ferocity of his goes back to Frederick the Great and his doctrine of the "unjustified existence of the weak." The writings of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer have given the stamp of religious sanction to this belief. "The German army is the German people." The whole nation has repeated that for generations. It is the German army and therefore the German people that is now at traditional butchery all over Europe. There is no escape from that; indeed the German people themselves have always repudiated escape, 'for conquest was and is their dream.'

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The armies of the Soviets have continued the drive against the Axis forces. So far the Nazi High Command has not been able to make a stand on any of its so-called defence lines. In Italy the position is somewhat different. There the Axis is fighting a delaying action battle, hoping thereby to give Mussolini a chance to rebuild the totally collapsed Italian morale. As the campaigning season in Europe is coming to a close, there does not seem to be much of a chance of a major assault being made on the fortress of Europe by the Allies in the near future. Major relief for the Russian forces, who are as yet shouldering the main brunt of fighting in Europe, may therefore be postponed for the time being. But for the present at least the Russian armies seem to be well able to maintain all the pressure necessary though the pace seems to have slackened somewhat.

The Axis positions on the Russian front have been further withdrawn in an attempt to establish a winter line where the defence will have a counter-balancing advantage over the assaulting forces in the matter of communications and supply arrangements. The Russian advance will naturally meet increasing difficulties of transport over areas systematically devastated by the retreating invader. Indeed one of the reasons that have prevented an assault in mass over a large front must have been this large-scale destruction of communications. The German attempt throughout this "strategic defence" withdrawal has been to impose an increasingly heavy handicap on the Russian forces as they advance further and further away from their established supply lines. based on the Volga and the railways connecting the Moscow area with the Volga basin. This base line of direction of operations in its turn draws its supplies from the Urals, the Far Eastern armament production centres and the Allied lease-lend supply depots at the Caspian and Arctic ports. The supply arrangements between the production and import centres have been perfected by a miracle of organisation by the Soviets much to the dismay of the Axis High Command. Indeed the Senators' report to the U. S. A. Congress conveys a plain impression that the Soviets are now depending mainly on their own production and supply arrangements. But now the problem of taking the supplies to the battle-line is becoming more complicated with the retreat of the Germans.

By now the Soviets forces have advanced to an average depth of about 350 miles all along the line of German withdrawal. In some places the advance has been over 500 miles and more. It must not be forgotten that this German retreat has been so far in the nature of an orderly withdrawal which means systematic destruction of all bases of supply and of all bridges, roads, railways and air-ports. This in its turn means that while the German lines of supply have been shortened that of the Soviets has had perforce to be extended over a broad belt of morassy terrain with all its communication lines and possible bases reduced to a mass of destruction. This probably is the main factor that has prevented a rapid deterioration of the Axis position in Russia, accompanied by mass capture of Axis fighting forces and materials.

Winter is now only a matter of days on the Russian battle-line, and with the coming of the winter will come the test of the "strategy" of the Axis High Command. If they are successful, then the Russian winter campaign of 1943-44 will be a minor-scale affair, if not, then the doom of the Axis forces on the Russian front will draw near rapidly.

In the Far East and the Pacific, the tempo of the Allied counter-offensive remains more or less the same, but the significant fact remains that Japan does not seem to be able to initiate any considerable counter measures. The initiative is passing, more and more into the hands of General McArthur's forces. Japan is either expecting and preparing for meeting a large-scale offensive elsewhere, or else her armament production as yet has not attained either the quality or the mass—or both—that would enable her to meet the Allied challenge. It is quite certain that Japan as yet has not experienced any shortage of combatant forces.

On the Indo-Burmese front, great things are said to be impending. Much publicity has been given to the Allied conferences led by Lord Mountbatten. As yet it is too early to comment on any aspect of the coming offensive, though there has been some amount of talk in the United States in the nature of criticism of the nature of Allied planning and choice of leaders.

INDIAN MONETARY POLICY IN RECENT TIMES

By Prof. P. C. THOMAS, M.A.

IV

Money to Remain Neutral

Changes in price are the result of several causes. Whatever the other influences be, the quantity of money is an influence. Whether Irving Fisher's Quantity Theory applies in all its mathematical exactitude or no, the Quantity Money is *a* deciding factor in price; sometimes money tones up, sometimes it pulls down prices. Price variations due to variations in Demand and Supply are sometimes aggravated by unwise monetary policy. They can also be neutralised by judicious monetary policy. But, for some time past, especially since Wicksell wrote on the subject, a line of thought has been springing that money should do neither of these functions—neither toning up nor pulling down, neither aggravating nor neutralising. On the contrary, money should remain strictly neutral, should not exert any influence "autonomous to money." A thorough discussion of the conditions which money must fulfil in order to remain neutral is contained in J. G. Koopman's contributions to Beiträge zu Geld-theory and the term neutral money has been frequently used by Wicksell, Behrens, Hayek and others in their writings.

Neutral money is "a kind of money which leaves production and the relative prices of goods, including the rate of interest 'undisturbed,' exactly as they would be if there were no money at all."[1] Dr. Hayek says:

> "If we eliminate all monetary influences on production . . . . we may treat money as non-existent."[2]

Pigon and Cassel regard money as not exerting autonomous influences when the quantity of money fluctuates in terms of the fluctuations in production so that the general price-level is kept constant. Cassel said:

> "The simplest assumption is, then, that a country has a paper currency so regulated as to keep the general level of prices constant."[3]

Professor Pigon says that if countries with paper currencies will regulate them with a view to keeping the general price-level constant, there will be no impulses from the side of money which can properly be called "autonomous."[4]

1. Pierro Sraffa: "Dr. Hayek on Money and Capital." *Economic Journal*, March, 1932, p. 42.
2. Hayek: *Prices and Production*, p. 109.
3. *Economic Journal*, Vol. 38, December, 1929, p. 589.
4. A. C. Pigon: *Industrial Fluctuations*, 1929, p. 101.

Both statements imply that money so regulated to keep the price-level fairly constant (or absolutely if possible) exert no influence on price and that, therefore, a money so regulated would be 'neutral'. According to Dr. Hayek this is contradiction. If the object of regulating money is to keep prices stable, that money obviously exerts an influence on price.

> "We should expect rather that, to be neutral in this sense, the supply of money should be invariable."

By money he means all money—"the total of all kinds of media of exchange (including all so-called 'substitutes' of money) used either in a closed economic system (*i.e.*, in a country which has no communication with the outside world) or in the world as a whole."[5] Again, by quantity of money is meant not the physical quantity of money, but the product of the quantity and the velocity. To borrow Fisher's famous formula, it is $MV+M'V'$; or, if we can think of other kinds of "media of exchange," it is $MV+M'V'+M''V''$ and so forth *i.e.*, $\neq MV$. Professor Hayek says:

> "It should be fairly clear that the magnitude which . . . . have called 'quantity of money in circulation' and that commonly referred to under the same name . . . . are not identical . . . ."

Dr. Hayek's is theoretical conception. The assumption of either a closed system or a uniform monetary policy for the whole world makes "neutral" money theoretical enough, and even in theory difficult. Though this question is not merely one of theoretical interest, "but also a question the answer to which may prove very important in the shaping of a more rational monetary policy," a rigorous application of the doctrine would be impossible and it would be "entirely utopian to expect anything of that kind from central banks so long as general opinion still believes that it is the duty of central banks to accommodate trade and to expand credit as the increasing demands of the trade require."

If this is true of the Central Banks Professor Hayek had in mind, it is more true of the Indian Reserve Bank. It is strongly held here that the Reserve Bank has something positive to do instead of taking a negative attitude in maintaining neutral money. A central bank cannot have a monetary policy which treats money as if it did not exist. If money is to serve only those purposes which it would serve if it did not exist, it is

5. Hayek: *Prices and Production*, p. 109.

futile to talk of a monetary policy and it would be waste to make central banks pursue such policy. Pierro Sraffa wrote:

> "From the beginning it is clear that a methodological criticism could not leave a brick standing in the logical structure built up by Dr. Hayek."[6]

Elimination of Unemployment the Object of Monetary Policy

Lord Keynes has spoken at length about the objective of monetary policy being full employment. Unemployment is generally analysed into "normal" or frictional unemployment,, due to "seasonal changes," the movement of labour from one job to another and the existence of "unemployables"; "special" unemployment, due to "peculiar causes" such as a collapse in the demand for a particular group of commodities so sudden that the labour cannot be transferred to other trades in a reasonably short time and cyclical unemployment due to the fluctuations in the productive activity which does not proceed except unevenly.

It is commonly accepted that central banks are not in a position to remedy the first and the second types of unemployment. India's chief unemployment problem is inherent in her main industry in which 80% of the population is engaged. The Indian agriculturist is not employed for more than 4 to 6 months in his occupation. To relieve this type of unemployment the classical remedy suggested is to develop cottage industries. This has been actively advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and several other students of the question. The co-operative society, the village money-lender and all other agencies of rural finance are directly and intimately connected with this. It might even be said that the joint-stock banks have a say in the matter as they form in one way or other a source of rural finance. It can hardly be said to be a problem of central banking. Employment as the objective of monetary policy has been dealt with in recent economic writings, especially of, among others, Lord Keynes, Professor Pigon, Mr. G. D. H. Cole. Trade cycle and the part central banks play in them have also received considerable attention at the hands of economists, though central banks have not always been able to incorporate their findings even where argument was possible among them. Professor Pigon, Mr. R. G. Hawtrig, Ludwig Mises, Friedrich Hayek, Keynes, Mr. D. N. Robertson, Haberler, among others, have discussed the question. It is assumed for the purpose of this article that Trade cyclical unemployment is not severe in India—nothing compared to similar unemployment witnessed in America and Europe in the last Depression. The writer believes the assumption is correct. The Indian problem is mainly how to create employment, especially for the rural population, on a vast scale. And it is also assumed that industrial development is the means of creating that employment. The question of Industrial Finance in India was examined in detail by the Central Banking Enquiry (Bhupendranath Mitra) Committee.[7]

The relation of the Indian Reserve Bank with India's industrial development has an obvious parallel in the part played by central banks in other countries in their industrial expansion. The trend in recent development in central banking theory suggests that central banks should have nothing to do with industries as such. Central banks should deal only in "pure" credit. It should deal neither in industrial credit nor in long-term credit of any other species. Its credit should be short and absolutely free from risk element, *i.e.*, pure credit. Central banking thus would be regarded as a financial appendage of the community dealing in pure credit, irrespective of the cost of that credit, just as the State High Court can be regarded the judicial appendage dealing in pure justice irrespective of the cost of administering that justice.[8] This is pure theory. Some of the most powerful central banks, operating in first class money markets, such as the Federal Reserve system of U. S., the Bank of England and the Reichsbank of Germany, come far short of this theoretical perfection. The intimate association of the Reichsbank with industry through Germany's Industrial Banks, the recent practice of the Bank of England to lend to industries and similar recent development in U. S., Australia, Equador and other countries show how distant theory and practice stand. On the continent of Europe central banking and commercial banking are compatible functions and some central banks are commercial banks besides. In the case of banks in the secondary money markets, it will be long before they can approximate to this theory. Adherence to it at a premature stage, granting for a moment that it

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6. Pierro Sraffa: *Op. Cit.*, p. 45.

7. Two other books on the subject are: Nabagopal Das: *Banking and Industrial Finance in India*, S. K. Basu: *Industrial Finance in India.*

8. P. C. Thomas: Article, *Mysore Economic Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 5, 1942.

is possible, would be pernicious, and in such places central banks have a duty of developing and stirring up the credit market. The standing aloof policy of the central banks was to be discouraged. In America, for instance, though the needs of an undeveloped and un-co-ordinated money market do not apply to that country, the consciousness was growing that the central banking system should be given a voice in the direction and quantity of the community's funds that flowed into the investment market,[9] and that

> "While it was not probably wise to have the Central bank assume the duty directly of controlling and supplying the investment market with funds, it nevertheless must be given a negative influence or power by authorising it to determine in what circumstances the investment market might draw upon the general pool of funds for capital goods."[10]

The Capital Issue Committee of the last war period and the Investment Auxiliary of the Federal Reserve system are instances in point. This duty of directing the flow of capital in investment goods has not been assumed by central banks in general. As Parker Willis says :

> "On the whole it must be regarded as still undetermined whether in Central banking countries this duty of directing the distribution of funds will be definitely allotted to the Central bank or not.[10](a)

The Federal Reserve Bank Act of June, 1934, is a significant piece of legislation in this respect. Under it the Federal Reserve Banks were authorised to give industrial advances; they may discount or buy from "any bank, trust company, mortgage company, credit corporation for industry or other financing institute"[11] obligations maturing within five years entered into for the purposes of advances to industrial and commercial enterprises. In exceptional circumstances, the Federal Reserve Banks may make direct working capital advances to established private industries.

The Australian Royal Commission on Monetary and Banking systems recommended, among other things, as the duty of the Australian Commonwealth Banks to pay "some regard" to the distribution by the banks of the volume of credit among different industries and see that the credit provided is made available "at appropriate rates of interest."[12] The attempt at regulating the flow of funds to long-term productive enterprises has spread to other countries as well. For instance, the new law on the organization and operation of the Central Bank of Equador promulgated on December 30th, 1937, authorises the Bank to de-discount 270-day agricultural bills and 180-day industrial bills.

What is India's position ? India's credit requirements have been divided, though very broadly, into three and a representative institution to meet the needs of each also presented. For short-term agricultural requirements the co-operative credit society, for long-term needs the Land Mortgage Bank and for the needs of Industry the Industrial Corporations of those, the last had only made just a beginning. The question of supplying the capital needs of Indian industries came up for discussion before the Central Banking Committee, the External Capital Committee and other investigating bodies. In India public opinion has not come to include supplying industries with capital among the duties of central banking. That has to be done by the Government and the investing public. Industrial Corporations and Investment Trusts have to be increasingly started. Where necessary the Government should take direct lead. The instance of the Industrial Corporation of the United Provinces was already mentioned. Even when the supply of capital is not considered a duty of the Central Bank, is there anything which the Reserve Bank of India can do to stimulate industrial investment and to help the banking institutions which supply such needs ? Section 17 of the Reserve Bank of India Act deals with the main business the Bank is authorised to do in this connection. The Act does not in any way contemplate granting industries such help as indicated above. Section 17 sub-section (2) deals with

> "the purchase, sale and rediscount of bills of exchange and promissory notes . . . . arising out of bona-fide commercial or trade transactions . . . . and maturing within ninety days. . . . .", "the purchase, sale and re-discount of bills of exchange and promissory notes, ... and drawn or issued for the purpose of financing seasonal agricultural operations or the marketing of crops and maturing within nine months . . . .", "the purchase, sale or re-discount of bills of exchange and promissory notes . . . . . and issued or drawn for the purpose of holding or trading in securities of the Government of India" etc.

Though the above sub-sections specify the nature and character of the accommodation the

9. Parker Willis *Theory and Practice of Central Banking*, p. 39.
10. Parker Willis *Theory and Practice of Central Banking*, p. 39.
10(a). *Ibid.*, p. 40.
11. League of Nations *Commercial and Central Banks*, 1937-38, p. 201.
12. League of Nations; *Monetary Review*, 1937-38, p. 80.

Reserve Bank of India is authorised to give agriculture, commerce and trade in securities, they are silent about industrial accommodation. Critics of the Reserve Bank have not been satisfied with the existing arrangements for granting accommodation even to these departments of economic life. Any action of assistance the Reserve Bank can take in facilitating industrial investment and the supply of capital to industries has to be preceded by the building of banking institutions with capital ear-marked for the purpose. Time and again the joint-stock banks of the country have stated in public and submitted before several Enquiry Committees that they cannot be expected to finance industry for the reason, among others, that industrial needs are in the main long-term whereas the funds at their disposal are borrowed from the investing public on short-term. Till the rearing up in India of such Industrial Banks the Reserve Bank cannot make any effective attempt in directing the flow of the community's funds along specific channels. Till then the Reserve Bank cannot help actively in the country's industrialization. Till then the creation of employment cannot be said the objective of the monetary policy of the country.

(*Concluded*)

INDIAN FAMINE RELIEF MEASURES—OLD AND NEW

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

FROM the time the administration of the country was taken up by the East India Company we have records of the several famines that have visited India at different periods of history, and the details of the measures adopted for alleviation of the distress of the people. There is such a close similarity between the different measures adopted by the Government at distant dates since 1770 to 1943 that it is highly interesting and profitable to study them by comparison.

Before going into the details we may be inclined to give an idea of famine relief in the Badshahi Amal—the regime of the Moghul Emperors.

As regards Emperor Shahjehan (Famine in the Bombay Presidency in 1629-30) :

"For two successive years the rains failed and the mortality and depopulation caused thereby were very great. The Emperor Shah Jehan was then at Burhanpur. . . . . He ordered poor houses to be opened at Burhanpur, Surat and Ahmedabad for the relief of the famished, and food and money distributed. All taxes were remitted for two years."

Next we come to Emperor Aurangzebe (Report of past famine in the N.-W. Provinces by Girdlestone)—Famine in 1661 :

"Aurangzebe personally superintended the relief of his subjects, one of his plans being to bring grain on a large scale from Bengal and the Punjab. . . . Several things tend to prove that the calamity was severe. The Emperor opened his treasury and granted money without stint. He gave every encouragement to the importation of corn and either sold it at reduced prices or distributed it gratuitously amongst those who were too poor to pay. He also promptly acknowledged the necessity of remitting the rents of his cultivators and relieved them for the time being from the burden of other taxes. The vernacular chronicles of the period attribute the salvation of millions of lives, and the preservation of many provinces, to his strenuous exertions."

The early British rule was visited by one of the worst famines in history, known as 'Bengal Famine of 1770' :

"In November the Collector General saw an alarming prospect of the Province becoming desolate and the Government wrote home (23rd November) to the Court of Directors in the most alarming terms."

With what effect :

"They resolved to lay up a six months' store of grain for their troops. . . . In 1770, the distress was acutest in Behar; efforts were made, not very successfully to obtain grain from the British Officers at Allahabad and Fyzabad."

In 1943 we go to the Governors' Provinces (Sec. 93 Provinces, as they are called) almost with the same result. There is store for the Army, the Port Trust, Railways and men of other Essential Services *i.e.*, factory labours, etc.

The Report says :

"But it is probable that private trade was active. ."

We have on Mr. Hunter's authority :

"The whole administration was accused of dealing in grain for their private advantage. It was in vain that the Court of Directors wrote one indignant letter after another demanding the names of the culprits."

The Court of Directors had also to write about "the corruption and rapacity of our servants. . . ."

Is not history repeating itself in 1943 ? If you want to be convinced of the grain trade between the several provincial governments with the Government of India at the top, please go through the proceedings and speeches of the members of the Central Legislature, the statements of the Ministers of the Provinces, particularly emanating from the Ministers of the Punjab. As late as the 4th of September, said Sardar Baldev Singh, Development Minister :

"In spite of our strong protest, no action seems to have been taken uptill now to check some of the Provincial Governments from making profit at the expense of the Punjab growers and their (Provincial Governments) starving population."

Compare the Government circular, issued during the famine of 1783 with that of the present Minister for civil supplies, Bengal.

In 1783:

"We direct that you do in the most public manner issue orders by beat of tom-tom, in all the bazars and gunges in the district under your charge, declaring that if any merchant shall conceal his grain, refuse to bring it to market, and sell it at a reasonable price, he will not only be punished himself in the most exemplary manner, but his grain will be seized and distributed among the poor."

Says the Bengal Minister on the 7th May 1943:

"I have already warned all hoarders including the agriculturist hoarders that if they do not bring their stock on to the market, they will lose in the long run. I am determined to use all the powers of the Government to see . . . that these hoards are disgorged, and preliminary steps, which these gentlemen may find drastic, have already been taken. . . I am giving a chance to the people to do it voluntarily, while I perfect my plans to make them disgorge the hoards. If they do not listen to my warning let them not think that they can run their hoards underground or that they will be able to succeed in dissipating the hoards."

There were several other announcements, etc., on this subject threatening ultimate freezing of the concealed stock.

Over-confidence in the stock of the province, disregard of the signs of scarcity and thorough unpreparedness for a coming scarcity or actual famine have been the cause of death of hundreds of thousands of lives in India. Emasculation of the people, dislocation of economic order, disruption of society and deaths from diseases coming in the trails of the famine have retarded the progress of India by centuries. During 1865 the timely warning of the Collectors of various districts in Orissa of failure of crop and suggestions for remission of taxes were met with sharp rebuke from the Government of Bengal and the Board of Revenue. Says the Famine Commission of 1878:

"In November and December more and more urgent reports were sent up from Puri in which district the famine first declared itself, of the extreme distress of the people and of the prevalence of deaths from starvation. . . . By the end of January, prices had gone up near or at which rate they stood till the end of March. The necessity of importation was earnestly pressed on the Board at this time (March), *but in vain*. . . . In February, distress began to show itself acutely taking the form of an influx of starving people into the headquarter town, and an outbreak of grain robberies. But the extent of the impending calamity was still far from realized."

In April the conscience of the munificent public in different towns, particularly in Calcutta was roused to the gravity of the situation and relief committees were formed to take steps for mitigating the distress,

"but the Board of Revenue still doubted whether there was any really great deficiency of food or any necessity for Government to interfere by any new measures."

In May it was clear that money was of no avail. "We want rice" was the cry of the Commissioner.

"Rice required for the troops, the prisoners and the Government establishments could no longer be procured."

In 1943, barring that sufficient store is being held for the troops, the prisoners and members of the essential services, no other provisions to meet the exigencies of the situation have been made. There was a sense of sufficiency in the minds of the Ministers and we find that the Civil Supplies Member, Bengal, "did not wish," on the 30th May, "to say that there was not enough rice in Bengal or that enough rice would not be coming from outside." Earlier than that on the 8th May he said that 'there was sufficiency of food-grains for the people of Bengal.' On the 29th of April speaking of the seriousness of the food situation, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, an ex-premier of Bengal, said that

"It had been reported to him by an officer on his return from tour that a man had died, and on post-mortem examination grass was found in his stomach—he could not digest it."

The situation had already become very serious, but the ministers "still doubted whether there was any really great deficiency of food." On the 8th May it was told that 'the solution was in sight' and the Finance Minister said on the very next day that 'in a short time the situation will greatly improve.' There were some efforts in inducing the Transport Member of the Government of India to make arrangements for flow of foodgrains to Bengal to which he replied on the 19th May that 'he would do everything in his power to facilitate the movement of food-stuffs from other provinces to Bengal.' Then the Ministers or Advisers, as the case may be, were approached. No sooner had the Bengal Minister expressed satisfaction on the result of such interviews, the public were regaled on the very next day by statements from responsible Ministers and Advisers opposing such arrangement. Giving out his mind on the Government of India Order creating an Eastern Zone of Free Trade, Sir Md. Saadulla said:

"I have been compelled to lodge a dignified and vigorous protest with the Central Government" and "I appeal to our traders and also to our growers not to export rice and paddy for temporary gain."

The Bengal Government in its helplessness devised their province-wide food drive to be

launched on June 7 and "The Bengal Food Grains Inquiries and Control Order" was published on the 4th June providing that "an authorised Officer may, together with such persons as he may consider necessary, enter upon any premises where he has reason to believe that food-grains have been stocked, etc.," and an Ordinance was passed to the effect "that any matter intended or likely to incite opposition to, or non-participation in measures to be taken in Bengal to prevent, detect or deal with hoarding and hoarders of food-grains shall, before publication be submitted for scrutiny to the Press Adviser." The feasibility of such a measure was doubted but the people willingly submitted to such province-wide search in the hope of getting rice at reasonable price. On the 30th June, at New Delhi, the Civil Supplies Minister 'expressed satisfaction at the result of the food (anti-hoarding) drive.' But on the 12th July, in the Bengal Assembly, he was forced to say

"that the general picture that he might present to the House was that practically in all places deficits have been reported."

His boss in the India Office said on the 14th July, in the House of Commons that

"The present difficult situation in India was due to the widespread tendency of cultivators to withhold food-grains from the market, to larger consumption per head as a result of increased family income, to hoarding by consumers and others."

Before passing on to other details the general condition of the people in August 1866 may profitably be compared with those of 1943. Says the Report:

"The mortality was highest in August, consequent on the heavy storms of rain. The people were then in the lowest stage of exhaustion; the emaciated crowds collected at the feeding stations and had no sufficient shelter, and the cold and wet seem to have killed them in fearful numbers."

To come to 1943 again, we find that while the Ministers were speaking of sufficiency and making no serious efforts to check the impending famine, the people at this time have been passing through great stress due to high prices of rice and other necessaries of life. On the 3rd July (1943) "the District Magistrate declared a serious shortage of rice at Chittagong" and in a message dated the 14th July, delayed in transmission, the Bar Association and President of the Different Union Boards wired to the authorities "informing them of a horrible state of famine" in Bhola (Barisal). Pictures of acute distress in districts began pouring in from every part of Bengal at this time.

"The leaders of the people and the nationalist press have been clamouring for a long time against export of rice, which remained unheeded till the 23rd of July when "all exports of rice from India was stopped." It reminds me of past objections to export of rice from India when famine conditions prevailed in the country. During the famine in Bengal in 1873-74 Sir George Campbell, then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, wrote to the Viceroy on the 22nd October 1873 "that exportation of rice from India to foreign countries might be stopped." He further said, "that if there was a general failure in Bengal, all that India and Burma could supply would go but a little way to fill up the vacuum." The Viceroy objected to this proposal, to which the Secretary of State concurred. The grounds of objection are still the same as before. The Indian coolies abroad needed rice and "it would have been unjust to stop the supply of the usual food of the Bengal coolies in the Colonies." The other objection was that the people would eat more rice if export is stopped when it is known that "lowered consumption is the greatest safeguard against famine."

Export of rice according to the Government of India has to be made (15. 7. 43)

"In the interests of Indian labouring population" in Ceylon and elsewhere and "of the maintenance of production of vital war supplies."

Our attention is drawn to (15. 3. 42)

"The important problem of keeping India's fighting forces fully supplied with the best of food in order to sustain their health and spirits."

We have also to remember (1. 2. 42) that

"India, particularly suited to meet the requirements of the Empire and the various theatres of war in the Middle East and elsewhere, has harnessed all its available resources to maintain a regular food supply in sufficient quantity and of desired standard quality for the Defence forces in the country and abroad."

The policy enunciated above was followed till the 23rd of July 1943 with the following result:

Export of Grain, Pulse and Flour from India:

Year	Rs.
1939-40	5.08,82.988
1940-41	5,91,47,381
1941-42	10.42.64.211
1942-43	6,95,49,014

We have no separate figures for rice, but export of food-grains in very large quantities during continued scarcity (may be due to failure of imports) is bound "to create a vacuum which it is difficult of fill up" by statements, proclamations and ordinances.

I have had no idea that the "Eat Less" slogan is not an original idea with the Bengal Civil Supplies Minister but that it is a mere

paraphrase of the statement of a Secretary of State for India in 1873-74 which, as has been stated before, says "lowered consumption is the greatest safeguard against famine."

I do not know if the people of Bengal have not been living barely on lowered consumption for the last two years and his advice "Eat Less" and "to get themselves habituated to substitute food as far as possible" tendered on the 4th August is a mere waste of Ministerial, and hence costly, breath. When people do not get food they try to subsist on whatever they can get, not to speak of "substitute food." This is famine even if the Ministers refuse to call it one.

Price of goods was controlled with no effect whatsoever on the market. The Premier of Bengal, on the 23rd May "had no doubt that the prices of foodstuffs would be brought to a reasonable level within a short time."

The Department of Civil Supplies Press Note said on the 4th June:

> "There is every reason to believe that prices have reached their peak" and again "there is ground for solid confidence that prices will begin to fall."

On the 1st August Mr. Suhrawardy thundered forth:

> "I wish to take this opportunity of warning the trade that a scheme for controlling prices throughout Bengal will shortly be put in operation. . . . . Most vigorous steps will be taken by Government to ensure that these controlled prices are maintained."

The prices are soaring high in thorough disregard of Governmental threats, and "controlled" commodities have disappeared from the market. There is a black market for the rich, and even the dead remembers that it *exists*, but our Civil Supplies Minister, when asked at a Press Conference on the 1st of September, said, *he was not aware of its existence either officially or non-officially. To those who were withholding stocks he had given them a stern warning."* Bravo!

In July when the situation became critical and people began to wander about for food, the Civil Supplies Minister announced in the Bengal Council about starting of gruel kitchens in different parts of Chittagong. With regard to the beggars in Calcutta he said:

> "They can be looked after by the charitably disposed people here."

But in fact these charitably disposed people have been looking after a large number of these wanderers even long before the Minister has had any idea about it. This is a form of indirect taxation which the Government wilfully encouraged.

Inspite of all tall talks of tackling the problem successfully people began to die on the streets and dead bodies remained there for days without anybody to take care of them. On the 3rd August, the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, announced an arrangement 'for removing dead bodies off the streets of Calcutta to the morgues with the minimum of delay.' Between the period 13th to 17th August 120 dead bodies were removed from the streets and 127 persons were removed to improvised hospitals on the 16th and 17th August. The figures have mounted up and daily deaths in these improvised hospitals are numerous. Pathetic tales have been pouring in from the districts where rice is not available in the markets and people in all classes of society are dying in most tragic circumstances. The tale of the famine of 1770 is being repeated in its minutest details in Bengal and every human being in the Province has witnessed some of these with their own eyes and every description will fall short of the actual picture.

The Famine Commission of 1878 censured the Government of Bengal and the Revenue Board for failing to take notice of the signs of famine in time. The Revenue Board 'unreservedly admitted' that

> "To be at all largely effectual, it was necessary that the discovery of the full truth should be made, and very extensive measures adopted, many months before the actual outburst of unmistakable famine occurred."

During the famine 'money was of little use, for it could not be exchanged for food.' They also admitted that 'they had no experience of any previous famines' and consequently they had been working under a serious handicap.

The Government of Bengal and the Central Government stand condemned today for inefficient handling of the situation allowing it to drift in the manner it liked. The needs of the civil population were quite forgotten and they had been fiddling when the tune of woes was rending the skies all over Bengal. On the 11th September Sir Jagadish Prasad, ex-Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, said "Bengal is faced with one of the worst famines in living memory." Sir J. P. Srivastava, the present Food Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council, said on the 27th August that

> "The key to the solution of the present difficult situation in this Region is not one of economic policy but of practical, efficient and bold administration and the Provinces must see such an administration is set up without delay if it has not been done already"

—that it has not been done up till now is admitted on all hands. He has been pleased to pass judgment on the action of the present Bengal

Ministry and the Hon'ble Ministers at the Centre. The whole Government was found napping. On the 30th August he said to the *Associated Press* that

> "He recalled that during his visit to Calcutta last November, he had consulted almost every section of opinion in Calcutta whether there was any danger of the food situation in Bengal deteriorating. No one seemed to have any misgivings in this direction at that time and he went away satisfied that there would be no shortage of food."

Concluding his statement he had the frankness to say:

> "The fact of the matter is that we have all erred and the main thing now for us is to get together and do all we can."

He was not satisfied with mere speaking out his mind to the Press. On the 8th of September at a Press Conference at Lahore the Food Member further said:

> "There is very acute shortage of foodstuffs in Bengal and the next three months are going to be crucial. The only way to tide over the situation is to get whatever grain one can have either by seizing, borrowing or stealing from other parts of India. This is the only method to save the starving millions of Bengal."

In our opinion the injury has gone too deep and the present prevailing market prices for each and every form of the necessaries of life will bring out from their quiet hearths and homes more and more people who have so long refused to come to the gruel kitchens or to approach the public for any kind of help. The 'bottle neck' of Indian transport will retard the flow of foodgrains sufficient to meet the demands of Bengal and imports from outside is imperatively necessary. It is also necessary to prevent middle class people, the paupers of to-morrow, from falling into further depths of misery and thus check the swelling numbers of those who are already on the streets.

The truth about the ugly rumour of profiteering by the Bengal Government from the sale of Punjab wheat became first known in the Bengal Assembly on the 16th September. But nobody could suspect that during May to August, the profit amounted to Rs. 33·34 lakhs, "derived solely from sales of wheat to mills," and further "the Bengal Government are not concerned in any of the subsequent transactions," until New Delhi, on October 9, gave out the actual facts. The Government of Bengal had their share of profit in the sale of wheat to the mills and, it is strange, that they did not care to know if the output of the mills had safely entered the 'black market.' In addition to wheat sales the Bengal Government earned a "gross revenue of Rs. 6·32 lakhs from re-sales of wheat products" to the starving people of Bengal. Simply preposterous to think!

The Bengal Government was satisfied with the price control scheme by a sliding scale to take effect from August 26. With the announcement of the scheme "Government decided to buy rice and paddy" wherever available. Mr. Suhrawardy "claimed that the prices had been brought down" and "affirmed that their price policy had not failed" (Oct. 13 and 15). Mr. B. R. Sen, Director-General of Food, explaining (Oct. 1)

> "the recent scheme of the Bengal Government in regard to the procurement of foodgrains, said that *the scheme had evidently failed.* The scheme was based on the system of descending scale of prices, *i.e.*, till the middle of August the price fixed was Rs. 30 per maund and then the prices were lowered gradually for every successive week. The expectation was that the hoarded and the new crops reaped would come to the market for quick sale. But the *result of the scheme was hardly encouraging; there was even a wholesale disappearance of rice in certain places.*"—(Italics mine).

Whom to believe? Our own experience, as also of many other responsible persons of the Province, agree with what the Director-General of Food was pleased to say.

The situation is too deep for handling by frivolous and irresponsible statements and communiques. Even Mr. Amery, who till October 14, said about Bengal famine as "scarcity verging on famine," and "these distressing conditions" was forced to yield on October 15 and call it "grievous condition of famine." The Food Member, on October 13 announced "the decision of the Government of India to take supreme control of the Indian food situation and to override Provincial Governments if necessary" and "cessation of food exports from India" perhaps *finally* for the fifth time, except under special circumstances amounting to not more than 1,000 tons per month.

Two things are absolutely necessary: (*i*) Food, and more properly equitable and prompt distribution of grains that have been pouring in from different parts of India and about which there is a great nervousness in the public mind; and (*ii*) Return of confidence in what the Government say and do. This latter has been at a very low ebb, brought about by the Civil Supply Member of the Bengal Government by his frequent irresponsible and big talks of hoarding and punishment, of sufficiency and distribution, of flooding of the market with food and so on and so forth. The Central Food Member, as a corollary to (*ii*) should stop the Bengal Authorities from shouting and to work silently, and if they so desire, to propagate the cult of Pakistan and other tenets of the Muslim League and refrain from meddling in food situation of the Province in which they have so miserably failed.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE CRUSADE OF FREE SPIRITS: *By Alexander Wametzos. Published by New Book Co., Bombay. 1943. Pp. xv+278 and an Index. Price Rs. 14.*

The author of this book is a distinguished Greek refugee in India, who was Professor of Law in Athens He presents in this volume the impassioned idealist's expectations about the shape of things to come after the war is over. He claims to be "by instinct and tradition, with those who are claiming the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' He is, however, an opponent of communism as anti-democratic. The discussions, are largely from the point of view of a European liberal, partly polemical, and ignore the revolutionary potentialities of the war. The author quotes copiously from current periodicals, statements, declarations and agreements. He discusses the question of the constitution of a "United States of the World," disarmament, retribution and the individual problems of most States under Nazi duress. He has a very sympathetic chapter on Indian problems. Students of blue-prints of post-war reconstruction will find in the volume a large array of information, particularly the point of view of the smaller States which is so often neglected. The author pitches his expectations on "Chinese stoicism, the silent Russian positivism and American liberalism."

In spite of its cumbrous arrangement and faulty expressions, the volume is a notable addition to the constructive literature relating to the Allied peace-aims.

Benoyendranath Banerjea

THIRTY MONTHS IN RUSSIA: *By D. G. Tendulkar. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. 1943. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1-4.*

Tendulkar's Russian diary is as colourful as his personality. According to his own admission, he was punished in his school days for refusing to pray for British victory in the last war, was labelled a communist by Sir John Simon in the British Parliament, was Hitler's guest in Marburg prison for a month, secured a tourist visa for staying only six months in Russia but lived there for two and a half years, earning his living with his pen and a Leica camera, learnt Russian and loved Russia. Bombay, Cambridge and Goettingen, where he studied, could not spoil him, and in spite of his petit-bourgeois instruction he could understand the living soul of Russia, the Russia of the Soviets of peasants, workers and soldiers, and realized true comradeship transcending all barriers of race and tradition. The author has not burdened his book with pedantic discourses on dialectics nor lost his sense of perspective in interpreting Russian achievements. He has instead portrayed the intimate scenes of the daily life in the Soviets in delicate light and shade moistened with humane sympathies. Tendulkar devotes a chapter each to the status of women and education of children in Russia, and says that despite the general impression about Soviet social life prevailing abroad, the present-day Russians recognize that there is no substitute for mother's love and mother's milk to build up a healthy society and a sturdy nation.

Although primarily interested in fine arts, the author has not failed to notice the economic and social transformations that have made Russia such a mighty Power today, and his interesting chronicle will provide a significant background to the understanding of Russia's victorious struggle against Nazi Germany. "The patriotism of the Soviet people," Tendulkar observes, "is rooted in the fact that men and women who are giving their lives for their country are the very generation who created order out of chaos, wealth out of poverty, culture out of illiteracy. The Russian soldier is fighting with the same endurance as he fought twenty-five years ago, but with far better equipment, with greater skill and initiative, and with a more live and accurate sense of the issues at stake."

The book is delightfully illustrated with the author's own photographs which, I am sure, will serve as a telling advertisement for the "Leica Camera."

Monindramohan Moulik

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE (Buddhist and Hindu Periods): *By Percy Brown, M.B.E., A.R.C.A., F.R.A.S.B. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 210, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. x+210. Plates cxviii. Price Rs. 19.*

Three methods have generally been employed in the study of Indian architecture, *viz.*, personal observation and the study of temples either with the help of *silpa* texts or the aid of craftsmen to whom traditional architectural knowledge has been handed down orally from the past. Fergusson was the first to employ the method of personal observation on an extensive scale for the purpose of classification and the study of historical evolution. The author of the present volume has also depended principally upon this method; and, although much of the ground covered by both have naturally been the same, yet Mr. Brown has shown an independence of observation and judgment which should prove stimulating to students of Indian architecture.

Mr. Brown has limited himself in the present volume to Buddhist, Jain and Hindu religious architecture alone; but the period covered ranges from that of Mohenjodaro to about the seventeenth century A.D. Considering the vastness of the field, the author must be congratulated upon the way in which he has dealt with.

the various styles and periods, and some of his observations will be considered as positive additions to our knowledge of Indian architecture.

In the matter of classification, Mr. Brown has more clearly drawn the distinction between some of the sub-types of the Indo-Aryan, *e.g.*, the Solanki type of Gujrat from the Deccani type of the neighbourhood of Khandesh, than done by previous authors. We believe, that the late Prof. R. D. Banerji described a sub-type for which the name Malwa type was suggested; this being apparently identical with Mr. Brown's Deccani sub-type. If that be so, it would be proper to give preference to a name suggested already, if there are no positive grounds to the contrary.

With regard to the evolution of the form of religious buildings, the author has come to the very important conclusion that changes were brought about in certain cases by a change in the materials of construction and in others by progressive elaboration of the ceremonial connected with worship and prayer. Naturally these have not been supposed to exhaust all causes of change; but, so far as they go, these suggestions should prove helpful to other workers in the field who may follow up the question with profit. In connection with Buddhist rock-architecture as well as the architecture of Gujrat, Dharwar and the southern end of the Peninsula, Mr. Brown has shown that the form and ornamentation of pillars changed so steadily and uniformly that they serve as a suitable index for fixing the age of a building with a tolerable amount of certainty

This brings us to the very important subject of the evidence on which dates of buildings are based. In the author's own words, dates and sequences can be largely conjectured "by the sifting of several forms of evidence, as for instance inscriptions on or near the building, the local history, details of style, and the influence of certain elements in the construction" (p. 171). These have been precisely the basis adopted by authors like Fergusson or Banerji. But as each looked upon different features of the buildings as the most significant trait, their schemes of evolution have generally not tallied with one another, and the dates suggested for particular temples have also varied within wide limits. Different elements of a temple do not change at an equal or even comparable rate in the course of time; some of them may be of more significance to the builder and some to the sculptor; and a failure to appreciate the artist's point of view is likely to lead to wrong results when one depends more or less exclusively on scheme of unilinear evolutionism. The facts of Indian architectural evolution seem to favour a mutilinear development, which may both be a function of time and of relative territorial isolation. It is time therefore that some means of studying should supplement the older methods, and, at the same time reduce the chances of probable error to an appreciable extent.

With regard to the question, which is essential and which non-essential in any building, we believe, some of Mr. Brown's observations could have been improved upon by a reference to the traditional knowledge still in possession of craftsmen in different portions of India. Mr. Brown met many of them in course of his travels, but apparently he has not been able to utilize the knowledge lingering among them. In describing the ground-plan of the Deccani type, Mr. Brown says that "the designer's principal aim was clearly variety of effect, and he therefore began by placing the two essential parts of the temple diagonally astride the axial line, joining them at their inner angle" (p. 149). This is also the reason why he says, "The Deccan shikara has a pronounced vertical band carried up each of its angles, taking the form of a 'spine' or quoin" (p. 148). Similar observations have been recorded elsewhere, as on p. 139, where he says, "The plan of these temples resolve themselves broadly into two kinds, those in which the two compartments are joined so as to unite the entire building within a parallelogram, and those in which each compartment forms a rectangle, in the latter case the two are attached diagonally." But this is really not the way in which a craftsman, born in one of the ancient guilds, would look upon the matter. Each side of an original square, according to him, is broken up into several planes by portions of the wall being set in ressault. If the projection between the *pagas* is pronounced, the entire ground-plan may take the form of a parallelogram laid diagonally on the axis joining the centres of the two buildings. But still the ground-plan of each building would be interpreted by the craftsman as an extreme elaboration of a square. To an Orissan *silpin*, following the more Modern School, however much the projection of the *pagas* from one another, the distance from *Kanika* to *Kanika* should be just double the length of the *garbha-griha*; and a sixteenth of the latter length should be the module with which other portions of the building are measured. Thus Mr. Brown's quoin in a Deccani temple is really the *raha paga* for a craftsman, who would not see much sense in placing the Rekha and the Bhadra temples attached to one another obliquely. He actually looks upon the *Rekha* temple as male and the *Bhadra* as female, joined to one another by a sacred knot of cloth as in a Vedic marriage ceremony. A proper appreciation of the Indian craftsman's point of view would, in our opinion, have improved the text in certain places; and its unconscious underestimation has prejudicially affected the historical reconstruction in a number of cases.

But this is a limitation which is inevitable in all historical studies where the ground or the period covered are both of an extensive nature. They should therefore not detract from the essential value of the author's contribution in other directions. Mr. Brown's reconstruction of the earliest phase of Indian architecture is of outstanding merit, while his chapters on rock-architecture and on the temples of Kashmir and the Deccan have added materially to our understanding of these matters. Mr. Brown's aesthetic appreciation of different buildings and of styles is extremely instructive, for this is a field which he has specially made his own; although here, we are occasionally led to the impression that he has been unduly generous to certain over-decorated developments of later times.

One outstanding feature of the book consists in its illustrations. The conjectural reconstructions surely mark a new departure in the study of Indian architecture, and we warmly thank the author and his assistants for the pain and care which have been bestowed on this part of their task. Students will have to turn to Mr. Brown's book as an indispensable work of reference, even if it be mainly to consult its numerous architectural drawings.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

RIGVEDIC CULTURE OF THE PRE-HISTORIC INDUS: *By Swami Sankarananda. Foreword by Dr. Bhupendranath Dutta, A.M., D.Phil. Price: Board Rs. 4-8 and Paper Rs. 4.*

The book is a criticism of the prevailing views about the Indus Valley civilization revealed by the Pre-historic relics unearthed at Harappa and Mohenjo-

daro. Sir John Marshall is of the opinion that the Indus civilisation is pre-Vedic. The author criticizes this view and says that the factors, which the said scholar has cited to prove the Indus culture as pre-Vedic, are in reality Vedic in form.

The author says that the presence of parabolic saw and spear-head with undeveloped mid-rib and absence of temples and horse- or ass-drawn vehicles in the Indus cities distinguish the Indus people from the Sumerians; and the presence of fish-hook suggests that these people were fish-eaters like the Vedic Aryans.

Absence of horse in Harappa and Mohenjodaro has been taken by Sir John as a strong ground to prove that the Indus people were pre-Vedic. But Sankarananda says that horse was unknown also to the Rigvedic people. He shows that the Vedic "Asva" is the Sun and not the horse. Reference of "Asva" is met with in two consecutive Suktas and several stray Riks in the Rigveda. It is interesting to note that in the preceding Riks of both the Suktas the word "Asva" is used to mean the Sun, while in the last few Riks the same is used to mean the horse. The author is of the opinion that the last Riks are later interpolations in the Vedic text.

The author recognises the phallic emblems found in the Indus cities as Siva Linga, which again, he argues, are the symbols of the solar deity. The Unicorn and the mother-goddess are also interpreted as solar deities. The symbol of buffalo found there is interpreted as the symbol of the Vedic God Agni; while the figures of serpents are correlated with the Vedic "Ahi." The three-faced figure which Sir John Marshall recognised as a pre-historic form of the Hindu Siva has been described as a sylvan deity—a type of godling found also in many parts of ancient Europe.

On the whole the book is interesting and contains many points for deep thinking, though at places the statements are found to be inaccurate. The author's statements about the Sankhya Philosophy and the Tantras are not wholly correct, and his enunciation of the Yugas is unusual.

The Foreword by Dr. Bhupendranath Dutta has been a valuable contribution on the subject. He is of the opinion that Sir John Marshall's theory about Indus civilisation is untenable, and says, "The ethnic and other cultural similarities warrant the conclusion that the presence of the Indo-Aryans cannot be denied in the Indus Valley civilization."

SAILENDRA BEJOY DASGUPTA

ANCIENT RACES AND MYTHS : *Pp. 132. Price Re. 1.*

PRAGMATIC PHILOSOPHY : *Pp. 110. Price Re. 1.*

REFLECTIONS ON INDIAN TRAVELS : *By Mr. Chandra Chakravarty. Published by Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 81, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pp. 252. Price Re. 1-8.*

Mr. Chakravarty is a well-known author of a number of books on various subjects such as religion, history, medicine, nationalism, education, culture, sexology, civilisation, etc. He seems to have wide range of study and versatile knowledge. In the volume named "Ancient races and Myths" the learned author discusses the rationality of myths as well as the common features of the ancient races of Aryavarta, Iran, Babylonia, Asia Minor, Egypt, Latium, Hellas, Germania, Slavica, China, Nippon and America. The author believes that for the first time he disentangles the racial components from ancient history and shows their contributions to ancient civilisation. He is to be heartily congratulated for giving a rational interpretation of the ancient myths which were regarded as meaningless and grotesque. The myths are rightly interpreted to be really based on Nature phenomena such as—the sun, moon, thunder, rain, planets and constellatory configurations. The ancient myths are shown from comparative viewpoint to have many common conceptions. For instance, he says that Rudra of the Vedas is the same as the Sutekh of the Mitannis and Egyptians, Marduk of the Babylonians, Ashur of the Assyrians, Ahur-mazda of the Zoroastrians and Artemis of the Greeks.

The book contains much serious matter for further study and investigation. It appears to be the result of research-work and a nice introduction to comparative mythology.

The volume called "Pragmatic Philosophy" deals in general outline with "the physical impulses and problems and how far their adjustments are possible with our conscious or sub-conscious mind and ideals of life." It is a book full of some good and mostly bad informations relating to nutrition, puberty, marriage, pubescent hygiene, contraceptives and various aspects of sexuality. The volume is so obscene and vulgar that it should not go into the hands of young men and women. Such nasty publications are mainly responsible for the moral degeneration of our life and society. In the chapter on religion the author arrogantly questions the necessity of religion and opines that God or Soul is nothing but a 'metaphysical postulate.' However much the sexologists like our author may try, sexuality can never be made a sacred science or a sublime philosophy. To peruse such a book is nothing but to defile one's mind.

The book entitled "Reflections on Indian Travels" attempts to support by anthropological and historical data the Puranic traditions which misty with age have become meaningless to majority. The chapters in this book on Vanga, Kalinga, Andhras, Tamil Nad, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Saurashtra, Rajputana, Sindhu including Panchanad, Gandhara, Aryavarta, Magadha and Kamrupa are immensely interesting and contain much historical matter. Discussions on Racial History and civilisation of India, Hindusthani language and Kurukhsetra war are thoughtful. An analytical index of contents is wanting in the book. The treatment of subjects is sometimes haphazard and sometimes irrelevant. For example, the chapter on Vanga contains two big informative paras on malaria and epidemic dropsy—the curses of Bengal climate. Digressions, however interesting, are always out of place and are never relished by the readers.

The author endowed with a rich historical outlook deals with the subjects impressively. His descriptions of the sacking of Somnath Temple by Mahmud Gazni, the treacherous assassination of General Bhaskar Pandit by Aliverdi Khan, and the wanton destruction of the Nalanda and Vikramsila Universities by Baktiar Khilji are very vivid and correct. An acquaintance with these historical facts will open our eyes to the real state of things in mediaeval India and will make known a hitherto unknown chapter of Indian history.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

REFORM OF EXAMINATIONS : *By Mr. Debnarayan Mukherjee, The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 57. Price annas eight.*

In this small book the author, who is Secretary of the Board of High School and Intermediate Examination, United Provinces, discusses the present system of High School Examination in his province with all its bad effects on education and suggests remedies. He has quoted various authorities, such as, the Government of

India Resolution on Education Policy of 1904, Calcutta University Commission 1917-19, and the Zukir Husain Report 1938 to show that all are agreeable to reform the examinations of the Indian System of Education but no tangible result has come out of these recommendations. The author severely criticises "vagaries of marking" and pleads that "scientific outlook should pervade the whole system of education." Reform of examination will go a great way to reorganise and vitalise the educational system of the country which is responsible at the present moment for the great waste of India's youth and energy.

Mr. Mukerjee's book deserves to be carefully read and suggestions seriously considered by all educationists of the country who desire reform of the present system.

A. B. DUTTA

AN ESSAY ON THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY : *By V. K. R. V. Rao. To be had of the Registrar, University of Delhi. Delhi. Pp. 46. Price Re. 1.*

Prof. Rao has very ably challenged some of the classical economic concepts. According to him, the assumption made by the classical economists that "a means of production, when economised (or to use the expression more in current use, when rationalised) will not only result in increased output on the part of the economised factor, but also be accompanied or followed by the employment of the released factor of production in either the same or other lines of production." This is the assumption of full employment which has been pointed out by Keynes as underlying the whole classical theory of economics. Prof. Rao contends that the application of this doctrine has created unemployment in place of full employment, then he says, "Employment is not only a means of living but also constitutes a value in itself; and if the effect of applying the principle of economy is to bring about a net decrease in employment, there is obviously something wrong with the unqualified exercise of this criterion in regulating economic activity." He also disbelieves the theory of unlimited wants as an incentive to economisation of resources. Prof. Rao has examined the relation of economic activity to the end of all human activity which he has described as the development of human personality. He has introduced four different constituents of work, *viz.*, (1) the art element, (2) the dignity and pride element, (3) the personality-killing element, and (4) the character-forming element. He believes that these four elements in economic activity have a bearing on the "development of human personality and therefore on the ultimate end of human activity," and as such must be taken into account "when laying down criteria of economic policy" After discussing the application of the principle of economy to the problem of choice amongst competing ends by the classical economists, Prof. Rao concludes that economic activity is of the nature of both ends and means activity; and its purpose is to secure exchangeable goods and services possessing economic value. Prof. Rao differs from the classical economists when he says "that economic activity is not of the nature of being merely a means, but is constituted of a combination of 'both means and ends'." This essay will be of immense value to the students of Indian economics in particular.

D. B.

THE DISCIPLES OF RAMAKRISHNA : *Published by Swami Pabitrananda. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Himalayas.*

This volume completes the series of short biographies, of which the preceding volumes are the short lives of Sri Ramakrishna, the Holy Mother and Swami Vivekananda.

This volume contains the lives of men and women who are looked upon as the direct disciples of Sri Ramakrishna; they came in personal contact with him and caught the fire of his spirituality; so much so, that many of them renounced the world for God-realisation, later on we found in them the great Swamis of the order of Ramakrishna.

The book is written in an attractive style, its get-up is nice and it leaves an ennobling impression behind.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

BENGALI

NILANGURIA : *By Bibhuti Bhusan Mukhopadhyaya. General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., Calcutta. Second Edition. 1943. Pp. 342. Price Rs. 3.*

The popularity of *Nilanguria* may very well be judged by the fact that it has run into the second edition in the course of a year and a film version of this delightful fiction has already appeared.

The story is woven round the amorous experiences of a shy but self-conscious young man who is transplanted from his modest environments as a struggling student to an aristocratic home as a private tutor. The pivot of the theme is Mira, the pretty and capricious young girl in the family who alternately attracts and repels Sailen with her charms, conceits and emotions. Mira and Sailen, however, come to secretly nurse an attachment for each other which gradually they discover as genuine love. Things look like moving towards a comedy when the fear of social incompatibility and above all Sailen's own sense of dignity lead inevitably to frustration. The author's portrayal of the principal characters reveals his knowledge of the inscrutable ways in which the human psyche acts and reacts to particular situations. The characterization of the absent-minded, disillusioned father—Barrister Roy, the heart-broken mother—Aparna Debi, the charmingly clever little Taru, the well-meaning faithful friend—Anil, the etrnal housewife—Amburi, and the boyhood sweetheart—luckless Soudamini, apart from Sailen and Mira, is vividly fresh, living and psycho-analytically consistent. The author's analytical style will easily remind the reader of Thomas Mann, but it will be felt that the explanatory soliloquies, sometimes carried to inordinate lengths, could have been usefully treated with restraint for the sake of maintaining a livelier interest in the drama itself and to provide a more intense aesthetic entertainment.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

GUJARATI

SORATHA NE SIMADE : *By Gokuldas Raichura. Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1942. Thick cardboard. Pp. 160. Illustrated. Price Re. 1-8.*

"On the Frontiers of Soratha" is now running into a second edition. It is a semi-historical story relating the fortunes, in a romantic vein, of some of the members of the Chudasama Rajput families of Kathiawad. These Rajputs are a race of heroes and the story therefore thrills the reader.

K. M. J.

INDIA'S PLACE IN A FUTURE WORLD ORDER*

By HORACE G. ALEXANDER, Prof. N. C. BANERJI, Prof. B. N. BANERJEA and
Rai Bahadur B. B. MUKHERJI

Benoyendra Nath Banerjea

3LUE-PRINTS of the 'new' world order are already n the market: beginning with the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms of Mr. Roosevelt own to organised and influentially-sponsored chemes and 'ideas' of 'leaders' of thought .s well as cranks. Most of them ignore India nd even China: most statements and schemes eek to cover European countries or the 'Powers.' 'et, not a few of the world's master-minds have ealised that as a consequence of the forces eleased by this war revolutionary changes are 1 the offing: and not merely the erstwhile big owers with their military and financial sinews, ut the under-dogs, the coloured people, Asiatics nd others who had been so long the unwilling ictims of the orgy of industrial and imperial upidity—would bring their contributions and iake themselves heard in order to secure their 'eedom, may be each in his 'local' context. 'he sentiments expressed by Tagore in the ourse of the last message to the world are in-eed a significant pointer:[1]

"I had one time believed that the springs of civili-tion would issue out of the heart of Europe, but to-day hen I am about to quit the world that stubborn faith is gone bankrupt altogether.

". . . . I shall not commit the grievous sin of sing faith in man. I would rather look forward to the pening of a new chapter in this history after the taclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean th the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps that .wn will come from this horizon, from the East where e sun rises."

One can not ignore the vital importance of free India in the planning of a new world der on any sound basis. The history of uropean diplomacy in the last century has t a little turned upon India as a pivot and it in this context that it is urged that the pro-em of India's freedom is a world problem.[2] To .ote Gandhi:

"Both America and Britain lack the moral basis engaging in this war unless they put their own houses in order, by making it their fixed determination to withdraw their influence and power both from Africa and Asia and remove the colour bar. They have no right to talk of protecting civilisation and human free-dom, until the canker of white superiority is destroyed in its entirety."

The demand made by rationalists in India for an enunciation of the post-war aims by Britain and the allied powers and action in the immediate present, corresponding to such aims, is not un-understandable. The logic behind such a demand as expressed by Nehru in the course of a message to the Chinese people, is apparent-ly not inconsistent with his outspoken anti-fascism.[3] He observed:

"With China unfree our own freedom will be en-dangered and worth little purchase. Whatever we do now, constrained by circumstances, is aimed at the achievement of India's independence, so that we might fight with all our strength and will against the aggressor in India and China. We believe that this great war is a mighty revolution which will only succeed on the basis of freedom for all peoples. Without Indian free-dom now, it will fail of its purpose and lead us all into blind and dangerous alleys."

In fact, post-war reconstruction proposals leave many in India cold not merely because a Clarence Streit, for instance, does not find room for India in his federal union, or because the principles of the Atlantic Charter is of uncertain application to India, or because the Cripps proposals pegged the position of India in the 'Commonwealth' to dubious phrases—but also because of the continuing strain of the White Man's Burden in the speeches of Churchill, Amery, Smuts and Eden, and of the bitter memories of British support to Japan even as late as July 1939 in the course of the Tokyo Agreement, and of the reports from South Africa, U. S. A. and Australia and from the evacuees of Burma of racial discrimination.

There is of course the school of thought which urges that the immediate problem is to check the onslaught of fascism and then to set our own houses in order. The very process, if purposively pursued, is likely to release forces which will make the emergence of fascists and pseudo-fascists in a post-war world increasingly difficult. To the votaries of this school the fate

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* Substance of a talk given in an informal meeting the Politics Club, Calcutta, held under the Chairman-p of Prof. Nripendrachandra Banerji.

1. *The Crisis in Civilisation.*

2. Vide, *The Modern Review* (July and August, 1); articles by R. Chatterjee and Lajpat Rai.

3. *Amrita Bazar Patrika,* November 21, 1942.

of India's masses, (as against the classes who might desire even a coalition with white capitalism in order to reap the fruits of a national government controlled by brown capitalism) is linked with the results of the present war, in so far as it relates to the fate of Soviet Russia and the conversion of the war into a genuine 'people's war.' Nationalism, according to some of the exponents of this school, is an 'antiquated cult,'—nay even a pernicious one when the alloy of totalitarian ideology in alliance with capitalist greed debases and transforms it. The corollary of this would be the search for a 'place in the sun' in collaboration with a group of states who agree to work together on the basis of certain principles : such a status would be a matter of realisation and not dependent upon the gift or guarantee of others, whose credentials in the matter of fighting for the said principles may even be questionable.

Lastly, there is the question of the home-front. After all the position of India would depend on the maintenance of a stable internal equilibrium, economically, politically and socially. Partly these are world problems : and undoubtedly as a legacy of war and the factors which cause war—problems of nutrition, industrial development, raw materials and their utilisation, education would require 'national' as well as intra-national co-ordination and planning. Possibly, a right economic approach might cure the communal virus in the body-politic, because it would place the exploiters, who profit by such wire-pulling for creating dissensions, out of bounds. I very much doubt in the efficacy of Gandhi's idea that a mere political vacuum would be the prelude to a political settlement : nothing but drastic economic—and consequently as others would say moral—changes internationally and internally, can usher in an world where the 'four freedoms' are guaranteed. It is evidently necessary to have before us detailed and comprehensive blueprints for a new order—it may not be possible to cover the whole world according to one only for sometime to come. Thinkers must collaborate with practical men in this world-planning from the Indian side, which involves a political, economic and social scheme which just at present only the Gandhi-ites in their own limited way and the slender band of followers of M. N. Roy in a more concrete form have ready at hand, on an all-India scale. The lopsided discussion of group or class or communal demands in the perspective of dependence has unfortunately blurred our vision and hence the unpreparedness to fall in with schemes for radical world-planning.[4]

In concluding, two points may be mentioned. The colour bar certainly colours Streit's statement that India and China are not in his union because they are "politically inexperienced" or Ivor Jenning's contention that they are below "western standards of education." The pack-wolf mentality as evinced by certain 'politically experienced' and educated European countries do not place them on any higher plane of crowd-psychology than the people in the East. Unfortunately, still the portents on the horizon indicate that the colour bar issue may yet remain undecided for sometime to come : and that is a menace to any settled system for peaceful change.

Moreover, there is the question of population. A country like India with its population may be entitled to such a large representation on a democratically formed world Government that it might frighten many. The obvious answer is that the principle of equality of representation on a federal body would be welcomed by India provided the smaller states are also accorded the privilege. In a federal pattern for the collaboration of democracies it is necessary that uniformity in the application of principles is followed, and the discrimination in the League system between the smaller and the stronger states is not entrenched.

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India may well play a large part in shaping the World's future because she has traditionally upheld certain principles and values that the World needs to-day. There is in India a different sense of proportion and estimate of values from those that are current in the West. Seeing that Western Civilisation—whatever positive values it has reached—has led the World into two vast holocausts within a generation, there is a clear case for a radical reconsideration of standards and the world may fairly look to India, a country in which the tradition of tolerance, of non-violence, of reverence for life, is still deeply rooted, to assist in this revision of human values. Further, India can look at the world scene from a somewhat detached angle, being far removed from some of the main threatres of war and not having suffered actually from war's immediate ravages. It is not premature to think about the future world after the war, for it is a fallacy to imagine that there can be a sudden

4. *Vide, Independent India* (Weekly), Vol. VII, Nos. 1-3 (1943).